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CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT INDIA.

INTRODUCTION.

EPOCHS AND DATES.

THE History of Ancient India is a history of thirty enturies of human culture and progress. It divides itself into several distinct periods, each of which, for ength of years, will compare with the entire history of nany a modern people.

Other nations claim an equal or even a higher antiquity han the Hindus. Egyptian scholars have claimed a late over four thousand years B.C. for the foundation of the first Egyptian dynasty of kings. Assyrian scholars have claimed a date over three thousand years B.C. for Sargon I., who united Sumir and Accad under the Semitic rule; and they claim a still earlier date for the native Turanian civilisation of Accad which preceded the Semetic conquest of Chaldea. The Chinese claim to have an authentic history of dynasties and facts from about 2400 B.C. For India, modern scholars have not claimed an earlier date than 2000 B.C. for the hymns of the Rig Veda, although Hindu civilisation must have been centuries or thousands of years old when these hymns were composed.

But there is a difference between the records of the Hindus and the records of other nations. The hieroglyphic records of the ancient Egyptians yield little information beyond the names of kings and pyramid-builders, and accounts of dynasties and wars. The cuneiform

inscriptions of Assyria and Babylon tell us much the same story. And even ancient Chinese records shed little light on the gradual progress of human culture and civilisation.

Ancient Hindu works are of a different character. If they are defective in some respects, as they undoubtedly are, they are defective as accounts of dynasties, of wars, of so-called historical incidents. On the other hand, they give us a full, connected, and clear account of the advancement of civilisation, of the progress of the human mind, such as we shall seek for in vain among the records of any other equally ancient nation. The literature of each period is a perfect picture—a photograph, if we may so call it—of the Hindu civilisation of that period. And the works of successive periods form a complete history of ancient Hindu civilisation for three thousand years, so full, so clear, that he who runs may read.

Inscriptions on stone and tablets, and writings on papyri are recorded with a design to commemorate passing events. The songs and hymns and religious effusions of a people are an unconscious and true reflection of its civilisation and its thought. The earliest effusions of the Hindus were not recorded in writing,—they are, therefore, full and unrestricted,—they are a natural and true expression of the nation's thoughts and feelings. They were preserved, not on stone, but in the faithful memory of the people, who handed down the great heritage from century to century with a scrupulous exactitude which, in modern days, would be considered a miracle.

Scholars who have studied the Vedic hymns historically are aware that the materials they afford for constructing a history of civilisation are fuller and truer than any accounts which could have been recorded on stone or papyri. And those who have pursued Hindu literature through the different periods of ancient Hindu history, are equally aware that they form a complete and comprehensive story of the progress and gradual modifications

of Hindu civilisation, thought, and religion through three thousand years. And the philosophical historian of human civilisation need not be a Hindu to think that the Hindus have preserved the fullest, the clearest, and the truest materials for his work.

We wish not to be misunderstood. We have made the foregoing remarks simply with a view to remove the very common and very erroneous impression that Ancient India has no history worth studying, no connected and reliable chronicle of the past which would be interesting or instructive to the modern reader.

Ancient India has a connected story to tell, and so far from being uninteresting, its special feature is its intense attractiveness. We read in that ancient story how a gifted Aryan people, separated by circumstances from the outside world, worked out their civilisation amidst natural and climatic conditions which were peculiarly favourable. We note their intellectual discoveries age after age; we watch their religious progress and developments through successive centuries; we mark their political career, as they gradually expand over India, and found new kingdoms and dynasties; we observe their struggles against priestly domination, their successes and their failures; we study with interest their great social and religious revolutions and their far-reaching consequences. And this great story of a nation's intellectual life—more thrilling in its interest than any tale which Shaharzadi told—is nowhere broken and nowhere disconnected. The great causes which led to great social and religious changes are manifest to the reader, and he follows the gradual development of ancient Hindu civilisation through thirty centuries, from 2000 B.C. to 1000 years after Christ.

The very shortcomings of Hindu civilisation, as compared with the younger civilisation of Greece or Rome, have their lessons for the modern reader. The story of our successes is not more instructive than the story of our failures. The hymns of Visvamitra, the philosophy

of Kapila, and the poetry of Kalidasa have no higher lessons for the modern reader than the decadence of our political life and the ascendency of priests. The story of the religious rising of the people under the leadership of Gautama Buddha and Asoka is not more instructive than the absence of any efforts after popular freedom. And the great heights to which the genius of Brahmans and Kshatriyas soared in the infancy of the world's intellectual life are not more suggestive and not more instructive than the absence of genius in the people at large in their ordinary pursuits and trades,—in mechanical inventions and maritime discoveries, in sculpture, architecture, and arts, in manifestations of popular life and the assertion of popular power.

The history of the intellectual and religious life of the ancient Hindus is matchless in its continuity, its fulness, and its philosophical truth. But the historian who only paints the current of that intellectual life performs half his duty. There is another and a sadder portion of Hindu history,—and it is necessary that this portion of the story, too, should be faithfully told.

We have said before that the history of Ancient India divides itself into several distinct and long periods or epochs. Each of these periods has a distinct literature, and each has a civilisation peculiar to it, which modified itself into the civilisation of the next period under the operation of great political and social causes. It is desirable that we should, at the outset, give a brief account of these historical epochs and the great historical events by which they are marked. Such an outline-account of the different periods will make our readers acquainted with the plan and scope of this work, and will probably help them to grasp more effectually the details of each period when we come to treat them more fully. We begin with the earliest period, *viz.*, that of Aryan settlements in the Punjab. The hymns of the Rig Veda furnish us with the materials for a history of this period.

FIRST EPOCH.

In this priceless volume, the Rig Veda, we find the Hindu Aryans as conquerors and settlers on the banks of the Indus and its five branches ; and India beyond the Sutlej was almost unknown to them. They were a conquering race, full of the self-assertion and vigour of a young national life, with a strong love of action and a capacity for active enjoyments. They were, in this respect, far removed from the contemplative and passive Hindus of later days ; they rejoiced in wealth and cattle and pasture-fields ; and they carved out, with their strong right arm, new possessions and realms from the aborigines of the soil, who vainly struggled to maintain their own against the invincible conquerors. Thus, the period was one of wars and conquests against the aborigines ; and the Aryan victors triumphantly boast of their conquests in their hymns, and implore their gods to bestow on them wealth and new possessions, and to destroy the barbarians. Whatever was bright and cheerful and glorious in the aspects of nature struck the Aryans with admiration and gladness, and such manifestations of nature were worshipped and invoked as gods.

It is needless to say that the entire body of Aryans was then a united community, and the only distinction of castes was between the Aryans and the aborigines. Even the distinction between professions was not very marked ; and the sturdy lord of many acres, who ploughed his fields and owned large herds in times of peace, went out to defend his village or plunder the aborigines in times of war, and often composed spirited hymns to the martial gods in his hours of devotion. There were no temples and no idols ; each patriarch of a family lighted the sacrificial fire in his own hearth, and offered milk and rice offerings, or animals, or libations of the Soma juice to the fire, and invoked the "bright" gods for

blessings and health and wealth for himself and his children. Chiefs of tribes were kings, and had professional priests to perform sacrifices and utter hymns for them; but there was no priestly caste, and no royal caste. The people were free, enjoying the freedom which belongs to vigorous pastoral and agricultural tribes.

What is the date of this period of Aryan settlements in the Punjab as pictured in the Rig Veda? We think we agree with the general opinion on the subject when we fix 2000 to 1400 B.C. for this first period of Hindu history. And, for the sake of convenience, we will call this period the *Vedic Period.*

SECOND EPOCH.

When once the Hindu Aryans had come as far as the Sutlej, they did not lose much time in crossing that river and pouring down in numbers in the valley of the Ganges. We have rare mention of the Ganges and the Jumna in the Rig Veda, showing that they were not yet generally known to the Hindus in the first or Vedic Period, although adventurous colonists must have issued out of the Punjab and settled in the shores of those distant rivers. Such settlements must have multiplied in the second period, until, in the course of some centuries, the entire valley of the Ganges, as far down as modern Tirhut, were the seats of powerful kingdoms and nationalities, who cultivated science and literature in their schools of learning, and developed new forms of religion and of civilisation widely different from those of the Vedic Period.

Among the nations who flourished in the Gangetic valley, the most renowned have left their names in the epic literature of India. The Kurus had their kingdom round about modern Delhi. The Panchalas settled further to the south-east, round about modern Kanouj. The Kosalas occupied the spacious country between the

Ganges and the Gunduck, which includes modern Oudh ; the Videhas lived beyond the Gunduck, in what is now known as Tirhut ; and the Kasis settled down round about modern Benares. These were the most renowned nations of the second period, though other less powerful nationalities also flourished and extended their kingdoms from time to time.

When the first Kurus and Panchalas settled in the Doab, they gave indications of a vigourous national life, and their internecine wars form the subject of the first National Epic of India, the Mahabharata. And, although this work, in its present shape, is the production of a later age—or rather of later ages—yet, even in its present form, it preserves indications of that rude and sturdy vigour and warlike jealousies which characterised the early conquerors of the Gangetic valley. The Hindus did not, however, live many centuries in the soft climate of this valley before losing their vigour and manliness, as they gained in learning and civilisation. As they drifted down the river they manifested less and less of the vigour of conquering races. The royal courts of the Videhas and the Kasis were learned and enlightened, but contemporary literature does not bear witness to their warlike qualities. The Kosalas, too, were a polished nation, but the traditions of that nation, preserved in the second National Epic of India, the Ramayana (in its present form, a production of later ages), show more devotion to social and domestic duties, obedience to priests, and regard for religious forms, than the sturdy valour and the fiery jealousies of the Mahabharata.

This gradual enervation of the Hindus was the cause of the most important results in religious and social rules. Religion changed its spirit. The manly but simple hymns with which the sturdy conquerors of the Punjab had invoked nature-gods scarcely commended themselves to the more effete and more ceremonious Hindus of the Gangetic valley. The hymns were still

repeated, but lost their meaning and sense, and vast ceremonials and observances took the place of simple forms. The priestly class increased in number and in influence, until they formed a hereditary caste of their own. The kings and warriors of the Gangetic valley lived in more splendid courts, and had more gorgeous surroundings than the simple agricultural warriors of the Punjab, and soon separated themselves from the people and formed a caste of their own. The mass of the people—the Vaisyas or Visas of the Riga Veda—became more feeble than their forefathers in the Punjab, and wore, without a protest, the chains which priests and warriors—the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas—threw around them. And as subjection means demoralisation, the people in Hindu kingdoms never afterwards became what the people in ancient and modern Europe have striven to be. And lastly, the aborigines who were subjugated and had adopted the Aryan civilisation formed the low caste of Sudras, and were declared unfit to perform the Aryan religious rites or to acquire religious knowledge.

Such was the origin of the Caste-system in India, in the second period of Hindu history. The system arose out of weakness and lifelessness among the people, and, to a certain extent, it has perpetuated that weakness ever after.

It will be observed that this Second Period was a period of the submission of the people under the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, and of the submission of the Kshatriyas themselves under the Brahmans. At the close of the period, however, there appears to have been a reaction, and the proud Kshatriyas at last tried to prove their equality with the Brahmans in learning and religious culture. Wearied with the unmeaning rituals and ceremonials prescribed by priests, the Kshatriyas started new speculation and bold inquiries after the truth. The effort was unavailing. The priests remained supreme. But the vigorous speculations which the

Kshatriyas started form the only redeeming portion of the inane and lifeless literature of this period. And these speculations remained as a heritage of the nation, and formed the nucleus of the Hindu philosophical systems and religious revolutions of a later day.

It was in this period of Aryan expansion in the Gangetic valley that the Rig Veda and the three other Vedas —Saman, Yajus, and Atharvan—were finally arranged and compiled. Then followed another class of compositions known as the Brahmanas, and devoted to sacrificial rites; and these inane and verbose compositions reflect the enervation of the people and the dogmatic pretensions of the priests of the age. The custom of retirement from the world into forest life, which was unknown in the earlier ages, sprang up, and the last portions of the Brahmanas are Aranyakas devoted to forest rites. And lastly, the bold speculations started by Kshatriyas are known as the Upanishads, and form the last portions of the literature of this period, and close the so-called *Revealed Literature* of India.

Scholars have generally held that a period of at least four or five centuries was required for the great social and political changes of this epoch. Within this period the valley of the Ganges, as far as Tirhoot, was cleared, colonised, and Hinduised, and formed into sites of powerful kingdoms. Religious observances were vastly elaborated; social rules were changed; the caste-system was formed; the supremacy of priests was established and confirmed, and ultimately questioned by the Kshatriyas; and lastly, within this age, a varied and voluminous literature was recorded. The Period may, therefore, be supposed to have extended approximately from 1400 to 1000 B.C.

One or two facts may be cited here which confirm these dates. The central historical fact of this period was a great war between the Kurus and the Panchalas, which forms the subject of the Mahabharata, and of

which we shall have something to say further on. The central literary fact of this period was the compilation of the Vedas. Tradition and the Epic itself inform us that the compiler of the Vedas was a contemporary of the war; but we may accept or reject this as we like. We will examine these two facts separately.

First, with regard to the compilation of the Vedas. Tradition has it that when the Vedas were compiled, the position of the solstitial points was observed and recorded to mark the date. The Jyotisha in which this observation is now found is a late work, not earlier than the third century before Christ, but the observation was certainly made at an ancient date, and Bentley and Archdeacon Pratt—both able mathematicians—have gone over the calculation and found that it was made in 1181 B.C.

Much has been written of late against the value of this discovery in Europe, America, and India, but we have found nothing in these discussions which goes against the genuineness of the astronomical observation. We are inclined to believe that the observation marks approximately the true date of the final compilation of the Vedas; and as the work of compilation occupied numerous teachers for generations together, we may suppose that the Vedas were compiled during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. And this date falls within the period which we have assigned for the Second Epoch.

Next, with regard to the Kuru-Panchala War. The annals of different kingdoms in India allude to this ancient war, and some of these annals are not unreliable. The founder of Buddhism lived in the sixth century B.C., and we learn from the annals of Magadha that thirty-five kings reigned between the Kuru-Panchala War and the time of Buddha. Allowing twenty years to each reign, this would place the war in the thirteenth century B.C.

Again, we know from coins that Kanishka ruled in Kashmira in the first century A.D., and his successor Abhimanyu probably reigned towards the close of that

century. The historian of Kashmira informs us that fifty-two kings reigned for 1266 years from the time of the Kuru-Panchala War to the time of Abhimanyu, and this would place the war in the twelfth century B.C.

We do not ask the reader to accept any of the particular dates given above. It is almost impossible to fix any precise date in the History of India before Alexander the Great visited the land; and we may well hesitate, even when astronomical calculations point to a particular year, or historical lists point to a particular century. All that we ask, and all that we are entitled to ask, is that the reader will now find it possible to accept the fact that the Vedas were finally compiled and the Kuru-Panchala War was fought sometime about the thirteenth century or the twelfth century B.C.

And, if the Kuru-Panchala War was fought in the thirteenth century B C. (*i.e.*, about a century before the Trojan War), it is impossible to fix a date later than 1400 B.C. for the commencement of the Second Epoch of which we are speaking. For at the time of the Kuru-Panchala War, the tracts of country round modern Delhi and Kanouj were the seats of powerful nations who had developed a civilisation and literature of their own. And two centuries must be allowed between the date when the Aryans issued out of the Punjab and the date when these results had been achieved in the Gangetic valley.

To accept 1400 B.C. as the date when the Aryans issued out of the Punjab, is to confirm the dates we have given (2000 to 1400 B.C.) for the First Epoch, the Vedic Period.

Again, many of the Brahmanas contain internal evidence that they were composed at the time or after the time of the Kurus and the Panchalas. We may, therefore, suppose these to have been composed in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. And the Upanishads, which mark the close of Brahmana literature, were composed

about the eleventh century B.C. Janaka, the king of the Videhas, gave a start to the Upanishads; we may, therefore, suppose the Videhas and the Kosalas to have flourished about 1200 to 1000 B.C., as the Kurus and the Panchalas flourished about 1400 to 1200 B.C.

For the sake of convenience we will call this second period the *Epic Period*. It was the period when the nations described in the national epics of India lived and fought; when the Kurus and the Panchalas, the Kosalas and the Videhas, held sway along the valley of the Ganges.

THIRD EPOCH.

The Third Epoch is, perhaps, the most brilliant period of Hindu history. It was in this period that the Aryans issued out of the Gangetic valley, spread themselves far and wide, and introduced Hindu civilisation and founded Hindu kingdoms as far as the southernmost limits of India. Magadha or South Behar, which was already known to the Hindus in the Epic Period, was completely Hindused in the Third Epoch; and the young and powerful kingdom founded here soon eclipsed all the ancient kingdoms of the Gangetic valley. Buddhism spread from Magadha to surrounding kingdoms, and Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, brought the whole of Northern India, from the Punjab to Behar, under the rule of Magadha. With this great political event, *viz.*, the consolidation of all Northern India under one great empire, the Third Epoch ends and the Fourth Epoch begins.

Aryan colonists penetrated to Bengal and introduced Hindu religion and civilisation among the aborigines. The kingdoms founded in the south won greater distinction. The Andhras founded a powerful kingdom in the Deccan, and developed great schools of learning. Further south, the Aryans came in contact with the old Dravidian civilisation. The more perfect Hindu

civilisation prevailed, and the Dravidians were Hinduised and founded kingdoms which became distinguished for learning and power. The three sister-kingdoms of the Cholas, the Cheras, and the Pandyas made their mark before the third century B.C., and Kanchi (Conjeveram), the capital of the Cholas, distinguished itself as the seat of Hindu learning at a later day.

In the west the Saurashtras (including Gujrat and the Maharatta country) received Hindu civilisation ; while, beyond a strip of the sea, Ceylon was discovered, and formed a great resort of Hindu traders.

The practical and enterprising spirit of the age shows itself in literature as well as in territorial conquests. The whole of the verbose teachings and rites of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas were condensed into Sutras or aphorisms so as to form handy manuals for the sacrifice. Other Sutras were framed for laying down the rules of domestic rites and social conduct. Sutra schools sprang all over India, in the north and in the south, and works multiplied. And besides these religious works, phonetics, metre, grammar, and lexicons were studied, and Yaska wrote his Nirukta, and Panini his Vyakarana early in this period. And the construction of sacrificial altars according to fixed rules gave rise to geometry, which was-first discovered in India.

And, lastly, the lessons of the Upanishads were not lost. The bold speculations started in these works were pursued, until Kapila started the Sankhya philosophy—the first closely-reasoned system of mental philosophy known in the world. Other systems of philosophy were started by other thinkers, but the Sankhya philosophy was destined to have the greatest influence on the future of India ; for Gautama Buddha was born in the sixth century B.C., and he added to the cold logic of the Sankhya philosophy a world-embracing sympathy and love for mankind which has made his religion the religion of a third of the human race.

We have no difficulty in fixing the dates of this epoch. Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander the Great, united Northern India in 320 B.C. We may, therefore, date the Third Epoch from 1000 B.C. to 320 B.C. For the sake of convenience, we will call it the *Philosophical* or *Rationalistic Period.*

The great political, literary, and religious incidents of the period require the wide space of seven centuries that we have allotted to the epoch; and all the facts that we know confirm these dates. The dates which Dr. Bühler has given to the Sutras of Gautama, Baudhayana, Vasishtha, and Apastamba fall within the limits given above. Dr. Thibaut assigns the eighth century to the Sulva Sutras or geometry. Writers on Sankhya philosophy assign the seventh century to Kapila's philosophy, and Gautama Buddha lived, as we know, in the sixth century.

These dates, which have been ascertained with tolerable certainty, confirm the dates which we have accepted for the previous or the Epic Period. For, if the philosophy of Kapila, which was a distant and matured result of the Upanishads, was started in the seventh century, the Upanishads themselves must have been composed several centuries earlier. And we are presumably correct in assigning B.C. 1000 for the Upanishads,—the works which closed the Epic Period.

FOURTH EPOCH.

The epoch begins with the brilliant reign of Chandragupta. His grandson Asoka the Great made Buddhism the state religion of India, settled the Buddhist Scriptures in the great council of Patna, and published his edicts of humanity on stone pillars and on rocks. He prohibited the slaughter of animals, provided medical aid to men and cattle all over his empire, proclaimed the duties of citizens and members of families, and directed Buddhist

missionaries to proceed to the ends of the earth, to mix with the rich and the poor, and to proclaim the truth. His inscriptions show that he made treaties with Antiochus of Syria, Ptolemy of Egypt, Antigonus of Macedon, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epiros, and sent missionaries to these kingdoms to preach the Buddhist religion. "Both here and in foreign countries," says Asoka, "everywhere the people follow the doctrine of the religion of the Beloved of the Gods, wheresoever it reacheth." "Buddhist missionaries," says a Christian writer,* "preached in Syria two centuries before the teaching of Christ (which has so many moral points in common) was heard in Northern Palestine. So true is it that every great historical change has had its forerunner."

The Maurya dynasty, which commenced with Asoka's grandfather Chandragupta about 320 B.C., did not last very long after the time of Asoka. It was followed by two short-lived dynasties, the Sunga and the Kanva (183 to 26 B.C.), and then the great Andhras, who had founded a powerful empire in the South, conquered Magadha and were masters of Northern India for four centuries and a half, B.C. 26 to A.D. 430. They were generally Buddhists, but respected Brahmans and orthodox Hindus; and throughout the Buddhist Epoch, the two religions flourished in India side by side, and persecution was almost unknown. The Andhras were followed by the great Gupta emperors, who were supreme in India till about 500 A.D., and then their power was overthrown. The Guptas were generally orthodox Hindus, but favoured Buddhism also, and made grants to Buddhist churches and monasteries.

In the meantime Western India was the scene of continual foreign invasions. The Greeks of Bactria, expelled by Turanian invaders, entered India in the second and first centuries before Christ, founded kingdoms, intro-

* Mahaffy, "Alexander's Empire," chapter xiii.

duced Greek civilisation and knowledge, and had varied fortunes in different parts of India for centuries after. They are said to have penetrated as far as Orissa. The Turanians of the Yu-Chi tribe next invaded India, and gave a powerful dynasty to Kashmira; and Kanishka the Yu-Chi king of Kashmira had an extensive empire in the first century A.D., which stretched from Kabul and Kashgar and Yarkand to Guzrat and Agra. He was a Buddhist, and held a great council of the Northern Buddhists in Kashmira. The Cambojians and other tribes of Kabul then poured into India, and were in their turn followed by the locust-hordes of the Huns, who spread over Western India in the fifth century A.D. India had no rest from foreign invasions for several centuries after the time of Asoka the Great; but the invaders, as they finally settled down in India, adopted the Buddhist religion, and formed a part of the people.

Buddhism gradually declined during the centuries after the Christian Era, much in the same way as the Hinduism of the Rig Veda had gradually declined in the Epic Period when the Hindus had settled down in the Gangetic valley. Buddhist monks formed a vast and unmanageable body of priesthood, owning vast acres of land attached to each monastery, and depending on the resources of the people; and Buddhist ceremonials and forms bordered more and more on Buddha-worship and idolatry. Many of these forms and ceremonials, which were dear to the common people, were adopted by the Hinduism of the day, and thus a new form of Hinduism asserted itself by the sixth century after Christ. An effete form of Buddhism lingered on for some centuries in some parts of India after this, until it was stamped out by the Mahomedan conquerors of India.

We find an uninterrupted series of Buddhist rock-cut caves, chaityas or churches, and viharas or monasteries, all over India, dating from the time of Asoka to the fifth century A.D.; but there are scarcely

any specimens of Buddhist architecture of a later date. Temple-building and Hindu architecture flourished from the sixth century A.D. to long after the Mahommedan conquest.

The most valuable portions of Buddhist literature left to us are the scriptures as finally settled in the Council of Patna by Asoka, and sent by him all over India and India. These scriptures, preserved in the Pali language beyond in Ceylon, form our best materials for the history of early Buddhism, while later forms of this literature have been found in Nepal, in Thibet, in China, in Japan, and in all Northern Buddhist countries.

We have said that Buddhism had a marked effect on Hinduism. Buddhism had questioned the sacredness of the Vedas, and modern or Puranic Hinduism, though nominally revering the Vedas, shows a complete estrangement and emancipation from those ancient works. Hindu astronomy, mathematics, laws, and philosophical speculations had sprung from the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices, and belonged to different Vedic schools. But Hindu science and learning of the post-Buddhist age have no reliance on the Vedas and do not belong to any Vedic school. Puranic Hinduism is not a religion of Vedic sacrifices, but of the worship of images and gods unknown to the Vedas.

The Code of Manu represents Hindu thought and manners of the Buddhist Epoch. It is based on the ancient Dharmasutras or social laws of the Philosophical Period; but while the Dharmasutras belong to different Vedic schools, Manu's Sanhita knows of no Vedic schools and professes to be the law for all Aryans. On the other hand Manu adheres to the Vedic sacrifices, eschews image-worship, and does not know of the Trinity of Puranic Hinduism. Thus Manu marks the transition stage from Vedic Hinduism to Puranic Hinduism.

For reasons which will appear from the foregoing remarks, we date the fourth or *Buddhist Period* from 320 B.C. to 500 A.D.

FIFTH EPOCH.

The fifth or last epoch of Hindu history is the epoch of Hindu revival, and covers five centuries from 500 A.D. to 1000 A.D., the date of the first invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni.

The period begins with great deeds in politics and literature. Foreign invaders had harassed India for centuries before, and at last a great avenger arose. Vikramaditya the Great, of Ujjayini, was the master of Northern India; he beat back the invaders known as the Sakas in the great battle of Korur, and asserted Hindu independence. Hindu genius and literature revived under his auspices, and a new form of Hinduism asserted itself.

The three centuries commencing with the time of Vikramaditya the Great (500 to 800 A.D.) may be called the Augustan era of later Sanscrit literature, and nearly all the great works which are popular in India to this day belong to this period. Kalidasa wrote his matchless dramas and poems in Vikrama's court. Amara Sinha, the lexicographer, was another of the "nine gems" of this court. And Bharavi was Kalidasa's contemporary or lived shortly after. Siladitya II., a successor of Vikramaditya, ruled from 610 to 650 A.D., and is the reputed author of Ratnavali. Dandin, the author of Dasakumara Charita, was an old man when Siladitya II. reigned, and Banabhatta, the author of Kadambari, lived in his court. Subandhu, the author of Vasavadatta, also lived at the same time; and there are reasons to believe that the Bhattikavya was composed by Bhartrihari, the author of the Satakas, in the same reign.

In the next century Yasovarman ruled between 700 and 750 A.D., and the renowned Bhavabhuti composed his powerful dramas in this reign. Bhavabhuti, however was, the last of the galaxy of the poets and literary

men of ancient India,—and no great literary genius arose in India after the eighth century.

It was in this Augustan era also that the great national epics of India, the production of many ages, received their last additions and touches, and assumed their final shape; and the voluminous Puranas, which have given their name to this period, began to be composed in their present shape.

In modern Hindu science, too, we have the brightest names in these three centuries. Aryabhatta, the founder of modern Hindu astronomy, was born in 476 A.D., and produced his work early in the sixth century. Varaha-mihira, his successor, was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court. Brahmagupta was born in 598 A.D., and was, therefore, a contemporary of Banabhatta, the novelist. Other astronomers of note also lived about the sixth century.

This brilliant period of three centuries (500 to 800 A.D.) was followed by two centuries of impenetrable darkness! The history of Northern India from 800 to 1000 A.D. is a perfect blank. No great dynasties rose to power, no literary or scientific men rose to renown, no great work of architecture or art was constructed in Northern India. History is silent over these two dead centuries!

But we have indications of what was transpiring. The two dark centuries witnessed the fall of ancient dynasties, and the crumbling down of ancient kingdoms and nationalities. They resemble the dark ages of Europe, which witnessed the fall of the Roman power, and which cleared up when Feudal power arose. In India, too, the power of ancient races and dynasties was silently swept away during the period of darkness, and when light breaks in again, we see a new race of Hindu Feudal barons as the masters of India,—the modern Rajputs! In the general dissolution of ancient power and the struggle for supremacy, the youngest and the most vigorous race came to the forefront, and about

1000 A.D., we find Rajput dynasties ruling everywhere in Northern India. They inherited the throne of Vikramaditya and his successors in Ujjayini and Kanouj; they usurped the power of the powerful Ballabhi kings of Gujrat and Western India; they ruled Bengal and the Deccan; and they tried to oppose the progress of Sabaktagin and Mahmud in the Punjab.

Different theories have been put forward as to the origin of the Rajputs. H. H. Wilson and other authorities maintain that they were descended from the Scythian invaders of India who poured in through successive centuries, who were once beaten back by Vikramaditya the Great, but who, like other invaders, settled down in the deserts of Western India, and ruled and conquered when they could. Be that as it may, the Rajputs certainly appear to have been new converts to Hindu civilisation, for there is no mention of them in older records. Like all new converts, they espoused Hinduism with exceptional zeal; they were proud to be styled Kshatriyas,—descended from the Solar and Lunar races; and wherever they conquered, Hindu temples arose. Priestly monopoly in its closest form and the unhealthiest restrictions of modern Hinduism date from this period, and were perpetuated during the seven centuries of national lifelessness under the Musalman rule.

It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance between European history and Indian history at the period which marks the close of the Ancient Age. The efforts of Vikramaditya to beat back the Sakas have a close resemblance to the efforts of the last Roman Emperors and armies to keep back the hordes of barbarians who pressed eagerly forward for conquests. For centuries the Hindus and the Romans succeeded; but the waves of invasion and conquest at last overwhelmed the ancient empires in India and in Italy, and marked the fall of ancient thrones and institutions! For centuries

after this event, Western Europe and Northern India have scarcely any history; or the history is one of violence and wars which closed the Ancient Age and ushered in the Modern Age! When, at last, the darkness clears up, we find a new feudal power in Europe, and a new feudal power in India. And the new dynasties of Europe had embraced Christianity, and exerted as zealously and enthusiastically for the mediæval priests, as the newly-converted Rajputs did for the Brahmans and the modern form of Hinduism.

But the parallel does not end here. The new masters of India had to fight as hard against the waves of Mahommedan invasion as the new masters of Europe did in France, in Spain, and in Syria. Richard the Lion-hearted was fighting at the same period as Prithu Rai of Delhi, and against the same rising power. In Europe the Christian barons saved their independence, and ultimately expelled the Musalmans even from Spain; in India the Hindu barons struggled and fell. Shahabuddin Ghori overthrew the Rajput kingdoms of Delhi and Ajmere, Kanouj and Benares, in 1193 and 1194 A.D., and the boldest of the Rajputs retreated to their desert fastnesses, where they enjoy a sort of independence to the present day, through the generous sufferance of the British Government.

We have dated the Fifth or *Puranic Period* from 500 A.D. to 1000 A.D., but from what has been stated above it will appear that the Puranic Age really ends at 800 A.D. The history of Ancient India terminates at that date, and is followed by two centuries of Dark Age.

DATES.

There are two Eras prevalent in India, *viz.*, the *Samvat Era*, running from 56 B.C., and the *Sakabda Era*, running from 78 A.D. Scholars have experienced the greatest difficulty in finding out what great events these Eras

really commemorate; and the conclusions arrived at are not yet beyond the pale of controversy.

It has been now ascertained that the Sakabda or Saka Era is the Era of the Saka king Kanishka, who conquered Kashmir and Western India in the first century after Christ, and spread Buddhism over neighbouring countries. Thus the Sakabda was originally a Buddhist Era. It was adopted in Buddhist India, and it was known and used in all Buddhist countries—in Thibet and Burma, in Ceylon and Java. It was after the Hindu revival of the sixth century that the date was adopted by Hindus, and the story was added, that the Era marked, not the reign of a Buddhist Saka king, but the defeat of the Sakas by a Hindu king. But wherever the Era is cited by ancient writers, it is cited as the Era of the Saka king;* and to the present day the Era is known in our almanacs as the Sakabda, or more fully as *Saka Narapater Atitabda*, which means the Era of the Saka king, not the Era of the destruction of the Sakas by a Hindu king.

The Samvat Era is still more perplexing. Popularly it is known as the Era of a great victory of Vikramaditya. But history knows of no Vikramaditya of Ujjayini in 56 B.C., and it is pretty certain, that Vikramaditya the Great, the patron of Kalidasa, lived in the sixth century after Christ.

It is still more curious that the Samvat Era has come into use in comparatively recent times. No instance has yet been discovered of the use of this Era in the centuries

* The exceedingly careful and observant scholar, Colebrooke, pointed out seventy years ago, that the astronomer, Varahamihira, who lived in the sixth century A.D., cited the Saka Era as the *Saka Bhupa Kala* or *Sakendra Kala*, *i.e.*, the Era of the Saka king. His commentator explains this as the Era when the barbarians called Sakas "*were discomfited by Vikramaditya.*" Again, the astronomer Brahmagupta, who flourished in the seventh century A.D., cites the Era as *Saka Nripante*, *i.e.*, after the Saka king. His commentator explains this as "*after the reign of Vikramaditya, who slew a people of barbarians called Sakas.*"—Colebrooke's Algebra, &c., from the Sanscrit, p. xliii. London, 1817.

immediately after the Christian Era. No trace of this Era is found in the inscriptions of the Buddhist Period in India, or in other Buddhist countries,—Thibet and Burma, Ceylon and Java.

There certainly seems to be some mystery about the Samvat Era, 56 B.C. It pretends to commemorate a victory of a king of whom history knows nothing; and it is an Era which does not seem to have been used in the numerous inscriptions of India for several centuries after it pretends to have been established.

Probably the true origin of the Era has been discovered by Mr. Fleet in his volume on the inscriptions of the Gupta kings. It would seem that the Era was originally an obscure Era of the Malava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramaditya, who in the sixth century after Christ raised the Malavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

We now proceed, for facility of reference, to give a table of dates for the different Epochs, premising, that the dates should be taken as only approximately correct, and that the earlier dates are supposed to be correct only within two or three centuries.

EPOCH I.—VEDIC PERIOD, B.C. 2000 to 1400.

Aryan settlement in the Indus valley Composition of the Rig Veda hymns	B.C. 2000 to 1400

EPOCH II.—EPIC PERIOD, B.C. 1400 to 1000.

Aryan settlements in the Ganges valley	B.C. 1400 to 1000
Lunar Zodiac fixed. Astronomical observations. Compilations of the Vedas.	B.C. 1400 to 1200
Flourishing Period of the Kurus and the Panchalas	B.C. 1400 to 1200
Kuru-Panchala War	B.C. 1250
Flourishing Period of the Kosalas, the Kasis, and the Videhas	B.C. 1200 to 1000
Composition of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas	B.C. 1300 to 1100
Composition of the Upanishads	B.C. 1100 to 1000

Epoch III.—Rationalistic Period, B.C. 1000 to 320.

Aryan Conquest of all India	B.C. 1000 to 320
Yaska	B.C. 9th century.
Panini	B.C. 8th century.
Sutra Schools	B.C. 800 to 400
Sulva Sutras (Geometry)	B.C. 8th century.
Kapila and Sankhya Philosophy	B.C. 7th century.
Other Schools of Philosophy	B.C. 600 to Christian Era.
Gautama Buddha	B.C. 557 to 477
Bimbisara, King of Magadha	B.C. 537 to 485
Ajatasatru ,, ,,	B.C. 485 to 453
First Buddhist Council	B.C. 477
Second Buddhist Council	B.C. 377
Nine Nandas, Kings of Magadha	B.C. 370 to 320

Epoch IV.—Buddhist Period, B.C. 320 to A.D. 500.

Chandragupta, King of Magadha	B.C. 320 to 290
Bindusara, King of Magadha	B.C. 290 to 260
Asoka, King of Magadha	B.C. 260 to 222
Third Buddhist Council	B.C. 242
The Maurya Dynasty in Magadha ends	B.C. 183
The Sunga Dynasty in Magadha	B.C. 183 to 71
The Kanva Dynasty in Magadha	B.C. 71 to 26
The Andhra Dynasty in Magadha	B.C. 26 to A.D. 430
The Gupta Emperors	A.D. 300 to A.D. 500
The Bactrian Greeks invaded India	B.C. 2nd and 1st centuries.
The Yu-Chi invaded India	A.D. 1st century.
Kanishka, the Yu-Chi King of Kashmira, founded the Saka Era	A.D. 78
The Shah Kings ruled in Saurashtra	A.D. 150 to 300
The Cambojians invaded India	A.D. 3rd and 4th centuries.
The White Huns invaded India	A.D. 5th century.

Epoch V.—Puranic Period, A.D. 500 to 1000.

Vikramaditya of Ujjayini and Northern India	A.D. 500 to 550
Kalidasa, Amarasinha, Vararuchi, &c.	A.D. 500 to 550
Bharavi, about	A.D. 550 to 600
Aryabhatta, founder of modern Hindu Astronomy	A.D. 476 to 530

Apte's Dictionary

आर्यभट्ट A.D. 476

उद्भट 718 to 813 A.D

कय्यट 13th C.

कल्हण during Contemporary of जयसिंह of Kashmere 1129 to 1150 A.D

कालिदास about 634 A.D.

क्षेमेंद्र 11th Century

जगद्धर 14th Century

जगन्नाथ पंडित ~~[illegible]~~ 1620 to 1660 A.D.

जयदेव 12th Century

दंडिन 6th Century.

पतंजलि 150 B.C.

नारायण 855-854 A.D

बाण Latter half of 6th century

बिल्हण 11th C.

भट्टि 530-545 A.D

भर्तृहरि 2nd Century in middle of [illegible]

Varahamihira	A.D. 500 to 550
Brahmagupta	A.D. 598 to 650
Siladitya II., Emperor of Northern India	A.D. 610 to 650
Dandin	A.D. 570 to 620
Banabhatta and Subandhu	A.D. 610 to 650
Bhartrihari and the Bhattikavya	
Bhavabhuti	A.D. 700 to 750
Sankaracharya	A.D. 788 to 850
The Dark Ages in Northern India	A.D. 800 to 1000

BOOK I.

VEDIC PERIOD, B.C. 2000 TO B.C. 1400.

CHAPTER I.

THE INDO-ARYANS.—THEIR LITERATURE.

THE site of the early home of the Aryans* has been a subject of endless controversies among scholars. Enthusiastic and patriotic Hindu scholars will not admit that the first home of the Aryans was anywhere outside India; while equally patriotic European scholars would place the seat of the primitive Aryans on the shores of the Baltic Sea. We need hardly say that it is not our object to enter into this discussion; and we merely repeat here the theory of many moderate thinkers that the early home of the Aryans was somewhere in Central Asia.

The main arguments on which this conclusion is based have been summed up by Professor Max Müller in a recent work, and we quote them for our readers :—

"Firstly, we have two streams of language, one tending south-east to India, and the other north-west to

* Recent anthropological researches have disclosed that the nations speaking Aryan languages are not descended from the same stock, and never belonged to the same race. At the same time it is admitted that the ancestors of these races must have derived their languages from a common source; they must have been subject to one great race which imposed its language on them, or lived in one common tract of country. When we speak of the early home of the Aryans, we mean this common country; and when we speak of Aryans, we mean races speaking Aryan languages.

Europe. The point where these two streams naturally intersect, points to Asia."

"Secondly, the earliest centres of civilised life were in Asia." And we may add that the most primitive form of all Aryan languages—the nearest approach to that language which was spoken by the primitive Aryan races—is the Vedic Sanscrit of Ancient India.

"Thirdly, we see in later times large ethnic waves, rising from Central Asia and overwhelming Europe. Such are the Huns in the fourth and the Mongols in the thirteenth century.

"Fourthly, if the migration had taken place from Europe to Asia, particularly from Scandinavia, we should naturally look in the common Aryan language for a number of words connected with maritime life." But this is not the case. While we find common names for particular animals and birds, and even common names for animals (*pasu*) and birds (*vi*) in general, we find no names for special fishes, and no general name for fish, nor even is there a common name for the sea!

Various pictures, more or less imaginary, of the civilisation of the early Aryans before they separated have been drawn by various scholars from the slender materials of the words which are found in common use among the different Aryan nations in the world. Pictet's work in two large volumes, published in Paris in 1859-63, created a wider interest than any preceding attempt of a similar nature; and this was followed by Dr. Fick's work in 1868, and Dr. Hehn's work in 1870. It is not our intention to draw such pictures here; we will only give a few facts about the life of the primitive Aryans about which there is no dispute.

The domestic economy among the early Aryans was much the same as it is among the Aryan nations of the present day. The historian of man does not find in Aryan history any traces of Hetairism (or of promiscuous relationship between the sexes), of families being reckoned

on the mother's side, or of inheritance by the female line. On the contrary, the father was the protector and the nourisher of the family, the mother looked after and fed the children, the daughter milked the cattle, and relationship by marriage was recognised. Probably the primitive Aryans had already reached a higher state of civilisation than promiscuous living would imply. The family, and not the tribe, was the unit of society ; and the father was the head of the family.

Many of the useful animals had been domesticated and brought under the service of man. The cow, the bull, the ox, the sheep, the goat, the swine, the dog, and the horse had all been domesticated. The wild bear, the wolf, the hare, and the dreaded serpent were known. Similarly among birds, the goose, the duck, the cuckoo, the raven, the quail, the crane, and the owl were well known to the early Aryans.

The various industries were still in their infancy ; but a commencement in manufactures and arts had been made. The Aryans built houses, villages, and towns, made roads, and constructed boats for communication by water or for a humble kind of trade. Weaving, spinning, and plaiting were known, and furs, skins, and woollen fabrics were made into garments. Carpentry must have made considerable progress, and dyeing was known.

It need scarcely be stated that agriculture was practised by the primitive Aryans, and it was this occupation which probably gave them their name (*Arya* = cultivator). Many words familiar to cultivators, like the plough, the waggon, the cart, the wheel, the axle, the yoke, in common use among the Aryan nations, point to the same primitive roots from which they have been derived. Corn was ground, prepared, and cooked in various ways; while the flocks of sheep and cows by which every family was surrounded afforded milk and meat. There can be little doubt that, although agriculture was largely resorted to, many patriarchs of families used also to live [illegible] from

place to place with their attendants and flocks in search of new pastures, and a fairly large portion of the early Aryans led a nomad life. Of this we have some trace even in the Rig Veda, as we shall see farther on.

War was not infrequent in those primitive times, and weapons of bone and of wood, of stone and of metals, were known. The bow and the arrow, the sword and the spear seem to have been the weapons of war.

It argues some advance in civilisation that the use of gold and of silver was undoubtedly known to the early Aryans; and with the simplicity of early races, they called gold by the name "yellow" and silver by the name "white." A third metal *(ayas)* was also known, but it is doubtful if it was iron.

It is perhaps impossible to conjecture the sort of government which obtained in those olden days. Patriarchs of tribes and leaders of men undoubtedly obtained ascendency, and the simple subjects looked up to them and called them the protectors or nourishers of men, or the shining chief *(Pati, Vispati, Raja)* in war as well as in peace. The natural feelings of civilised man distinguished between right and wrong, and custom and a vague perception of what was good for the nation had the force of law.

And lastly, the primitive religion of the Aryans was suggested by whatever was beautiful and striking in the phenomena of Nature. The sky or the bright sky was an eternal object of wonder and of worship. The sun, the dawn, the fire, and the earth, the storms and the clouds and the thunder, all received worship. But religion was still simple and archaic. Myths and legends about the gods and their relationship had not yet multiplied; elaborate rites and ceremonials had not yet been fabricated. The bold forefathers of the Aryan nations looked up with a manly veneration to whatever was wondrous and beautiful in Nature, imagined such manifestations as instinct with deity, and offered their praise and their prayers with a grateful and fervent heart.

Adventurous bands of Aryans left their primitive home from time to time in quest of food or pasture, of kingdoms or plunder. The exact order in which the different nations left has not been ascertained, and will never be ascertained. Professor Max Müller holds that the first division of the Aryan races was into two branches, *viz*, the North-Western or European, and the South-Eastern or Asiatic; and that, after they became once separated, the two branches never met again. The North-Western branch travelled towards Europe; and five distinct races occupied five different portions of Europe at periods which cannot be ascertained. The Celts settled, or were more probably driven onwards by other races to settle in the extreme west of Europe, in France, Ireland, Great Britain, and Belgium; the robust Tutons settled in northern and central Europe, from which they issued after the downfall of Rome to conquer the whole of Europe; the Slavs settled in eastern Europe, *i.e.*, in Russia and other places; and the Italic and Greek races settled in the south of Europe.

The Asiatic branch travelled southwards, and according to Max Müller, the still undivided Indo-Iranians came as far as the Indus, to the land of the five rivers, or the Punjab. Here, "within sight of the Indus and its tributaries, the undivided South-Eastern Aryans spoke a language more primitive than the Sanscrit or Zend." Religious schism then separated them; the worshippers of the Devas or the Hindus remained in the Punjab, the worshippers of the Asuras or the Iranians went away to Persia.

It is the worshippers of the Devas—the Hindu Aryans—who have composed those hymns which are known as the Rig Veda; and we will say a few words here about this ancient work. Probably there is not another work in the literature of mankind which is so deeply interesting, so unique in the lessons it imparts. The hoary antiquity

of this ancient work, the picture it affords of the earliest form of civilisation that the Aryans developed in any part of the world, and the flood of light it throws on the origin of the myths and religions of all Aryan nations,—make the Rig Veda deeply interesting.

But the work has a yet higher import, a deeper significance. To the philosophical historian of man the Rig Veda discloses the origin of religious faith and religious feelings. It explains how the mind of man in its infancy worships what is bright and glorious in nature, what is powerful and striking. Among less happy nations, religion began with the dread of diseases and of evils, as these made the most lasting impression on the mind. But among the Aryans, the brighter and pleasanter aspects of nature,—the bright sky, the blushing dawn, the rising sun; and the glowing fire,—created the deepest impression, and called forth songs of gratitude and praise and worship. This is the Rig Veda Sanhita,—this is the earliest form of Aryan religion known.

But the Rig Veda is more than this. It shows us how the mind is led from Nature up to Nature's God. For the sages of the Rig Veda do not always remain satisfied with the worship of the manifestations of Nature; they sometimes soar higher, and dare to conceive that all these phenomena—the sun, the sky, the storms, and the thunder—are but the actions of the Unknowable One.

And if such is the value of the Rig Veda to the historian of man, its value to the historian of Aryan nations is still greater. It is the oldest work in the Aryan world. It gives us a picture of the oldest civilisation which the Aryans developed in any part of the world. And as we have said before, it enlightens and clears up much that is dark and obscure in the religions and myths of Aryan nations all over the world. It would be entirely foreign to our present object to illustrate this by instances, but some instances are so well known as to merely require a mention to illustrate our views.

Zeus or Jupiter is the Vedic Dyu, or the sky; and Daphne and Athena are probably the Vedic Dahana and Ahana, the dawn. Uranus is Varuna, the sky; and probably Prometheus is the Vedic Pramantha, the fire which is produced by friction.

To the Hindus the Rig Veda is a work of still higher importance. It explains the whole fabric of the late Hindu religion; it clears all the complications of late mythology; it throws light on the history of the Hindu mind from its earliest stage of infancy. The Hindu learns from this ancient and priceless volume that Vishnu the supreme preserver, and his three steps covering the universe, mean the sun at its rise, its zenith, and its setting; that the terrible god Rudra the supreme destroyer originally meant the thunder or thunder-cloud; and that Brahma the supreme creator was originally prayer or the god of prayer.

The Rig Veda consists of 1028 hymns, comprising over ten thousand verses. The hymns are generally simple, and betray a child-like and simple faith in the gods, to whom sacrifices are offered, and libations of the Soma juice are poured, and who are asked for increase of progeny, cattle, and wealth, and implored to help the Aryans in their still doubtful struggle against the black aborigines of the Punjab.

The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten Mandalas or Books, and with the exception of the first and last books, every one of the remaining eight books contains hymns said to have been composed or rather proclaimed by one Rishi,—by which we may understand one family or line of teachers. Thus the second book is by Gritsamada; the third is by Visvamitra; the fourth is by Bamadeva; the fifth is by Atri; the sixth is by Bharadvaja; the seventh is by Vasishtha; the eighth is by Kanva; and the ninth is by Angiras. The first book contains 191 hymns, which, with scattered exceptions, are composed by fifteen Rishis; and the tenth book also

contains 191 hymns, which are mostly ascribed to fictitious authors.

The hymns of the Rig Veda were handed down from father to son, or from teacher to pupil for centuries together, and it was in a later age, in the Epic Period, that they were arranged and compiled. The whole, or greater portion of the tenth book, seems to have been the production of this later period, but was thrown in and preserved with the body of the older hymns.

The arrangement and compilation of the Rig Veda hymns in their present shape must have been completed within the Epic Period. In Aitareya Aranyaka II, 2, we have fanciful derivations given of the names of the Rishis of the Rig Veda in the order in which the Mandalas are arranged. And this is followed by an account of a Sukta or hymn, of a Rik or verse, of a half Rik, of a Pada or word, and of an Akshara or syllable. The Rig Veda Sanhita, therefore, had not only been arranged Mandala by Mandala, but had been carefully divided, subdivided, and analysed within the Epic Period.

By the close of the Epic Period, every verse, every word, every syllable of the Rig Veda had been counted. The number of verses, as computed, varies from 10,402 to 10,622, that of words is 153,826, that of syllables 432,000.

CHAPTER II.

AGRICULTURE, PASTURE, AND COMMERCE.

THE main industry of the ancient Hindus, as of the modern Hindus, was agriculture ; and as might be expected, we have frequent allusions to it in the Rig Veda. The very name Arya, by which the Aryan conquerors of India have distinguished themselves from the aborigines or Dasas, is said to come from a root which means to cultivate. Professor Max Müller believes that traces of this root are to be found in the names of many Aryan countries, from Iran or Persia, to Erin or Ireland, and argues that the word was invented in the primeval home of the Aryans, to indicate their partiality to cultivation, as distinguished from the nomadic habits of the Turanians, whose name is supposed to indicate their rapid journeys or the fleetness of their horse. Certain it is that the word Arya is the one word in the Rig Veda which distinguishes the conquerors as a class, or even as a caste, from the aborigines of the country. And there are remarkable passages also which show that the new settlers, in calling themselves Arya, had not altogether forgotten the original signification of the word. One instance will suffice :—

"O ye two Asvins ! you have displayed your glory by teaching the *Arya* to cultivate with the plough and to sow corn, and by giving him rains for the production of his food, and by destroying the *Dasyu* by your thunderbolt" (I, 117, 21).

There are two other words in the Rig Veda which

are synonymous, not with the Aryan tribe, but rather with man generally; and both of them come from roots which indicate cultivation. The words are *Charshana* (I, 3, 7, &c.) and *Krishti* (I, 4, 6, &c.), and both these words come from modifications of the same root *Krish* or *Chrish* to cultivate.

Thus the very names which the Aryan conquerors of India gave themselves are names which are believed to indicate that useful occupation which distinguishes the civilised man from the barbarian, *viz.*, cultivation of the soil.

There are numerous direct allusions in the Rig Veda to agriculture, but the most remarkable among them is a hymn which is dedicated to a supposed god of agriculture, the Lord of the Field as he is called, and which we will translate in full:—

"1. We will win (cultivate) this field with the Lord of the Field; may he nourish our cattle and our horses; may he bless us thereby.

"2. O Lord of the Field! bestow on us sweet and pure and butter-like and delicious and copious rain, even as cows give us milk. May the Lords of the water bless us.

"3. May the plants be sweet unto us; may the skies and the rains and the firmament be full of sweetness; may the Lord of the Field be gracious to us. We will follow him uninjured by enemies.

"4. Let the oxen work merrily; let the men work merrily; let the plough move on merrily. Fasten the traces merrily; ply the goad merrily.

"5. O Suna and Sira! accept this hymn. Moisten this earth with the rain you have created in the sky.

"6. O fortunate Furrow! proceed onwards, we pray unto thee; do thou bestow on us wealth and an abundant crop.

"7. May Indra accept this Furrow; may Pushan lead her onwards. May she be filled with water, and yield us corn year after year.*

* In these two remarkable verses, the furrow, Sita, is addressed as a female, and asked to yield copious harvests. In the Yajur Veda

"8. Let the ploughshares turn up the sod merrily; let the men follow the oxen merrily; may Parjanya moisten the earth with sweet rains. O Suna and Sira! bestow on us happiness" (IV, 57).

We shall seek in vain in the entire range of later Sanscrit literature for a passage in which the humble hopes and wishes of simple agriculturists are so naturally described. This is the unique charm of the Rig Veda as a literary composition. Whether it be an account of a battle with the aborigines, or a prayer to friendly Indra to come and have a cup of Soma, or a song of the simple cultivator,—the Rig Veda hymn always takes us nearer to the workings of a simple and manly heart than anything in the literature of later times.

We will translate a portion of another hymn, also relating to agriculture:—

"3. Fasten the ploughs, spread out the yokes, and sow the seed on this field which has been prepared. Let the corn grow with our hymns; let the scythes fall on the neighbouring fields where the corn is ripe.

"4. The ploughs have been fastened; the labourers have spread the yokes; the wise men are uttering prayers to gods.

"5. Prepare troughs for the drinking of the animals. Fasten the leather-string and let us take out water from this deep and goodly well which never dries up.

"6. The troughs have been prepared for the animals; the leather-string shines in the deep and goodly well which never dries up, and the water is easily got. Take out water from the well.

"7. Refresh the horses; take up the corn stacked in the field; and make a cart which will convey it easily. This well full of water for the drinking of animals, is one

also, the furrow is similarly worshipped. And when the Aryans gradually conquered the whole of India, and primeval jungles and waste lands were marked with the furrow, the furrow or Sita assumed a more definite human character, and became the heroine of the Epic which describes the Aryan conquest of Southern India.

drona in extent, and there is a stone wheel to it. And the reservoir for the drinking of men is one *skanda*. Fill it with water" (X, 101).

Irrigation and cultivation in the Punjab are only possible by means of wells, and wells are reserved also for the drinking of men and of beasts; and it is not surprising therefore that we should find references to wells in the Rig Veda. Another remarkable fact which appears from the passages translated above is, that horses were used for cultivation in those days, a custom still common in Europe, but not in India in modern times.

In X, 25, 4, and in many other places we have allusions to wells. In X, 93, 13, we are told how water was raised from wells for irrigation. The contrivance is the same as is still in vogue in Northern India; a number of pots are tied to a string, and as the pots go up and down by the movement of a wheel, they are filled in the well and pulled up and emptied and sent down again. The contrivance is called *ghatichakra*, or the circle of pots, and bears the same name to the present day.

In X, 99, 4, we have another allusion to irrigation of fields by means of canals which were replenished with water by means of a *drona*. And in X, 68, 1, we are told that cultivators who irrigated their fields kept away birds by uttering loud cries.

As stated above, the allusions to pasture are by no means so frequent as the allusions to agriculture. Pushan is the god of shepherds,—he is the sun as viewed by shepherds,—and is supposed to protect them and travellers generally in their wanderings over the country. And here and there in a hymn to Pushan, we find that the Aryans of India had brought with them recollections and songs about those migrations which they occasionally undertook in their primitive home, if not after their settlement in India. We translate one such hymn below:—

"1. O Pushan! help us to finish our journey, and

remove all dangers. O Son of the Cloud, do thou march before us !

"2. O Pushan ! do thou remove from our path him who would lead us astray, who strikes and plunders and does wrong.

"3. Do thou drive away that wily robber who intercepts journeys.

"4. Do thou trample under thy foot the vile carcass of him who plunders us in both ways (by stealth and by force) and who commits outrages.

"5. O wise Pushan, destroyer of enemies ! we implore of thee the protection with which thou didst shield and encourage our forefathers.

"6. O Pushan, possessed of all wealth, possessed of golden weapons, and chief among beings ! bestow on us thy riches.

"7. Lead us so that enemies who intercept may not harm us ; lead us by an easy and pleasant path. O Pushan ! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"8. Lead us to pleasant tracts covered with green grass ; let there be no extreme heat by the way. O Pushan ! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"9. Be powerful in thy protection ; fill us with riches ; bestow on us wealth ; make us strong and give us food ! O Pushan ! devise means (for our safety) on this journey.

"10. We do not blame Pushan ; but we extol him in our hymns. We solicit wealth from the handsome Pushan" (I, 42).

There is also another interesting hymn on the practice of taking out cattle to pasture fields, and bringing them back. A few verses are worth translating :—

"4. We call the cowherd, let him take out these cows ; let him pasture them in the fields ; let him know and pick out the animals ; let him bring them back to the house ; let him pasture them on all sides.

"5. The cowherd seeks for the cows and brings them

back to the house ; he pastures them on all sides. May he come home safe.

" 3. O cowherd ! pasture the cows in all directions, and bring them back. Pasture them in various parts of the earth, and then bring them back" (X, 19).

There are allusions in the preceding passages to robbers who infested outlying tracts of the country, probably to the cattle-lifters and thieves among the aboriginal races, who hung around the Aryan villages and clearances, and lived by intercepting peaceful industry. We shall speak of them further on.

Allusions to trade and commerce must be necessarily rare in a collection of hymns to gods ; but, nevertheless, we are here and there surprised by passages which throw a curious light on the manners of the times. Loans and usury were well understood in those days, and Rishis (who, we should always remember, were worldly men in those days, and not hermits or anchorites), occasionally lament their state of indebtedness with the simplicity of primitive times. In one remarkable verse again, we are reminded of the finality of a sale-transaction, when once the sale is completed :—

" One sells a large quantity for a small price, and then goes to the purchaser and denies the sale, and asks for a higher price. But he cannot exceed the price once fixed on the plea that he has given a large quantity. Whether the price was adequate or inadequate, the price fixed at the time of sale must hold good " (IV, 24, 9).

A passage like the above would indicate the existence of current money for the purposes of buying and selling. We have instances of Rishis acknowledging the gift of a hundred pieces of gold (V, 27, 2, &c.), and there can be no doubt, pieces of gold of a certain fixed value were used as money as indicated in these passages. At the same time it must be admitted that there is no distinct allusion to *coined* money in the Rig Veda. The word *Nishka* (I, 126, 2, &c.) is often used in the Rig

Veda in a dubious sense. In some passages it means money, in others it means a golden ornament for the neck. The two interpretations are not necessarily contradictory, for in India pieces of gold used as money have habitually been used as ornaments for the neck since times immemorial.

On the other hand, there are distinct references to voyages by sea, though of course the words used may mean rivers only, and not the sea. The shipwreck of Bhujyu, and his deliverance by the gods Asvins, is constantly alluded to (I, 116, 3, &c.), and in I, 25, 7, the god Varuna is said to know the paths of the birds through the sky, and the paths of the ships over the sea. In IV, 55, 6, the poet refers to the "people who desiring to acquire wealth pray to the sea before undertaking a voyage"; while in VII, 88, 3, Vasishtha says:—

"When Varuna and I went on a boat and took her out to sea, I lived in the boat floating on the water and was happy in it, rocking gracefully (on the waves)."

While there are these and other distinct allusions to voyage, there is absolutely no prohibition against it in the Rig Veda.

CHAPTER III.

FOOD, CLOTHING, AND THE ARTS OF PEACE.

BARLEY and wheat seem to have been the principal produce of the field, and the principal articles of food. The names of grain found in the Rig Veda are somewhat misleading, as they have come to bear a different signification in modern days from what they had in the ancient times. Thus the word *Yava*, which in modern Sanscrit implies barley only, was used in the Veda to imply food-grains generally, including wheat and barley. And the word *Dhana*, which, in Bengal at least, means paddy or rice, implies in the Rig Veda fried barley, which was used as food and offered to the gods. There is no allusion to *vriki* (rice) in the Rig Veda.

We also find mention of various kinds of cakes prepared from these grains and used as food and offered to the gods. *Pakti* (from *pach*, to cook, or to prepare) means prepared cakes, and various other terms like *Purodasa* and *Apupa* and *Karambha*, are also used (III, 52, 1 and 2 ; IV, 24, 7, &c.)

It may be easily imagined that animal food was largely used by the early Hindus of the Punjab. We have frequent allusions to the sacrifice and to the cooking of cows, buffaloes, and bulls (I, 61, 12 ; II, 7, 5 ; V, 29, 7 and 8 ; VI, 17, 11 ; VI, 16, 47 ; VI, 28, 4 ; X, 27, 2 ; X, 28, 3, &c.).

In X, 89, 14, there is mention of a slaughter-house where cows were killed, and in X, 91, 14, there is an allusion to the sacrifice of horses, bulls, and rams. The

allusions to the sacrifice of the horse are extremely rare, showing that, although the custom was introduced into India by the early Aryans from their primitive home, the flesh of horse as an article of food soon fell into disuse. In later times the sacrifice of the horse or the *Asvamedha* was performed on rare occasions with great pomp and circumstance by powerful kings, after they had subdued their neighbours and assumed a title answering to the Imperial title in Europe. There can be no doubt this great imperial rite rose out of the simple sacrifice of the horse practised in primitive times when the horse was still an article of food. The pomp and ceremony, as well as certain revolting rites connected with the horse-sacrifice of later days, were unknown in Vedic times.

A fairly complete account of the sacrifice of the horse, such as it prevailed in the Vedic times, is to be found in hymn 162 of the first Mandala of the Rig Veda. The body of the horse was marked with a cane and was then dissected along the lines marked, and the ribs and the different limbs were separated. The meat was roasted and boiled, while the soul of the horse was supposed to go to the gods.

Who could have believed that this simple horse-sacrifice of the Rig Veda, the carving and the roasting and the boiling of the horse for worship and for the purposes of food, would have developed into the imperial ceremony of *Asvamedha* in later times? But many a practice which we see in its simple and natural aspect in the Veda has developed into pompous ceremonials in later days; and many a simple Vedic allegory relating to the striking phenomena of Nature has also developed into elaborate Puranic legends. Herein constitutes the true value of the Veda; we trace in it Hindu rites and ceremonials and the Hindu religion itself to their simple natural beginnings.

The fermented juice of the plant called *Soma* appears

to have been the only intoxicating drink used in the Vedic times. So much were the ancient Aryans addicted to this drink that Soma was soon worshipped as a deity both in India and in Iran (under the name *Haoma* in the latter country), and we find one entire Mandala or Book of the Rig Veda dedicated to this deity. The Indo-Aryans appear to have been more addicted to fermented and intoxicating Soma than their peaceful brethren of Iran; and many are the allusions in the Zendavesta to the hated customs of their Indian brethren. Some antiquarians think that this was one great reason of those dissensions which broke out among the southern Aryans, and which led to the final separation of the Iranians from the Hindus.

The process by which the Soma-juice was prepared has been fully described in IX, 66, and in other hymns. We will translate a few verses from this hymn :—

"7. O Soma ! you have been crushed ; you flow as a stream to Indra, scattering joy on all sides ; you bestow immortal food.

"8. Seven women stir thee with their fingers, blending their voices in a song to thee ; you remind the sacrificer of his duties at the sacrifice.

"9. You mix with water with a pleasing sound ; and the fingers stir you over a woollen strainer, and filter you. Your particles are thrown up then, and a sound arises from the woollen strainer.

"11. The woollen strainer is placed on a vessel, and the fingers repeatedly stir the Soma, which sends down a sweet stream into the vessel.

"13. O Soma ! you are then mixed with milk. Water runs towards thee with a pleasing sound."

From this description it would appear that the juice of Soma used to be taken—much as *Siddhi* is taken in our times—mixed with milk. The poets of the Rig Veda go into ecstasy over the virtues and the exhilarating powers of the Soma ; and some of their descriptions have

developed into strange Puranic legends in subsequent times. One or two verses will illustrate this :—

"O Soma ! there is nothing so bright as thou. When poured out, thou welcomest all the gods to bestow on them immortality" (IX, 108, 3).

"The praiseworthy Soma has from ancient times been the drink of the gods ; he was milked from the hidden recesses of the sky ; he was created for Indra and was extolled" (IX, 110, 8).

"In that realm where there is perennial light, and where the Heaven is placed, O Soma, lead me to that deathless and immortal realm ! Flow thou for Indra" (IX, 113, 7).

Such passages as these are to be found throughout the ninth book of the Rig Veda. Who could have guessed that the strange Puranic legends of the churning of the ocean and the discovery of the *Amrita* or immortal drink would have arisen from these simple Vedic descriptions of Soma ! The sky in the Veda is considered watery, and is often confused with the sea, and the milking of Soma from the sky is translated in the Puranas into the churning of the ocean for the *Amrita* !

It would appear from many passages in the Rig Veda that many arts were carried to a high state of excellence. Weaving was well known of course, and deft female fingers wove the warp and the woof in ancient times as in modern days (II, 3, 6 ; II, 38, 4, &c.). In one curious passage (VI, 9, 2), the Rishi laments his ignorance of the mysteries of religious rites by saying : "I know not the warp and I know not the woof" of religious rites ; and in another place (X, 26, 6), the weaving and bleaching of sheep's wool are attributed to the god Pushan, who, as we have already seen, is the god of shepherds.

Every Aryan village had probably its barber then as now ; and the clearances of forests by fire are in one passage somewhat mysteriously described as the *shaving*

of the earth (I, 164, 44). Carpentry was also well known, and we have frequent allusions to the construction of carts and chariots (III, 53, 19; IV, 2, 14; IV, 16, 20, &c.) The use of iron, of gold, and of other metals was well known; in V, 9, 5, we have a reference to the work of an ironsmith, and in VI, 3, 4, we are told of goldsmiths melting gold.

But we get a better idea of working in metals in the Vedic times from the description of various gold ornaments and iron utensils and implements of war which is to be found throughout the Rig Veda. The allusions are numerous, and we can therefore only make a selection here which will convey a fair idea of the manufactures of those days. We are told of armours used in war in I, 140, 10; in II, 39, 4; in IV, 53, 2; and in various other places. In II, 34, 3, we have reference to golden helmets, and in IV, 34, 9, there is mention of armour for the shoulders or arms, probably a shield. The lightning has been compared to a javelin (*rishti*) in V, 52, 6, and in V. 54, 11; and also to a sword or battle-axe (*bashi*), and to bows and arrows and quivers in V, 57, 2. Three thousand mailed warriors are spoken of in VI, 27, 6; feathered, sharp-pointed, shining shafts are described in VI, 46, 11; and sharp-edged swords are spoken of in VI, 47, 10. And in verses 26 and 29 of the same hymn we are told of war-chariots and kettle-drums. And lastly, in the 75th hymn of the sixth Mandala, we have a spirited account of the arms and accoutrements of war which we will translate for our readers further on.

In IV, 2, 8, we have a reference to horses with golden caparisons, and in IV, 37, 4, V, 19, 3, and many other places we have allusions to the *Nishka*, a golden ornament worn in the neck. In V, 53, 4, the lighting ornaments of the Maruts are compared with jewelry (*Anji*), with necklaces (*Srak*), with golden breastplates (*Rukma*), and with bracelets and anklets (*Khadi*). In V, 54, 11, we are again told of anklets for the feet, and golden

breastplates for the breast, and of golden crowns (*Siprah hiranmayih*) for the head.

Thus it will be seen that a very considerable advance was made in the manufacture of arms, weapons, and various kinds of ornaments. We have references also to skin vessels (VI, 48, 18), and iron vessels (V, 30, 15), and in several places to iron towns, which must be taken in a figurative sense as signifying strong forts (VII, 3, 7; VII, 15, 14; VII, 95, 1, &c.) We have also references to a hundred stone-built towns in IV, 30, 20, and other places.

There can be no doubt that in the various rocky and mountainous tracts where the early Hindus established their colonies, they soon learnt to utilise stone as a durable and cheap material for architecture; and there can be no difficulty in believing that in numerous Hindu towns many structures and surrounding walls were of stone. That the art of building was carried to some degree of excellence appears from many allusions to mansions with thousand pillars (II, 41, 5; V, 62, 6, &c.); but at the same time it must be admitted that there is no distinct allusion in the Rig Veda to the art of sculpture properly so-called. The researches of antiquarians have failed to discover in any part of India traces of sculptured stone of a time long previous to the Buddhist era; and in the numerous great museums of Europe, which are filled with the ancient stone monuments of Egypt and Babylon, India is not represented by any such monuments dating much before the Buddhist Period.

Most of the animals domesticated at the present day were domesticated in India in the remote period of the Rig Veda. We have spirited accounts of the war-horse in several places (VI, 46, 13 and 14, &c.)

Indeed, these war-horses were so highly prized by the early Aryans in their battles against the aborigines, that the horse, under the name of *Dadhikra*, soon became an

object of worship; and in IV, 38, we have a spirited account of the respect paid to this god-like being.

In IV, 4, 1, we have a reference to a king riding with his ministers on an elephant. Among other domesticated animals, we have frequent mention of cows, goats, sheep, buffaloes, and dogs, which last were used in carrying burdens.

CHAPTER IV.

WARS AND DISSENSIONS.

As has been stated before, the early Hindus wrested the fertile tracts on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries from the primitive races of the Punjab; but the aborigines did not give up their birthright without a struggle. Retreating before the more civilised organisation and valour of the Hindus in the open field, they still hung round in fastnesses and forests near every Hindu settlement and village, harassed them in their communications, waylaid and robbed them at every opportunity, stole their cattle, and often attacked them in considerable force. Well might they exclaim with the Gaels of Scotland, who had been similarly dispossessed of their fertile soil by the conquering Saxons, and had similarly retreated to barren fastnesses:—

"These fertile plains, that softened vale,
Were once the birthright of the Gael;
The stranger came with iron hand,
And from our fathers reft the land.
Where dwell we now? See rudely swell
Crag over crag, and fell o'er fell.

. . . .

Pent in this fortress of the North,
Think'st thou we will not sally forth,
To spoil the spoiler as we may,
And from the robber rend the prey?
Ay, by my soul! While on yon plain
The Saxon rears one shock of grain,
While, of ten thousand herds, there strays
But one along yon river's maze,—
The Gael, of plain and river heir,
Shall, with strong hand, redeem his share!"

Unfortunately, however, they had no poet to hand down to us their view of the case, and the only account we have of this long war of centuries is from the conquering Hindus. It is needless to say that the conquerors viewed the aborigines with the contempt and hatred which have marked the conduct of all conquering nations, whether on the banks of the Indus seventeen hundred years before Christ, or on the banks of the Mississippi seventeen hundred years after Christ! History repeats itself; and the Punjab was cleared of its non-Aryan aborigines just as the United States of America have, in modern times, been cleared of the many powerful and brave Indian races who lived and hunted and ruled within its primeval forests.

Of these wars with the aborigines we have frequent allusions in the Rig Veda; and a translation of some of these passages will give a better idea of those interminable hostilities than any account that we can give of them. The allusions are so numerous that our only difficulty is in making a selection.

"Indra, who is invoked by many, and is accompanied by his fleet companions, has destroyed by his thunderbolt the *Dasyus* and *Simyus* who dwelt on earth, and then he distributed the fields to his white-complexioned friends (Aryans). The thunderer makes the sun shine and the rain to fall" (I, 100, 18). "Indra with his weapon, the thunderbolt, and in his vigour, destroyed the towns of the *Dasyus*, and wandered at his will. O holder of the thunderbolt! be thou cognisant of our hymns, and cast thy weapon against the *Dasyu*, and increase the vigour and the fame of the *Arya*" (I, 103, 3).

In the very next hymn, we come across a curious allusion to aboriginal robbers who dwelt on the banks of four small streams called the Sifa, the Anjasi, the Kulisi, and the Virapatni, whose courses cannot now be determined. These robbers issued from their fastnesses and harassed the civilised Aryan villages, much in the same way as

a true descendant of those aborigines, the Bhil Tantia in our own times, harassed the peaceful villages of Central India! We translate the two verses below :—

"Kuyava gets scent of the wealth of others and appropriates it. He lives in water and pollutes it. His two wives bathe in the stream ; may they be drowned in the depths of the Sifa river !

"Ayu lives in water in a secret fastness. He flourishes amidst the rise of waters. The rivers Anjasi, Kulisi, and Virapatni protect him with their waters" (I, 104, 3 and 4).

We proceed with some more extracts :—

"Indra protects his *Arya* worshipper in wars. He who protects him on countless occasions, protects him in all wars. He subdues the people who do not perform sacrifices for the benefit of men (Aryans). He flays the enemy of his black skin and kills him and reduces him to ashes. He burns down all who do injury, and all who are cruel" (I, 130, 8).

"O destroyer of foes! collect together the heads of these marauding troops, and crush them with thy wide foot ! Thy foot is wide !

"O Indra ! destroy the power of these marauding troops ! Throw them into the vile pit—the vast and vile pit !

"O Indra ! thou hast destroyed three times fifty such troops ! People extol this thy deed ; but it is nothing compared to thy prowess !

"O Indra ! destroy the Pishachis, who are reddish in appearance and utter fearful yells. Destroy all these Rakshasas"*(I, 133, 2–5).

"O Indra ! the poet prays to thee for pleasant food. Thou hast made the earth the bed (burial-ground) of the *Dasas*. Indra has beautified the three regions with his gifts ; he has slayed *Kuyavacha* for King *Daryoni*.

"O Indra ! Rishis still extol that ancient deed of

* Pishachis and Rakshasas may mean imaginary demons. We would rather think, however, that they here refer to the aborigines.

prowess! Thou hast destroyed many marauders to put an end to war; thou hast stormed the towns of enemies who worship no gods; and thou hast bent the weapons of foes who worship no gods" (I, 174, 7 and 8).

"O Asvins! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs, and are coming to destroy us! Slay those who wish to fight with us! You know the way to destroy them. Let each word of those who extol you bring wealth in return. O you truthful ones! accept our prayers" (I, 182, 4).

"The far-famed and graceful Indra is gracious to men (Aryans)! The destroying and powerful Indra has cast down the head of the malignant *Dasa!*

"Indra, who slayed Vritra and stormed towns, has destroyed the troops of the black *Dasas*, and has made the earth and the water for Manu.* May he fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer" (II, 20, 6 and 7).

We know how the Spaniards, the conquerors of America, owed their successes to a very great extent to their horses, animals previously unknown to the American aborigines, and therefore regarded with a strange terror. It would seem that the war-horses of the early Indo-Aryans inspired the aborigines of India with a similar fear. The following passages, translated from a hymn to *Dadhikra*, or the defied war-horse, will therefore be regarded with interest:—

"As people shout and raise a cry after a thief who has purloined a garment, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra! As birds make a noise at the sight of the hungry hawk on its descent, even so the enemies yell and shout at the sight of Dadhikra careering in quest of plunder of food and cattle!

"Enemies fear Dadhikra, who is radiant and destroying as a thunderbolt. When he beats back a thousand

* Here, as elsewhere, Manu is spoken of as the ancestor of the Aryan man. In many places he is spoken of as the originator of cultivation and of the worship of fire which distinguished the Aryans.

men around him, he becomes excited and uncontrollable in his strength" (IV, 38, 5 and 8).

It would seem from numerous passages in the Rig Veda that Kutsa was a powerful warrior and a mighty destroyer of the black aborigines. We are told in hymn 16 of the fourth Mandala, that Indra slew the "*Dasyu*, who is wily and impious," to bestow wealth on Kutsa (verse 9); that he helped Kutsa and came to his house with the common object of slaying the *Dasyu* (verse 10); and that he slew fifty thousand "black-complexioned enemies" in battle (verse 13). In IV, 28, 4, we are told that Indra has made the *Dasyus* devoid of all virtues, and the object of hatred of all men; and in IV, 30, 15, we learn that Indra destroyed five hundred and a thousand *Dasas*.

We have similar allusions to the subjugation and destruction of *Dasyus* or *Dasas* in V, 70, 3; VI, 18, 3; and VI, 25, 2; while there is a curious reference to an unknown region inhabited by the *Dasyus* in VI, 47, 20, which deserves translation :—

"O ye gods! We have travelled and lost our way, and come to a region where cattle do not pasture. The extensive region gives shelter to *Dasyus* only. O Brihaspati! lead us in our search for cattle. O Indra! show the way to your worshippers who have lost their way."

It will be seen that the Aryan poets are sufficiently uncomplimentary in speaking of the shouts and yells of the aboriginal barbarians. The civilised conquerors could scarcely imagine that these yells could form a language, and have therefore in some places described the barbarians as without a language (V, 29, 10, &c.)

We have spoken before of Kuyava and Ayu, two aboriginal robbers who dwelt in fastnesses surrounded by rivers, and harassed the Aryan villages. We have frequent allusions to another powerful aboriginal leader who is called Krishna, probably because of his black

complexion. One of the passages relating to him deserves translation :—

"The fleet Krishna lived on the banks of the Ausumati river with ten thousand troops. Indra of his own wisdom became cognisant of this loud-yelling chief. He destroyed the marauding host for the benefit of men (Aryans).

"Indra said : 'I have seen the fleet Krishna. He is lurking in the hidden region near the Ausumati, like the sun in a cloud. O Maruts! I desire you to engage in fight, and to destroy him.'

"The fleet Krishna then appeared shining on the banks of the Ausumati. Indra took Brihaspati as his ally, and destroyed the fleet and godless army" (VIII, 96, 13—15).

Not only have the aborigines been described as fond of yelling and devoid of a language, but they are in other places considered as scarcely human. We are told in one place :

"We are surrounded on all sides by *Dasyu* tribes. They do not perform sacrifices ; they do not believe in anything ; their rites are different ; they are not men ! O destroyer of foes ! kill them. Destroy the *Dasa* race !" (X, 22, 8).

In X, 49, Indra proclaims that he has deprived the *Dasyu* race of the name of *Arya* (verse 3) ; that he has destroyed Navavastva and Brihadratha of the *Dasa* race (verse 6) ; that he cuts the *Dasas* in twain,—"it is for this fate that they have been born !" (verse 7).

Such were the aborigines with whom the early Hindus carried on an interminable war, and such was the fate to which they consigned their less civilised neighbours, the primeval owners of the Indian soil ! It is abundantly evident that no love was lost between the conquerors and the conquered. It was by ceaseless fighting that the conquerors protected themselves in their newly-conquered country, gradually extended the limits of cultivation, built new villages, threw out new colonies in primeval jungles,

and spread the light of civilisation and the fame of their prowess around. They hated the despised barbarians with a genuine hatred, killed numbers of them when they could, thinned their ranks with their horses, called them yelling hounds and men without a tongue and brutes below the rank of men, and almost believed they were born to be slain,—"it is for this fate that they have been born!" On the other hand, the stubborn barbarians had their revenge too. Retreating before the more civilised valour of the Hindus, they hung about in every fastness and every bend of a river, they waylaid and robbed travellers, harassed villages, killed or stole cattle, and sometimes fell on the Hindus in great numbers. With that dogged tenacity which is peculiar to barbarians they disputed every inch of ground as they retreated, they interrupted the religious rites of the conquerors, despised their gods, and plundered their wealth. But in spite of every resistance the colonies of the more civilised races extended in every direction, the area of civilisation widened, jungles and wastes were brought under cultivation and dotted with villages and royal towns, and the kingdom of the early Hindus extended over the whole of the Punjab. The barbarians were either exterminated, or retreated before the ever-advancing line of Aryan civilisation into those hills and fastnesses which their children still inhabit.

It may be imagined, however, that some among the weaker barbarians preferred abject subjection to extermination or exile. We find traces accordingly in the Rig Veda of *Dasyus* who at last owned the domination of the more powerful race, and who adopted their civilisation and their language. These, then, where the first *Hinduised aborigines* of India.

Our extracts on the subject of the wars of the Aryans with the aborigines have been numerous. We will now quote one or two passages to show that the Aryan conquerors were not always at peace among themselves! Sudas was

an Aryan king and conqueror, and we are frequently told that various Aryan tribes and kings combined against him, and he was victorious over them all. The allusions to these internecine wars among Aryan races, and to the particular tribes who fought against Sudas, are historically among the most important passages in the Rig Veda.

"8. The wily foes planned destruction, and broke down the embankment of the Adina (to cause an inundation). But Sudas filled the earth with his prowess, and Kavi, the son of Chayamana, fell like a victim.

"9. For the waters of the river flowed through their old channel and did not take a new course; and Sudas' horse marched over the country. Indra placed the hostile and talkative men and their children under Sudas.

"11. Sudas earned glory by killing twenty-one men of both regions. As the young priest cuts the kusa grass in the house of sacrifice, even so Sudas cut his enemies. The hero Indra sent the Maruts for his succour.

"14. The sixty-six thousand six-hundred and sixty-six warriors of Anu and Druhya, who had desired for cattle, and were hostile to Sudas, were laid low. These deeds proclaim the glory of Indra!

"17. It was Indra who enabled the poor Sudas to achieve these deeds. Indra enabled the goat to kill the strong lion. Indra felled the sacrificial post with a needle. He bestowed all the wealth on Sudas" (VII, 18).

The poet Tritsu or Vasishtha, who sang these deeds of Sudas' glory, was not unrewarded for his immortal verse. For in verses 22 and 23, he acknowledges with gratitude that the valiant Sudas rewarded him with two hundred cows and two chariots and four horses with gold trappings! We quote below another hymn relating to Sudas.

"1. O Indra and Varuna! Your worshippers, relying on your help and seeking to win cattle, have marched eastwards with their weapons. Crush, Indra and Varuna, your enemies, whether *Dasas* or *Aryas*, and defend Sudas with your protection.

"2. Where men raise their banners and meet in battle, where nothing seems to favour us, where the men look up to the sky and tremble, then, O Indra and Varuna! help us and speak to us words of comfort.

"3. O Indra and Varuna! the ends of the earth seem to be lost, and the noise ascends to the skies! The troops of the enemy are approaching. O Indra and Varuna! who ever listen to prayers, come near us with your protection.

"4. O Indra and Varuna! you pierced the yet unassailed Bheda, and saved Sudas. You listened to the prayers of the Tritsus. Their priestly vocation bore fruit in the hour of battle.

"5. O Indra and Varuna! the weapons of the enemy assail me in all directions, the foes assail me among marauding men. You are the owners of both kinds of wealth! Save us in the day of battle.

"6. Both parties invoked Indra and Varuna for wealth at the time of war. But in this battle you protected Sudas with the Tritsus who were attacked by ten kings.

"7. O Indra and Varuna! the ten kings who did not perform sacrifices were unable, though combined, to beat Sudas."

"8. You bestowed vigour, Indra and Varuna, to Sudas, when surrounded by ten chiefs; when the white-robed Tritsus, wearing braided hair, worshipped you with oblations and hymns" (VII, 83).

Another remarkable hymn gives an account of the weapons used in war in those days. We make some extracts:—

"1. When the battle is nigh, and the warrior marches in his armour, he appears like the cloud! Warrior, let not thy person be pierced; be victorious; let thy armour protect you!

"2. We will win cattle with the bow, we will win with the bow; we will conquer the fierce and proud enemy with the bow! May the bow foil the desires of

the enemy! We will spread our conquests on all sides with the bow!

"3. The string of the bow when pulled approaches the ear of the archer, making way in battle. It whispers words of consolation to him, and with sound it clasps the arrow, even as a loving wife clasps her husband.

"5. The quiver is like the parent of many arrows; the many arrows are like its children. It makes a sound, and hangs on the back of the warrior, and furnishes arrows in battle, and conquers the enemy.

"6. The expert charioteer stands on his chariot and drives his horses wheresoever he will. The reins restrain the horses from behind. Sing of their glory!

"7. The horses raise the dust with their hoofs, and career over the field with the chariots, with loud neighings. They do not retreat, but trample the marauding enemies under their feet.

"11. The arrow is feathered; the deer (horn) is its teeth. Well pulled and sent by the cow-leather-string, it falls on the enemy. Wherever men stand together or are separate, there the shafts reap advantage.

"14. The leather guard protects the arm from the abrasion of the bow-string, and coils round the arm like a snake in its convolutions. It knows its work, and is efficient, and protects the warrior in every way.

"15. We extol the arrow which is poisoned, whose face is of iron;* whose stem is of Parjanya" (VI, 75).

Before concluding our extracts, we will make one more from a hymn about the coronation of victorious kings.

"1. O king! I place you in the station of a king. Be the lord of this country! Be immovable and fixed! Let all the subjects cherish thee! Let not your kingdom be destroyed!

* This passage shows that the arrow-heads were of iron. Parjanya is the god of rains. Stems of Parjanya probably mean stems of reed growing in the rains. Verse 11 shows that arrow-heads were sometimes of deer-horn.

"2. Remain here fixed as the mountain ; do not be dethroned ! Remain fixed like Indra, and support the kingdom !

"3. Indra has received the sacrificial offerings, and supports the newly-coronated king ! Soma blesses him.

"4. The sky is fixed, the earth is fixed, the mountains are fixed, this universe is fixed. He also is fixed as king among his subjects !

"5. May King Varuna make you immovable ! May the good Brihaspati make you immovable ; may Indra and Agni support you and make you immovable.

"6. See, I mix these immortal offerings with the immortal Soma-juice. Indra has brought your subjects under your rule, and made them willing to pay you revenue !" (X, 173).

These extracts are enough. We have elsewhere shown that the warriors used not only armour and helmets, but also protecting armour for the shoulder, probably shields. They used javelins and battle-axes, and sharp-edged swords, beside bows and arrows. All the weapons of war known elsewhere in ancient times were known in India four thousand years ago. Drums assembled men in battle, banners led them on in compact masses, and the use of war-horses and chariots was well known. Tame elephants were in use too, and we have allusions to kings riding on richly-caparisoned elephants with their ministers (IV, 4, 1). But it does not appear that elephants were regularly used in war in the Vedic Period, as they were in the third and fourth centuries before Christ when the Greeks came to India.

For the rest, it was a turbulent time when the Vedic warriors lived and fought. They had not only to wage an interminable war against the aborigines, but the Hindu States were divided among themselves, and a powerful leader was often bent on annexing his neighbour's state. Rishis engaged in sacrifices asked for prowess to conquer the foes, or prayed to the gods for sons

who would win victory in battles. Every able-bodied man was a warrior, and was ever prepared to defend his home and his fields and his cattle with his strong right arm. Every Hindu colony or tribe, while attentive to the worship of the gods and to the cultivation of the various arts of peace, was at the same time alive to the fact that its national existence depended on a constant preparedness for war. And the great conglomeration of Hindu tribes, which spread from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Sarasvati, consisted of hardy, brave, and warlike peoples, who maintained their footing in the land, and their independence and national existence by constant struggles, and a determination to win or die.

It is sad to contemplate this state of things. But where is the country in which, in ancient times, tribes and nations had not to maintain a ceaseless war for their aggrandisement, or even for their very existence? And even in modern times, during the two thousand years which have elapsed since Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ preached their messages of peace, where shall we seek for the tribe or nation which could hope to reap the results of its peaceful industry without a constant struggle against its neighbours? With the exception of a few countries advantageously situated, all the nations of Europe are armed to the teeth; all the individuals, by millions, of great kingdoms and empires, are eternally prepared for war, ready on a week's notice to leave their homes and occupations and march to the frontier! Civilisation has done much for the cause of humanity; but civilisation has not converted the sword into the scythe, or enabled man to reap the results of his peaceful industry without a struggle to the death against his neighbour.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL LIFE.

It was by such continuous wars against the aborigines of the soil that the Aryans at last conquered the whole of the Punjab from the Indus to the Sarasvati, and from the mountains probably to the sea.

As might be expected, we have frequent allusions to the Indus and its five tributaries. Hymn 75 of the tenth Mandala is a remarkable instance, and we will give our readers a translation of the entire hymn :—

"1. O ye streams ! The bard celebrates your excellent prowess in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

"2. O Indus ! when you ran towards lands rich in food, Varuna opened out the way for you. You flow over a spacious path on the land. You shine above all flowing rivers.

"3. The mighty sound of the Indus ascends above the earth to the sky ! She flows with mighty force and in radiant form. Her mighty sound is heard as if rains are descending from the clouds with great noise. The Indus comes roaring like a bull.

"4. As cows bring milk to their calves, even thus, O Indus, the other streams come sounding to you with their waters ! As a king marches with his forces to battle, even thus you march in front with two systems of rivers flowing by your side !*

* *i.e.*, the tributaries coming from Cabul in the west, and the tributaries flowing through the Punjab in the east, as named in the two following verses.

"5. O Ganga ! O Yamuna and Sarasvati and Sutudri (Sutlej) and Parushni (Ravi) ! share this my praise among you ! O river combined with Asikni (Chinab) ! O Vitasta (Jhilam) ! O Arjikiya (Beas), combined with Sushoma (Indus) ! hear my words.

"6. O Indus ! first thou flowest united with Trishtama, then with Susartu and Rasa and the Sveti. You unite Krumu (Kurum river) and Gomati (Gomal river) with Kubha (Cabul river) and Mehatnu. You proceed together with these rivers.

"7. The irresistible Indus proceeds straight, white and dazzling in splendour ! She is great, and her waters fill all sides with mighty force. Of all the flowing rivers, none is flowing like her ! She is wild like a mare, beautiful like a well-developed woman !

"8. The Indus is ever young and beautiful. She is rich in horses, in chariots, and in garments ; she is rich in gold and is beauteously clad ! She is rich in corn and in wool and in straw, and has covered herself with sweet flowers.

"9. The Indus has fastened horses to her easy chariot, and has brought food therein to us. The greatness of the chariot is extolled as mighty ; it is irresistible and great and rich in its fame !"

The hymn is remarkable for its power and its beauty, and remarkable also for the extensive vision of the poet who, as Professor Max Müller says, takes in at one swoop three great river-systems, those flowing from the north-west into the Indus, those joining it from the north-east, and in the distance the Ganges and the Jumna with their tributaries. "It shows the widest geographical horizon of the Vedic poets, confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and Ganges in the east. Beyond that the world, though open, was unknown to the Vedic poets."

The rivers of the Punjab are sometimes spoken of together as the "seven rivers," and it is explained in one place (VII, 36, 6), that the seven rivers have the Indus for their mother and the Sarasvati as the seventh. The Indus and its five branches still water the primeval home of the early Hindus, but the Sarasvati, which was the most sacred of ancient rivers and was worshipped even in that remote time as a goddess, has since ceased to flow. Its bed is still visible near Kurukshetra and Thanesvar, and these places are still considered sacred by the Hindus.

There is one somewhat curious passage in which the Rishi Visvamitra, encumbered with the chariots and horses and other rewards bestowed on him by King Sudas, finds a difficulty in crossing the confluence of the Beas and the Sutlej, and pours out an entire hymn (III, 33) to appease the anger of the roaring flood ! We have seen that this Sudas was a mighty conqueror and subjugated ten surrounding kings, and was the victor of great battles which form the theme of some spirited hymns. This mighty conqueror seems also to have been a patron of learning and religion, and liberally rewarded the sages of the houses of Visvamitra and Vasishtha alike. As a consequence, there was jealousy between these two priestly houses to which we will allude further on.

While references to the rivers of the Punjab are thus frequent, allusions to the Ganges and the Jumna are rare. We have already translated a hymn in which both those rivers are named.

The only other passage in the Rig Veda where the Ganges is alluded to, is VI, 45, 31, where the high banks of the Ganges are the subject of a simile. The famed cattle in the pasture-fields along the banks of the Jumna are alluded to in V, 52, 17.

Thus the land of the five rivers was the earliest home of the Aryan settlers in India ; and it would seem that the settlers along the five rivers gradually formed themselves into five tribes or nations. The "five lands"

(Pancha-Kshiti) are alluded to in I, 7, 9; I, 176, 3; VI, 49, 7, and in other places. Similarly we read of the "five cultivating tribes" *(Pancha-Krishti)* in II, 2, 10; IV, 38, 10; and other places, and we read of "five peoples" *(Pancha-Jana)* in VI, 11, 4; VI, 51, 11; VIII, 32, 22; IX, 65, 23, and other places.

It was these "five tribes" of simple, bold, and enterprising Aryans, living by agriculture and by pasture on the fertile banks of the Indus and its tributaries, which have spread their civilisation from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin.

We now turn to the interesting and pleasing subject of the social and domestic manners and the home-life of these five tribes of the Punjab. The first thing that strikes us here is the absence of those unhealthy rules and restrictions, those marked distinctions between man and man and between class and class, which form the most unpleasant feature of later Hindu society. We have already seen that the sturdy Hindus of the Vedic times recognised no restrictions against the use of beef, and that they refer with pride to their merchants going to the sea. We have seen too, that the Rishis did not form a separate and exclusive class, and did not pass their lives away from the world in penance and contemplation. On the contrary, the Rishis were practical men of the world who owned large herds of cattle, cultivated fields, fought against the aboriginal enemies in times of war, and prayed to their gods for wealth and cattle, for victory in wars, and for blessings on their wives and children. Every father of a family was in fact a Rishi on a small scale, and worshipped his gods in his own house in his own humble fashion, and the women of the family joined in the worship, and helped in the performance of the ceremonies. Some among the community were of course prominent in the composition of hymns and the performance of great sacrifices; and kings and rich men sent for them on great occasions, and rewarded them handsomely. But even these great

composers—these great Rishis of the Rig Veda—did not form an exclusive caste of their own. They were worldly men, mixed and married with the people, shared property with the people, fought the wars of the people, and were of the people,

One martial Rishi for instance (in V, 23, 2) prays for a son who will conquer enemies in war. Another (in VI, 20, 1) prays for wealth and corn-fields and a son who will destroy his foes. Another (in IX, 69, 8) prays for wealth and gold, for horses and cows, for profuse harvests, and excellent progeny. Another Rishi, with naïve simplicity, says that his cattle are his wealth and his Indra! (VI, 28, 5.) Throughout the Rig Veda the Rishis are the people. There is not the shadow of any evidence that the Rishis or priests were a "caste" of their own, different from the fighters and cultivators.*

This will be considered by impartial judges to be very good evidence that the caste-system did not exist. It proves a negative much more convincingly than many positive facts can be proved. In a vast collection of hymns, composed during six hundred years and more, and replete with references to the habits and manners and customs of the people,—replete with allusions to agriculture and pasture and manufacture, to wars against aborigines, to marriage and domestic rules, and the duties and position of women, to religious observances and to elementary astronomy as then known,—we have not one single passage to show that the community was cut up into hereditary "*Castes*." Is it possible to suppose

* The solitary mention of the four castes, in X, 90, 12, will not be considered an exception, or weaken our argument. The hymn itself was composed centuries after the time when the Rig Veda hymns were generally composed, as is proved by its language and its ideas. It was composed after the Rik, and the Saman and the Yajur Vedas had been separately classified (verse 9), and after the idea of the sacrifice the Supreme Being (unknown elsewhere in the Rig Veda) had found a place in the Hindu religion. It was composed, as Colebrooke states, after the rude versification of the Rig Veda had given place to the more sonorous metre of a later age. All scholars agree as to this hymn being comparatively modern.

that that wonderful system existed, and yet there is no allusion to that fundamental principle of society in the ten thousand verses of the Rig Veda? Is it possible to find a single religious work of later times, of one-tenth the dimensions of the Rig Veda, which is silent on that system?

So far, then, we have proved a negative in the only way in which a negative can be proved. But curiously enough there is positive proof, and various passages in the Rig Veda show, that the caste-system did not exist. The very word "*varna*," which in later Sanscrit indicates caste, is used in the Rig Veda to distinguish the Aryans and the non-Aryans, and nowhere indicates separate sections in the Aryan community (III, 34, 9, &c.). The very word *Kshatriya*, which in later Sanscrit means the military caste, is used in the Veda simply as an adjective which means strong, and is applied to gods (VII, 64, 2; VII, 89, 1, &c.). The very word *Vipra*, which in later Sanscrit means the pristly caste, is used in the Rig Veda merely as an adjective which means wise, and which is applied to gods (VIII, 11, 6, &c.). And the very word *Brahmana*, which in later Sanscrit means also the priestly caste, is used in a hundred places in the Rig Veda to imply the composers of hymns, and nothing else (VII, 103, 8, &c.).

We would gladly multiply evidence, but our limits forbid. But we cannot help producing one piece of evidence. With that charming simplicity which is the characteristic beauty of the Rig Veda, one Rishi says pathetically of himself:—

"Behold, I am a composer of hymns, my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander (in various directions) in the pasture-fields for food, so we (in various occupations) worship thee, O Soma! for wealth. Flow thou for Indra!" (IX, 112, 3). Those who suppose that the hereditary caste-system existed in the Vedic times will find some difficulty in explaining

passages like the above, where father, mother, and son are described as physician, corn-grinder, and composer of hymns!

Later asserters of the caste-system have sometimes tried to explain these passages, and with the most wonderful results! Like most other Rishis of the Rig Veda (who, we have seen before, constantly prayed for warlike sons), Visvamitra was a warrior and a composer of hymns. Later Hindus were shocked at this, and invented a beautiful Puranic myth to explain how Visvamitra was first a Kshatriya and then became a Brahman. Needless endeavour, for Visvamitra was neither a Kshatriya nor a Brahman! He was a Vedic Rishi, *i.e.*, a warrior and priest, long before the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas, as such, were known! *

As we have seen, then, every father of a family was his own priest, and his home was his temple. There is no mention of idols in the Rig Veda, none of temples or places of worship where the people were to congregate. The sacred fire was lighted in the house of every householder, and he chanted the beautiful and simple hymns which we now find collected in the Rig Veda. We have a pleasing picture of women who assisted at these sacri-

* It gives us much pleasure to be able to cite here the authority of three scholars who have devoted their lifetime to the study of the Veda, and who form the Triumvirate of Vedic scholarship in Europe :—

"If then, with all the documents before us, we ask the question, does caste, as we find it in Manu, and at the present day, form part of the most ancient religious teaching of the Vedas? We can answer with a decided 'No.' "—Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, vol. ii. (1867), p. 307.

"There are no castes as yet, the people are still one united whole, and bear but one name, that of *Visas*."—Weber, *Indian Literature* (translation), p. 38.

And lastly, Dr. Roth shows how in the Vedic Age the domestic priests of petty kings were called Brahmans, and had not yet formed into a caste. And the great scholar explains how in a later age,—that of the Mahabharata,—"powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings, and their families should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, and should *grow into a caste*."—Quoted in Muir's *Sanscrit Texts*, vol. i. (1872), p. 291.

fices, who ordered the necessary things, prepared them with pestle and mortar, extracted the Soma-juice, stirred it with their figures, and strained it through a woollen strainer. In numerous places we find mention of wives joining their husbands, and performing the sacrifice together. They offer the oblations together, and hope thereby to go to heaven together (I, 131, 3; V, 43, 15, &c.). A few verses from a pious hymn on this subject will no doubt interest our readers.

"5. O ye gods! The married couple who prepare oblations together, who purify the Soma-juice and mix it with milk.

"6. May they obtain food for their eating, and come united to the sacrifice. May they never have to go in quest of food.

"7. They do not make vain promises of offerings to the gods, nor withhold your praise. They worship you with the best offerings.

"8. Blest with youthful and adolescent offspring, they acquire gold, and they both attain to a mature age.

"9. The gods themselves covet the worship of such a couple who are fond of sacrifices, and offer grateful food to the gods. They embrace each other to continue their race, and they worship their gods!" (VIII, 31).

Still more grateful to us is the picture of cultured ladies who were themselves Rishis, and composed hymns and performed sacrifices like men. For there were no unhealthy restrictions against women in those days, no attempt to keep them secluded or uneducated or debarred from their legitimate place in society. There is mention of veiled wives and brides, but no allusion to women being kept in seclusion. On the contrary, we meet them everywhere in their legitimate spheres of action, taking a share in sacrifices, and exercising their influence on society. We cherish the picture of the cultured lady Visvavara, which has been handed down to us through thousands of years,—a pious lady who composed hymns, performed

sacrifices, and with true fervency invoked the god Agni to regulate and keep within virtuous bounds the mutual relations of married couples (V, 28, 3). We meet with the names of other ladies also who were Rishis of the Rig Veda.

In a society so simple as that of the Vedic times, the relations of life were determined by the needs and requirements of individuals rather than by cast-iron rules as in later days; and there was no religious obligation, therefore, that every girl must be married. On the contrary, we find allusions to unmarried women who remained in the homes of their fathers, and naturally claimed and obtained a share of the paternal property (II, 17, 7). On the other hand, we have frequent references to careful and industrious wives who superintended the arrangements of the house, and like the dawn roused and sent every one in the house to his work in the morning (I, 124, 4), and who possessed those domestic virtues for which Hindu wives have always been noted from the earliest to the present times. Occasionlly we have allusions to women who went astray (II, 29, 1); to maidens who had no brothers to watch over their morals; and wives who were faithless to their husbands (IV, 5, 5; X, 34, 4). And we are told of the wife of a ruined gambler who becomes the object of other men's lust (X, 34, 4).

It would seem that girls had some voice in the selection of their husband. Their selection was not always happy, for "many a woman is attracted by the wealth of him who seeks her. But the woman who is of gentle nature and of graceful form selects, among many, her own loved one as her husband" (X, 27, 12). We can almost imagine we see the *Svayamvara* system of later times foreshadowed in the above verse. There can be no doubt, however, that fathers always exercised a wise control in the selection of husbands for their daughters; and as at the present day, fathers gave away their girls gracefully.

adorned and decked with golden ornaments (IX, 46, 2 ; X, 39, 14).

The ceremony of marriage was an appropriate one, and the promises which the bridegroom and bride made to each other were suitable to the occasion. We will translate some verses from a hymn in the later portion of the Rig Veda, in which we find a pleasing picture of the ceremony. The first two among the following verses will show that the unnatural custom of child-marriage was unknown, and that girls were married after they had attained their youth :—

"21. O Visvavasu ! (god of marriage), arise from this place, for the marriage of this girl is over. We extol Visvavasu with hymns and prostrations. Go to some other maiden who is still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage. She will be your share, know of her.

"22. O Visvavasu ! arise from this place. We worship thee, bending in adoration. Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed ; make her a wife and unite her to a husband.

"23. Let the paths by which our friends go in quest of a maiden for marriage be easy and free of thorns. May Aryaman and Bhaga lead us well. O gods ! may the husband and wife be well united.

"24. O maiden ! the graceful sun had fastened thee with ties (of maidenhood), we release thee now of those ties. We place thee with thy husband in a place which is the home of truth and the abode of righteous actions.

"25. We release this maiden from this place (her father's house), but not from the other place (her husband's house). We unite her well with the other place. O Indra ! may she be fortunate and the mother of worthy sons.

"26. May Pushan lead thee by the hand from this place. May the two Asvins lead thee in a chariot. Go to thy (husband's) house and be the mistress of the house.

Be the mistress of all, and exercise thine authority over all in that house.

"27. Let children be born unto thee, and blessings attend thee here. Perform the duties of thy household with care. Unite thy person with the person of this thy husband; exercise thy authority in this thy house until old age.

"40. First Soma accepts thee; then Gandharva accepts thee; Agni is thy third lord; the son of man is the fourth to accept thee.*

"41. Soma bestowed this maiden to Gandharva, Gandharva gave her to Agni, Agni has given her to me with wealth and progeny.

"42. O bridegroom and bride! do ye remain here together; do not be separated. Enjoy food of various kinds; remain in your own home, and enjoy happiness in company of your children and grandchildren.

"43. (The bride and bridegroom say), May Prajapati bestow on us children; may Aryaman keep us united till old age. (Address to the bride), O bride! Enter with auspicious signs the home of thy husband. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"44. Be thine eyes free from anger; minister to the happiness of thy husband; do good to our cattle. May thy mind be cheerful; and may thy beauty be bright. Be the mother of heroic sons, and be devoted to the gods. Do good to our male servants and our female servants, and to our cattle.

"45. O Indra! make this woman fortunate and the mother of worthy sons. Let ten sons be born of her, so that there may be eleven men in the family with the husband.

"46. (Address to the bride), May thou have influence over thy father-in-law, and over thy mother-in-law, and be as a queen over thy sister-in-law and brother-in-law.

* This and the following verse would show that the bride was offered to the three gods before she was united to the bridegroom.

"47. (The bridegroom and bride say), May all the gods unite our hearts; may Matarisvan and Dhatri and the goddess of speech unite us together" (X, 85).

Our extract has been somewhat lengthy, but our readers will not regret it. The extract shows at once the appropriate nature of the ceremony that was performed, and the position which the young bride occupied in the home and the affections of her lord.

Polygamy was allowed among kings and the rich people in Vedic times, as it was allowed in olden times in all countries and among all nations. Domestic dissensions were the natural result in such instances, and we have hymns in the latter part of the Rig Veda in which wives curse their fellow-wives (X, 145; X, 159). The evil seems, however, to have grown in the latter part of the Vedic Age, for there are scarcely any allusions to it in the earlier hymns.

There are two curious verses which seem to lay down the law of inheritance, and are therefore of peculiar interest. We give a translation below:—

"1. The father who has no son honours his son-in-law, capable of begetting sons, and goes (*i. e.*, leaves his property) to the son of his daughter. The sonless father trusts in his daughter's offspring, and lives content.

"2. A son does not give any of his father's property to a sister. He gives her away to be the wife of a husband. If a father and mother beget both son and daughter, then one (*i. e.*, son) engages himself in the acts and duties of his father, while the other (daughter) receives honour" (III, 31).

This is the first germ of the Hindu law of inheritance, which makes the son, and not the daughter, the inheritor of his father's property and religious duties, and which allows the property to go to the daughter's son only in the absence of male issue. We think we discover the first germs of the Hindu law of adoption too in such passages as the following:—

"As a man who is not indebted gets much wealth, so we too shall get the treasure that endures (*i.e.*, a son). O Agni! let us not have son begotten of another. Do not follow the ways of the ignorant.

"A son begotten of another may yield us happiness, but can never be regarded or accepted as one's own. And verily he ultimately goes back to his own place. Therefore, may a son be newly born unto us who will bring us food and destroy ours foes" (VII, 4, 7 and 8).

We have spoken in this chapter of marriage and inheritance; we will complete our account of domestic customs by making some extracts with regard to funeral rites. Yama in the Rig Veda is not the god of hell, but the god of the heaven of the righteous, the god who rewards the virtuous man after his death, in a happy land. His two dogs, however, are objects to be avoided or propitiated.

"7. O thou deceased! proceed to the same place where our forefathers have gone, by the same path which they followed. The two kings, Yama and Varuna, are pleased with the offerings; go and see them.

"8. Go to that happy heaven and mix with the early forefathers. Mix with Yama and with the fruits of thy virtuous deeds. Leave sin behind, enter thy home.

"9. O ye ghosts! leave this place, go away, move away. For the forefathers have prepared a place for the deceased. That place is beautiful with day, with sparkling waters and with light; Yama assigns this place to the dead.

"10. O thou deceased! these two dogs have four eyes each, and a strange colour. Go past them quickly. Then proceed by the beautiful path to those wise forefathers, who spend their time in joy and happiness with Yama" (X, 14).

These verses give us some idea of the belief in future happiness as it prevailed among the Hindus of the Vedic

Age. The rites of cremation and burial are alluded to in the following passages :—

"O fire! do not reduce this deceased into ashes; do not give him pain. Do not mangle his skin or his person. O fire! send him to the home of our fathers as soon as his body is burnt in thy heat" (X, 16, 1).

"10. O thou deceased! go to the extended earth who is as a mother; she is extensive and beautiful. May her touch be soft as that of wool or of a female. You have performed sacrifices, may she save thee from unrighteousness.

"11. O earth! rise up above him, do not give him pain. Give him good things, give him consolation. As a mother covers her child with the hem of her cloth, so cover the deceased.

"12. Let the earth, raised on him as a mound, lie light. Let a thousand particles of dust rest on him. Let them be to him as a house filled with butter, let them form a shelter to him" (X, 18).

It remains only to allude to one more remarkable verse of this hymn, which distinctly sanctions the marriage of widows :—

"Rise up, woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone; come to the world of the living, away from thy husband, and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and is willing to marry thee" (X, 18, 8).

The translation is based on Sayana's rendering of the passage in the *Taittiriya Aranyaka*, and there can be little doubt as to its correctness, because the word Didhishu used in the passage has only one meaning in the Sanscrit language, *viz.*, the second husband of a woman. We quote here with pleasure the following remarks with which Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra winds up a paper on Funeral Ceremony in Ancient India :—"That the remarriage of widows in Vedic times was a national custom, can be established by a variety of proofs and arguments; the very fact of the Sanscrit language having, from ancient

times, such words as Didhishu, 'a man that has married a widow,' Parapurva, 'a woman that has taken a second husband,' Paunarbhava, 'a son of a woman by her second husband,' are enough to establish it."

It is with pain and regret that we refer to another passage, also belonging to this remarkable hymn, which is perfectly harmless in the Rig Veda itself, but which was altered and mistranslated in later times to sanction the barbarous custom of *Sati*, or the burning of the widow on the pyre of her husband. That most cruel of all modern Hindu institutions finds no sanction in the Rig Veda. There is a perfectly harmless passage (X, 18, 7), which refers to a procession of women at a funeral ceremony. The passage may be thus translated :—

"May these women not suffer the pangs of widowhood. May they who have good and desirable husbands, enter their houses with collyrium and butter. Let these women, without shedding tears, and without any sorrow, first proceed to the house, wearing valuable ornaments."

There is not a word in the above relating to the burning of widows. But a word in it *Agre* was altered into *Agne*, and the text was then mistranslated and misapplied in Bengal to justify the modern custom of the burning of widows. In the words of Professor Max Müller, "This is, perhaps, the most flagrant instance of what can be done by an unscrupulous priesthood. Here have thousands of lives been sacrificed and a fanatical rebellion been threatened on the authority of a passage which was mangled, mistranslated, and misapplied."

CHAPTER VI.

VEDIC RELIGION.

THE religion of the Rig Veda is well known. It is pre-eminently the worship of Nature in its most imposing and sublime aspects. The sky which bends over all, the beautiful and blushing dawn which like a busy housewife wakes men from slumber and sends them to their work, the gorgeous tropical sun which vivifies the earth, the air which pervades the world, the fire which cheers and enlightens us, and the violent storms which in India usher in those copious rains which fill the land with plenty,—these were the gods whom the early Hindus loved to extol and to worship. And often when an ancient Rishi sang the praises of any of the gods with devotion and fervour, he forgot that there was any other god besides, and his sublime hymn has the character and the sublimity of a prayer to the one God of the universe. This is what makes many scholars often pause and hesitate before they give the Vedic religion any other name than Monotheism. Indeed the Rishis themselves often rose higher than the level of Nature-worship, and they boldly declared that the different gods were but different manifestations or different names of the one Primal Cause. The landmarks between Nature-worship and Monotheism have been passed, and the great Rishis of the Rig Veda have passed from Nature up to Nature's God.

The sky was naturally the most prominent object of worship, and as the sky assumes various aspects, various names were given to it, and the conception of various

deities was formed. The oldest probably is Dyu (literally the shining), the Zeus of the Greeks, the first syllable of the Jupiter of the Romans, the Tiu of the Saxons, and the Zio of the Germans. This common name among many Aryan races indicates that the deity was worshipped by the ancestors of all these nations in their first primeval abode.

But while Zeus and Jupiter maintained their supremacy among the gods of Greece and Rome, in India he soon lost his place, and the sky *in one of its peculiar functions* soon usurped his place. For in India the annual rise of rivers, the fertility of land, and the luxuriance of crops depend, not on the sky which shines above us, but on the *sky that rains*, and *Indra*, which means the rain-giver, soon became the first among the Vedic gods.

Another ancient name of the sky was Varuna, the Uranus of the Greeks. The word signifies to cover, and Varuna was the sky which covered the earth, probably the sky without light, the nightly sky. For we find another name for the bright sky of day, *viz.*, Mitra, the Mithra of the Zendavesta. Sanscrit commentators naturally explain Varuna as night and Mitra as day, and the Iranians worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra, and gave the name of Varuna to a happy region, if not the sky.

These facts show that the idea and name of Varuna as a god of sky was known to the ancestors of the Aryan nations before those nations separated and migrated to Greece, to Persia, and to India. Indeed the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth is of opinion that before the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians separated, Varuna was the highest and holiest of the gods of their ancestors, and represented the spiritual side of their religion. After the separation had taken place, this deity of righteousness was translated in Iran into Ahura Mazd, the supreme Deity. And although in India, Varuna yielded the foremost place among gods to the young and vigorous rain-

giver Indra, still he never became divested of that sanctity and holiness which entered into his first conception, and the holiest hymns of the Rig Veda are his, not Indra's. Whatever be the value of these opinions, the fact of Varuna's pre-eminent sanctity in the Rig Veda cannot be denied, and we will give a few short translations from the hymns to Varuna to illustrate this :—

"6. O Varuna ! the birds that fly have not attained thy power, or thy vigour ; the water which flows ceaselessly and the moving wind do not surpass thy speed.

"7. King Varuna of unsullied power remains in the firmament, and holds on high the rays of light. Those rays descend downwards, but proceed from above. May they sustain our existence.

"8. King Varuna has spread out the path for the course of the sun. He has made the path for the sun to traverse in pathless space. May he rebuke our enemies who pierce our hearts.

"9. O King Varuna ! a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine ; may thy beneficence be vast and deep. Keep unrighteousness away from us, deliver us from the sins we have committed.

"10. Yonder stars* which are placed on high, and are seen by night,—where do they go by day ? The acts of Varuna are irresistible ; the moon shines brightly by his mandate" (I, 24).

"3. O Varuna ! with an anxious heart I ask thee about my sins. I have gone to learned men to make inquiry ;

*The word used in the text is Riksha, which may either mean stars generally, or the stars of the constellation Great Bear. The root *rich* means to shine, whence in course of time the word Riksha came to have two meanings—the shining stars of a particular constellation, and an animal with bright eyes and shining glossy hair. By a natural confusion of ideas, therefore, the constellation itself ultimately came to be called the Bear. The question is discussed with remarkable eloquence and learning by Max Müller in his Science of Language, and he explains that "the surprise with which many a thoughtful observer has looked at these seven bright stars, wondering why they were ever called the Bear, is removed by reference to the early annals of human speech."

the sages have all said to me,—'Varuna is displeased with thee.'

"4. O Varuna! what have I done that thou wishest to destroy thy friend, thy worshipper? O thou of irresistible power, declare it to me, so that I may quickly bend in adoration, and come unto thee.

"5. O Varuna! deliver us from the sins of our fathers. Deliver us from the sins committed in our persons. O royal Varuna! deliver Vasishtha, like a calf from its tether, like a thief who has feasted on a stolen animal.

"6. O Varuna! all this sin is not wilfully committed by us. Error or wine, anger or dice, or even thoughtlessness, has begotten sin. Even an elder brother leads his younger astray, sin is begotten even in our dreams.

"7. Freed from sin, I will faithfully serve, as a slave, the Varuna who fulfils our wishes and supports us. We are ignorant, may the Arya god bestow on us knowledge. May the wise deity accept our prayer and bestow on us wealth" (VII, 86).

"1. O King Varuna! may I never go to the earthen home. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"2. O Varuna with thy weapons! I come trembling even like a cloud driven by the wind. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"3. O rich and pure Varuna! I have been driven against righteous acts through weakness. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"4. Thy worshipper hath thirsted even when living in water. O thou of great power! have mercy, have mercy.

"5. O Varuna! we are mortals. In whatever way we have sinned against gods, in whatever manner we have through ignorance neglected thy work—O! do not destroy us for these sins" (VII, 89).

These and many other hymns show that Varuna was never divested in India of that idea of holiness which is said to have entered into his original conception. But

nevertheless, Varuna like Dyu was supplanted in power by the younger Indra, a god who is peculiarly Indian, and is unknown to other Aryan nations.

One of the most famous legends about Indra, the most famous legend probably in the Aryan world, is about the production of rain. The dark heavy clouds to which man looks up with wistful eyes, but which often disappoint him in seasons of drought, are called by the ancient name of Vritra.

Vritra is supposed to confine the waters, and will not let them descend until the sky-god or rain-god Indra strikes the monster with his thunderbolt. The captive waters then descend in copious showers, rivers rise almost instantaneously, and gods and men rejoice over the changed face of nature. Many are the spirited hymns in the Rig Veda in which this combat is narrated with much glee and rejoicing. The storm-gods, Maruts, help Indra in the combat, the sky and earth tremble at the noise, Vritra long wages an unequal combat, and then falls and dies,—the drought is over, and rains begin.

We have said that Indra is a peculiarly Indian name, and is unknown to other Aryan nations. But the legend given above and the name of Vritra appear in various shapes among various Aryan nations. Vritraghna, or the slayer of Vritra, is worshipped in the Zendavesta as Verethraghna, and we also find in the same work an account of the destruction of Ahi, which in the Veda is another name for Vritra. Threyetana is the slayer of Ahi, and the genius of the great French scholar Burnouf has recognised this identical Threyetana in the Ferudin of Ferdusi's Shah Nama,—translated from mythology to history after thousands of years! It will probably surprise modern readers more to know that scholars have traced this Ahi of the Veda and the Zendavesta in the dragon Echis and Echidna of Greek mythology; that in the dog Orthros, the offspring of Echidna, they have recognised our old friend Vritra or the rain-cloud, and

Hercules therefore, the slayer of Orthros, is the counterpart of Threyetana of the Zendavesta, and of Indra of the Rig Veda !

It would be easy to multiply such legends, but our limits forbid such a course. We will therefore only make a passing mention of one more legend, *viz.*, that about the recovery of light by Indra after the darkness of night. The rays of light are compared to cattle which have been stolen by the powers of darkness, and Indra (the sky) seeks for them in vain. He sends *Sarama*, *i. e.*, the dawn, after them, and Sarama finds out the *Bilu*, or fortress, where the *Panis*, or powers of darkness, have concealed the cattle. The Panis try to tempt Sarama, but in vain. Sarama comes back to Indra, and Indra marches with his forces, destroys the fort, and recovers the cattle ; darkness is gone, and it is day ! This is a well-known Vedic legend, and there are constant allusions to it in the hymns to Indra.

Professor Max Müller maintains that the story of the siege of Troy is a development of this simple Vedic myth, and is "but a repetition of the daily siege of the East by the Solar powers that every evening are robbed of their brightest treasures in the west." Ilium according to the Professor is *Bilu*, the cave or the fortress of the Rig Veda. Paris is the *Panis* of the Veda who tempt, and Helena is the Vedic *Sarama* who resists the temptation in the Veda, but succumbs to it in Greek mythology.

We cannot say that Max Müller has proved his theory, but the evidence of a historical siege of Troy does not necessarily disprove it, for nothing is more common in ancient history than the blending of mythical names and incidents with historical events. Arjuna the hero of a historical Kuru-Panchala war is a myth, and is a name of the rain-god Indra; and it is not impossible that the poet who sang of a historical siege of Troy blended with it a solar myth with its names and incidents. We will now make short extracts from the Rig Veda illustrating these two legends :—

"1. We sing the heroic deeds which were performed by Indra the thunderer. He destroyed Ahi (cloud) and caused rains to descend, and opened out the paths for the mountain streams to roll.

"2. Indra slayed Ahi resting on the mountains; Twashtri had made the far-reaching thunderbolt for him. Water in torrents flowed towards the sea, as cows run eagerly towards their calves.

"3. Impetuous as a bull, Indra quaffed the Soma-juice; he drank the Soma libations offered in the three sacrifices. He then took the thunderbolt, and thereby slayed the eldest of the Ahis.

"4. When you killed the eldest of the Ahis, you destroyed the contrivances of the artful contrivers. You cleared the sun and the morning and the sky, and left no enemies behind.

"5. Indra with his all-destructive thunderbolt slayed the darkling Vritra (cloud), and lopped his limbs. Ahi now lies touching the earth like the trunk of a tree felled by the axe.

"6. The proud Vritra thought that he had no equal, and defied the destroyer and conqueror Indra to combat. But he did not escape destruction, and Indra's foe fell, crushing the rivers in his fall.

"8. Glad waters are bounding over the prostrate body as rivers flow over fallen banks. Vritra when alive had withheld the water by his power; Ahi now lies prostrate under that water.

"10. The prostrate body lies concealed and nameless under ceaseless and restless waters, and the waters flow above. Indra's foe sleeps the long sleep" (I, 32).

The above is a hymn relating to the legend of Vritra. We now turn to a hymn relating to the legend of Sarama:—

1. The *Panis* say:—"O Sarama! why hast thou come here? It is a long distance. He who looks back cannot come this way. What have we with us for which

thou hast come? How long hast thou travelled? How didst thou cross the Rasa?"

2. *Sarama* replies:—"I come as the messenger of Indra. O Panis! it is my object to recover the abundant cattle which you have hidden. The water has helped me; the water felt a fear at my crossing, and thus I crossed the Rasa."

3. The *Panis*.—"What is that Indra like, whose messenger thou art, and hast come from a long distance? How does he look? (To one another:) Let her come, we will own her as a friend. Let her take and own our cows."

4. *Sarama*.—"I do not see any one who can conquer the Indra whose messenger I am, and have come from a long distance. It is he who conquers everybody. The deep rivers cannot restrain his course. O Panis! you will surely be slain by Indra and will lie down."

5. *Panis*.—"O beautiful Sarama! thou hast come from the farthest ends of the sky; we will give thee without any dispute these cows as thou desirest. Who else would have given the cattle without a dispute? We have many sharp weapons with us."

9. *Panis*.—"O Sarama! thou hast come here because the god threatened thee and sent thee here. We will accept thee as a sister; do not return. O beautiful Sarama! we will give thee a share of this cattle."

10. *Sarama*.—"I do not comprehend your words about brothers and sisters. Indra and the powerful sons of Angiras know all. They sent me here to guard the cattle until recovery. I have come here under their shelter. O Panis! run away far far from here" (X, 108).

It will be seen from the few extracts we have made that the hymns to Indra are characterised by force and vigour, as those to Varuna are marked with a feeling of righteousness. Indra is, in fact, the most vigorous of the Vedic gods, fond of Soma wine, delighting in war, leading his comrades the Maruts to fight against drought, leading hosts of the Aryans against the black aborigines, and

helping them to carve out for themselves with their strong right arm the most fertile spots along the five rivers of the Punjab. The sky and earth gave him birth as a cudgel for the enemies (III, 49, 1). The young and vigorous infant went to his mother Aditi for food, and saw Soma wine on her breast; he drank Soma before he drank from his mother's breast (III, 48, 2 and 3). And the great drinker and fighter often hesitates between the temptation of Soma libations at sacrifices, and the temptation of his home where a beautiful wife awaits him (III, 53, 4–6).

We have thus far spoken of Dyu and Varuna and Mitra and Indra as the principal sky-gods of the Rig Veda. All these gods may, however, also be considered as gods of light, as the idea of the bright light of sky enters into the conception of all these deities, even of Varuna in some passages. We will now, however, speak of some deities who have more distinctly a solar character, and some of whom are grouped together under the common name of Adityas or sons of Aditi, and this brings us to the most remarkable name that occurs in the Rig Veda mythology. Unlike Indra, which comes from *Ind* to rain, and Dyu, which comes from *Dyu* to shine, the word Aditi involves a more complicated idea. Aditi means the undivided, the unlimited, the eternal. It is in reality, as has been stated, the earliest name invented by man to express the Infinite,—the visible infinite, the endless expanse, beyond the earth, beyond the clouds, beyond the sky. The fact that such an idea should enter into the conception of a deity argues a remarkable advance in the culture and thought of the early Hindus. The word has no counterpart among the names of the deities of other ancient Aryan nations, and must have been coined in India after the Indo-Aryan section had settled in this country. It means, according to the eminent German scholar Dr. Roth, the eternal and inviolable principle, the celestial light.

There is much confusion in the Rig Veda as to who

the Adityas are,—the sons of this celestial light. In II, 27, Aryaman and Bhaga and Daksha and Ansa are named besides Varuna and Mitra, of whom we have spoken before. In IX, 114, and in X, 72, the Adityas are said to be seven in number, but are not named. We have seen before that Indra is called a son of Aditi. Savitri, the sun, is often described as an Aditya, and so are Pushan and Vishnu, who are also different names of the sun. When, in course of time, the year was divided into twelve months, the number of the Adityas was fixed at twelve, and they were the suns of the twelve months.

Surya and Savitri are the most common names of the sun in the Rig Veda, the former word answering to the Greek Helios, the Latin Sol, and the Iranian Khorshed. Commentators draw a distinction between Savitri, the rising or the unrisen sun, and Surya, the bright sun of day. The golden rays of the sun were naturally compared with arms until a story found its place in Hindu mythology that Savitri lost his arm at a sacrifice, and it was replaced by a golden arm. The same story reappears in a different form in German mythology, in which the sun-god placed his hand in the mouth of a tiger and lost it!

The only extract we will make from the hymns to the sun will be that most celebrated of all the verses in the Rig Veda, the Gayatri, or the morning hymn of the later Brahmans. But the Rig Veda recognised no Brahmans, the caste-system was not formed then, and the sublime hymn was the *national* property of the early Hindus who dwelt on the banks of the Indus. We give the original verse and Dr. Wilson's translation:—

"*Tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhimahi*
"*Dhiyo yo nah prachodayat.*"

"We meditate on the desirable light of the divine Savitri who influences our pious rites" (III, 62, 10).

Pushan is the sun as viewed by shepherds in their wanderings in quest of fresh pasture-lands. He travels

in a chariot yoked with goats, guides men and cattle in their travels and migrations, and knows and protects the flocks. The hymns to Pushan, therefore, often breathe a simplicity which is truly pastoral. A few extracts from such hymns have been given before.

Vishnu has obtained such a prominent place as the Supreme Deity in later Hinduism that there is a natural reluctance among orthodox modern Hindus to accept him in his Vedic character as a mere sun-god. Yet such he is in the Rig Veda, and he is quite a humble deity in the Vedic pantheon, far below Indra or Varuna, Savitri or Agni. It was not till the Puranic times, long after the Christian Era, that Vishnu was considered a Supreme Deity. In the Veda, Vishnu is said to traverse space in three steps, *viz.*, the sun at rising, at zenith, and at setting. In the Puranas this simple metaphor has led to a long story.

Fire was an object of worship among all ancient nations, and in India sacrificial fire received the highest regard. As no sacrifice could be performed without fire, Agni or fire was called the invoker of the gods. He was called Yavishtha, or the "youngest" among the gods, because he was kindled anew at each time of sacrifice by the friction of *arani*, or the sacrificial wood. For this reason, he also received the name of Pramantha, *i.e.*, produced by friction.*

So high was the esteem in which fire was held among the gods of the Rig Veda, that when the ancient commentator Yaska tried to reduce the number of the Vedic gods

* According to Mr. Cox, many of the Greek and Latin deities owe their name to the Sanscrit names of Fire. "In this name, Yavishtha, which is never given to any other Vedic god, we may recognise the Hellenic Hephaistos. *Note.*—Thus with the exception of Agni, all the names of the Fire and the Fire-gods were carried away by the Western Aryans; and we have Prometheus answering to Pramantha, Phoronus to Bharanyu, and the Latin Vulcanus to the Sanscrit Ulka."—Cox's *Mythology of Aryan Nations.*

"Agni is the god of fire; the Ignis of the Latins, the Ogni of the Sclavonians." Muir's *Sanscrit Texts.*

into three, he named Agni or fire as the god of the earth, Indra or Vayu as the god of the firmament, and the Sun as the god of the sky.

But Agni is not only the terrestrial fire in the Rig Veda; he is also the fire of the lightning and the sun, and his abode is the invisible heaven. The Bhrigus discovered him there, Matarisvan brought him down, and Atharvan and Angiras, the first sacrificers, first installed him in this world as the protector of men.

Vayu, or the air, has received less consideration from the Vedic bards, and there are but few hymns assigned to him. But the Maruts or the storm-gods are oftener invoked, as we have seen before, probably because they inspired more terror; and they are considered as the companions of Indra in obtaining rain from the reluctant clouds! The earth trembles as they move in their deer-yoked chariots, and men see the fishing of their arms or the sparkle of their ornaments, the lightning. But they are benevolent all the same, and they milk from the udder of their mother Prisni (cloud) copious showers for the benefit of man.

Rudra, a fierce deity, is the father of the Maruts, loud-sounding as his name signifies, and a form of fire as the commentators Yaska and Sayana explain. There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the correctness of Dr. Roth's conclusion, that the original meaning of this loud-sounding fire, this father of storms, is Thunder. Like Vishnu, Rudra is a humble deity in the Rig Veda, and only a few hymns are assigned to him. But like Vishnu, Rudra has attained prominence in later times, and is one of the Hindu Trinity of the Puranic religion, a portion of the Supreme. In some of the Upanishads we find the names Kali, Karali, &c., used as the names of different kinds of flame, and in the White Yajus Sanhita, we find Ambika spoken of as the sister of Rudra. But when Rudra assumed a more distinct individuality in the Puranas, all these names were construed as the different names of his

wife ! We have only to add that none of these goddesses, nor Lakshmi, the wife of Puranic Vishnu, is so much as mentioned by name in the Rig Veda.

Another god who has also changed his character in the Puranas (and very much for the worse !) is Yama, the king of the dead. In the Puranas he is called the child of the Sun, and there are some reasons (which Professor Max Müller explains with his usual eloquence) for supposing that the original conception of Yama in the Rig Veda is the conception of the departing sun. The sun sets and disappears, just as a man's life ends : and the imagination of a simple race would easily conjure up an after-world, where that departed deity would preside over departed spirits.

According to the Rig Veda, Vivasvat the sky is the father, and Saranyu the dawn is the mother, of Yama and his sister Yami.

Who can be the offspring of the sky and the dawn but the sun or the day ? It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the twins Yama and Yami are day and night in their original conception. There is a curious passage in the Rig Veda in which the amorous sister Yami desires to embrace her brother as her husband, but the brother declines such union as unholy (X, 10). It is not difficult to fathom the import of this conversation :—Day and Night, though eternally pursuing each other, can never be united.

But whatever the original conception of Yama may be, there is no doubt that even in the Rig Veda itself, that deity has attained a distinct individuality, and he is the king of the departed. So far his Vedic character agrees with his Puranic character, but here the parallel ends. In the Veda, he is the beneficent king of the happy world where the virtuous live and enjoy themselves in after-life. Clothed in a glorious body, they sit by the side of Yama in the realms of light and sparkling waters, they enjoy endless felicity there, and are adored here below under

the name of Pitris or fathers. How different is the character which Yama bears in the Puranas as the cruel and dread Punisher of the guilty !

"1. Worship Yama the son of Vivasvat with offerings. All men go to him. He takes men of virtuous deeds to the realm of happiness. He clears the way for many.

"2. Yama first discovered the path for us. That path will not be destroyed again. All living beings will, according to their acts, follow by the path by which our forefathers have gone" (X, 14).

We may also quote here another passage from a hymn to Soma, which contains a fuller allusion to the future world. Soma, it is well known, was the juice of a plant made into wine, and used as libation in sacrifices. Soma soon attained the rank of a deity, and all the hymns of the ninth Mandala are dedicated to him.

"7. O flowing Soma ! take me to that immortal and imperishable abode where light dwells eternal, and which is in heaven. Flow, Soma ! for Indra.

"8. Take me where Yama is king, where there are the gates of heaven, and where mighty rivers flow. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra.

"9. Take me where there is the third heaven, where there is the third realm of light above the sky, and where one can wander at his will. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra.

"10. Take me where every desire is satiated, where Pradhma has his abode, where there is food and contentment. Take me there and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra.

"11. Take me where there are pleasures and joys and delights, where every desire of the anxious heart is satiated. Take me there, and make me immortal. Flow, Soma ! for Indra" (IX, 113).

We have spoken above of Yama and Yami as the twin children of Vivasvat the sky, by Saranyu the dawn. It is remarkable that the same parents had another twin

children, the two Asvins. There can be little doubt that they too, like Yama and Yami, were in their original conception the day and the night, or the dawn and the evening.

But whatever the original conception of the Asvins may be, they appear in the Rig Veda as great physicians, healers of the sick and the wounded, and tending many persons with kindness. Long lists of the kind acts of the two Asvins are given in several hymns, and the same cures are spoken of over and over again. On their three-wheeled chariot, they make the circuit of the world day by day, and succour men in their distress.

Brihaspati or Brahmanaspati is the lord of hymns, Brahman in the Rig Veda meaning hymn. The conception of this deity arose in much the same way as the conception of the deities Fire and Soma. As there is power in the flame and the libation of the sacrifice, so there is power in the prayer uttered; and this power of prayer is personified in the Vedic god Brahmanaspati.

He is quite a humble god in the Rig Veda, but has a great future. For in course of centuries, the thinkers of the Upanishads conceived of a Supreme Universal Being, and gave him the Vedic name Brahman. Then, when Buddhism flourished in the land, the Buddhists themselves tolerated Brahma as a gentle and beneficent spirit in their pantheon. And when at last Puranic Hinduism supplanted Buddhism in India, the Puranic thinkers gave the name of Brahma to the Supreme Creator of the Universe. Thus, by looking into our national records of the farthest antiquity, we trace the simple beginnings of that gorgeous Puranic mythology which has for over a thousand years swayed the opinions and conduct of hundreds of millions of our countrymen and country-women. It is like tracing one of our great Indian rivers, which spreads for miles together at its mouth, to its very source, where a narrow but pure and crystal streamlet issues from the eternal mountains! Ideas develop in the

course of time, just as rivers expand and receive fresh supplies of water in their course, until they lose all their primitive character, although still bearing the same names. And we can no more recognise the simple Vedic character of Brahman the prayer, of Vishnu the sun, and of Rudra the thunder, in the Supreme Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Puranas, than we can recognise the crystal streamlet at Hardwar in the sea-like expanse of the Ganges where it mingles with the Bay of Bengal.

These are the important gods of the Rig Veda. Of the goddesses there are only two who have any marked individuality, *viz.*, Ushas, the dawn, and Sarasvati, the goddess of the river of that name, and afterwards the goddess of speech.

There is no lovelier conception in the Rig Veda than that of the dawn. There are no hymns in the Veda more truly poetical than those dedicated to her, and nothing more charming is to be found in the lyrical poetry of any ancient nation. We can make room here for only a few extracts :—

"20. What mortal knoweth thee, O immortal Ushas fond of our praise ! Whom, O mighty one, dost thou favour ?

"21. Far-extending, many-tinted, brilliant Ushas ! we know not thy abode, whether it be nigh or remote.

"22. Daughter of the sky ! accept these offerings, and perpetuate our welfare" (I, 30).

"7. She, the young, the white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure, dawns upon us, dissipating darkness ! Auspicious Ushas ! shine upon us to-day on this spot.

"8. Following the path of mornings that have passed, to be followed by endless mornings to come, bright Ushas dispels darkness, and awakens to life all beings, unconscious like the dead in sleep.

"10. How long have the Dawns risen ? How long will the Dawns arise ? The present morning pursues

those that are gone, future mornings will pursue this resplendent Ushas.

"11. Mortals who beheld the pristine Ushas have passed away; we behold her now; and men will come after us who will behold Ushas in the future" (I, 113).

"4. Ahana gently proceeds to every house; she comes ever diffusing light, and blesses us and accepts our offerings.

"11. Radiant as a bride decorated by her mother, thou displayest thy person to the view. Auspicious Ushas! remove the investing darkness; no other dawns but thee will disperse it" (I, 123).

The Dawn was known by various names, and most of these names and the legends connected with them were brought by the Hindus from their original abode, since we find phonetical equivalents of these names, and a repetition of some of the legends too, in Greek mythology. Ushas is the Eos of the Greeks and the Aurora of the Latins. Arjuni, according to philologists, is the Greek Argynoris, Brisaya is Briseis, and Dahana is Daphne. Sarama is phonetically equivalent to the Greek Helena. Saranyu, the mother of Yama and of the Asvins, is the Greek Erinys, and Ahana is the renowned goddess Athena.

We have already alluded to the legend of Saranyu running away from her husband Vivasvat, and then giving birth to the twin Asvins. We find the same legend among the Greeks who believed in Erinys Demeter running away in the same manner, and giving birth to Areion and Despoina. The idea in both cases is the same; it is the dawn or gloaming disappearing as the day and night advance. The same idea has given rise to another beautiful Greek legend whose origin, too, we trace in the Rig Veda. In many passages (I, 115, 2, for instance), we find allusions to the sun pursuing the dawn as a man pursues a woman. The Greek Apollo in the same way pursues the Greek Daphne, until she is metamorphosed, *i.e.*, the dawn disappears!

Sarasvati, as her name signifies, is the goddess of the

river of that name, which was considered holy because of the religious rites performed on its banks and the sacred hymns uttered there. By a natural development of ideas, she was considered the goddess of those hymns, or in other words the goddess of speech, in which character she is worshipped now. She is the only Vedic goddess whose worship continues in India to the modern day ; all her modern companions, Durga, Kali, Lakshmi, and others, are creations of a later day.

Such is the nature-worship of the Rig Veda ; such were the gods and goddesses whom our forefathers worshipped four thousand years ago on the banks of the Indus. The conception of the nature-gods and the single-hearted fervency with which they were adored, argue the simplicity and vigour of a manly race, as well as the culture and thoughtfulness of a people who had already made a considerable progress in civilisation. And the very conception of the Vedic gods argues an elevated sentiment, a high tone of morality in the men who conceived such deities. As M. Barth justly observes, the Vedic gods are masters close at hand, and require a due performance of duty by man. "He must be sincere towards them, for they cannot be deceived. Nay he knows that they in turn do not deceive, and that they have a right to require his affection and confidence as a friend, a brother, a father. . . . How could it be permitted to men to be bad when the gods are good, to be unjust while they are just, to be deceitful when they never deceive ? It is certainly a remarkable feature of the hymns that they acknowledge no wicked divinities, and no mean and harmful practices. . . . We must acknowledge then that the hymns give evidence of an exalted and comprehensive morality, and that in striving to be 'without reproach before Aditi and the Adityas,' the Vedic minstrels feel the weight of other duties besides those of multiplying offerings to the gods."*

* *The Religions of India* (translation), p. 32 *et seq.*

There are no indications in the Rig Veda of any "temples reared by mortal hands" and consecrated as places of worship. On the contrary, every householder, every patriarch of his family, lighted the sacrificial fire in his own home, and poured libations of the Soma-juice, and prayed to the gods for happiness to his family, for abundant crops and wealth and cattle, for immunity from sickness, and for victory over the black aborigines. There was no separate priestly caste, and men did not retire into forests, and subject themselves to penances in order to meditate on religion, and chant these hymns. On the contrary, the old Rishis,—the real Rishis as we find them in the Rig Veda, and not the fabled ones of whom we have legendary accounts in the Puranas,—were worldly men, men with considerable property in crops and in cattle and surrounded by large families, men who in times of danger exchanged the plough for the spear and the sword, and defended against the black barbarians those blessings of civilisation which they solicited from their gods, and secured with so much care.

But though each householder was himself the priest, the warrior and the cultivator, yet we find evidence of kings performing rites on a large scale by help of men specially proficient in the chanting of hymns and other religious rites, and engaged and paid for the purpose. And as we go towards the later hymns of the Rig Veda, we find this class of professional priests gaining in reputation and in wealth, honoured by chiefs and kings, and rewarded by gifts of cattle and cars. We find mention of particular families specially proficient in the performance of religious rites, and in the composition of hymns ; and it is probable that the existing hymns of the Rig Veda were composed by members of these families, and were traditionally learnt by rote and preserved in those families.

The hymns of the Rig Veda are divided into ten *Mandalas*, so arranged according to the Rishis by whom

they were composed. The first and the last Mandalas contain hymns composed by numerous Rishis, but the remaining eight Mandalas belong, each of them, to a particular Rishi, or rather to a particular house or school of Rishis. As we have stated before, the second Mandala is a collection of hymns composed by Gritsamada of the house of Bhrigu, the third Mandala belongs to Visvamitra, the fourth Mandala belongs to Vamadeva, the fifth to Atri, the sixth to Bharadvaja, the seventh to Vasishtha, the eighth to Kanva, and the ninth to Angiras. All these names are familiar to modern Hindus through the numberless legends which have surrounded them in Puranic times, and modern Hindus still love to trace their descent from these ancient and revered houses. We shall have something to say about these Rishis and their legends in our next chapter.

It is to these and other venerable houses that the Aryan world owes the preservation of the most ancient compositions of the Aryan race. From century to century the hymns were handed down without break or intermission, and the youths of the priestly houses spent the prime of their life in learning by rote the sacred songs from the lips of their grey-headed sires. It was thus that the inestimable treasure, the Rig Veda, was preserved for hundreds of years.

In course of time the priests boldly grappled with the deeper mysteries of nature, they speculated about creation and about the future world, and they resolved the nature-gods into the Supreme Deity.

"1. That all-wise Father saw clearly, and after due reflection created the sky and the earth in their watery form, and touching each other. When their boundaries were stretched afar, then the sky and the earth became separated.

"2. He who is the Creator of all is great; he creates and supports all, he is above all and sees all. He is beyond the seat of the seven Rishis. So the wise

men say, and the wise men obtain fulfilment of all their desires.

"3. He who has given us life, he who is the Creator, he who knows all the places in this universe—*he is one, although he bears the names of many gods.* Other beings wish to know of him.

"7. You cannot comprehend him who has created all this ; he is incomprehensible to your mind. People make guesses, being shrouded in a mist ; they take their food for the support of their life, and utter hymns and wander about" (X, 82).

This sublime hymn teaches us in unmistakable words that the different Vedic gods are but different *names* of the One incomprehensible Deity. We quote another such hymn below.

"1. At that time what is, was not, and what is not, was not. The earth was not, and the far-stretching sky was not. What was there that covered ? Which place was assigned to what object ? Did the inviolate and deep water exist ?

"2. At that time death was not, nor immortality ; the distinction between day and night was not. There was only ONE who lived and breathed without the help of air, supported by himself. Nothing was, except HE.

"3. At first darkness was covered in darkness. All was without demarcation ; all was of watery form. The world that was a void was covered by what did not exist and was produced by meditation.

"4. Desire arose in the mind, the cause of creation was thus produced. Wise men reflect, and in their wisdom ascertain the birth of what is from what is not.

"5. Males with generating seed were produced, and powers were also produced. Their rays extended on both sides and below and above, a self-supporting principle beneath, an energy aloft.

"6. Who knows truly ? Who will describe ? When was all born ? Whence were all these created ? *The*

gods have been made after the creation. Who knows whence they were made ?

"7. Whence all these were created, from whom they came, whether any one created them or did not create, —is only known to Him who lives as Lord in the highest place. If He knows not (no one else does)" (X, 129).

Such is the first recorded attempt among the Aryan nations of the earth to pierce into the mysteries of creation ; such are the bold and sublime if vague ideas which dawned in the minds of our forefathers thousands of years ago, regarding the commencement of this great universe. One more hymn we will quote here, a remarkable hymn, showing, again, how the later Rishis soared beyond the conception of the nature-gods to the sublime idea of One Deity : —

"1. In the beginning the Golden Child existed. He was the Lord of all from his birth. He placed this earth and sky in their respective places. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

"2. Him who has given life and strength ; whose will is obeyed by all the gods ; whose shadow is immortality, and whose slave is death. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

"3. Him who by his power is the sole king of all the living beings that see and move ; him who is the Lord of all bipeds and quadrupeds. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

"4. Him by whose power these snowy mountains have been made, and whose creations are this earth and its oceans. Him whose arms are these quarters of space. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

"5. Him who has fixed in their places this sky and this earth ; him who has established the heavens and the highest heaven ; him who has measured the firmament. Whom shall we worship with offerings ?

"6. Him by whom the sounding sky and earth have

been fixed and expanded; him whom the resplendent sky and earth own as Almighty; him by whose support the sun rises and gains its lustre. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"7. Mighty waters pervaded the universe, they held in their womb and gave birth to fire. The One Being, who is the life of the gods, appeared. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"8. He who by his own prowess controlled the waters which gave birth to energy, he who is the Lord above all gods, he was One. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"9. He, the True, who is the creator of this earth, who is the creator of the sky, who is the creator of the glad and mighty waters,—may he not do us harm. Whom shall we worship with offerings?

"10. O Lord of creatures! None but thee has produced all these created things. May the object with which we worship be fulfilled. May we acquire wealth and happiness" (X, 121).

We now see the force of the remark that the religion of the Rig Veda travels from Nature up to Nature's God. The worshipper appreciates the glorious phenomena of nature, and rises from these phenomena to grasp the mysteries of creation and its great Creator.

CHAPTER VII.

VEDIC RISHIS.

We have stated in the last chapter that certain pious and learned families obtained pre-eminence in the Vedic Period by their knowledge of performing religious sacrifices and their gift of composing hymns; that kings delighted to honour and reward these families; and that it is to them that the Aryan world is indebted for handing down the Vedic hymns from generation to generation. Modern Hindus take a pride in tracing their descent from these ancient families, and their names are a household word in modern Hindu society. Some account of these ancient Rishis,—the revered pioneers of the Hindu religion,—will therefore not be unwelcome to Hindu readers.

Pre-eminent among the Vedic Rishis, or rather Rishi families, stand the Visvamitras and the Vasishthas. The learned and industrious scholar Dr. Muir has, in the first volume of his "Sanscrit Texts," collected many legends about these Rishis from later Sanscrit literature; but there is no Hindu who has not heard from his boyhood innumerable legends of this kind, connected with those revered names.

The Vasishthas and the Visvamitras were both honoured by the powerful conqueror, Sudas. The hymns of the third Mandala are ascribed to the Visvamitras, and in the 53rd hymn we find the following passage:—"The great god-born, god-commissioned Rishi, the beholder of men, has stayed the watery current. When Visvamitra sacrificed for Sudas, then Indra was propitiated through the

Kausikas." Again, the hymns of the seventh Mandala are ascribed to the Vasishthas, and in the 33rd hymn we find the following passage :—"The Vasishthas in white robes, with their hair knots on the right, devoted to sacred rites, have gladdened me. Rising up, I call the people round the sacrificial grass. Let not the Vasishthas depart from my door."

There was naturally some jealousy between these two priestly houses, and hard words were exchanged. The following verses in III, 53, are said to contain an imprecation against the Vasishthas :—

"21. Indra, approach us to-day with many excellent succour : be propitious to us. May he who hates us fall low ; and let the breath of life forsake him whom we hate.

"22. As the tree suffers from the axe, as the Simbala flower is broken, as the cauldron boiling over casts forth foam, so may the enemy, O Indra.

"23. The might of the destroyer is not perceived. Men lead away the Rishi as if he were a beast. The wise do not condescend to ridicule the fool. They do not lead the ass before the horse.

"24. These Bharatas have learnt to turn away from, not to associate with (the Vasishthas). They urge the horse against them as against a foe. They bear about the bow in battle."

Vasishtha is supposed to have hurled back the imprecation in the following verses of VII, 104 :—

"13. Soma does not bless the wicked nor the ruler who abuses his power. He slays the demon ; he slays the untruthful man ; both are bound by the fetters of Indra.

"14. If I had worshipped false gods, or if I had called upon the gods in vain,—but why art thou angry with me, O Jatavedas ? May vain talkers fall into thy destruction.

"15. May I die at once if I be a Yatudhana, or if I

hurt the life of any man. But may he be cut off from his ten friends who falsely called me a Yatudhana.

"16. He who called me a Yatudhana, when I am not so, or who said I am a bright devil,—May Indra strike him down with his great weapon; may he fall the lowest of all beings."

So far the jealousy of the two angry priests is intelligible and even natural, however unbecoming of their great learning and sanctity. But when we proceed from the Rig Veda to later Sanscrit literature, incidents which are human and natural become lost in a cloud of miraculous and monstrous legends.

It is assumed from the commencement in these later legends that Vasishtha was a Brahman and Visvamitra was a Kshatriya, although the Rig Veda justifies no such assumption and knows no Brahmans and Kshatriyas as castes. On the contrary, Visvamitra is the composer of some of the finest hymns cherished by later Brahmans, including the sacred Gayatri, the morning prayer of modern Brahmans.

Having assumed that Visvamitra was born a Kshatriya, the Mahabharata, the Harivansa, the Vishnu Purana, and other later works repeat an amusing story to account for the sage's attaining Brahmanhood. Satyavati, a Kshatriya girl, had been married to Richika, a Brahman. Richika prepared a dish for his wife, which would make her conceive a son with the qualities of a Brahman, and another dish for his mother-in-law (a Kshatriya's wife), which would make her conceive a son with the qualities of a Kshatriya. The two ladies, however, exchanged dishes; and so the Kshatriya's wife conceived and bore Visvamitra with the qualities of a Brahman, and the Brahman's wife Satyavati bore Jamadagni, whose son, the fiery Parasurama, though a Brahman, became a renowned and destructive warrior! Such were the childish stories which the later writers had to invent to remove the difficulty they had created for themselves

by assuming that Vedic Rishis belonged to particular castes!

In the celebrated legend of Harischandra, Visvamitra appears as a rapacious Brahman. He not only made the king give up his whole empire, but compelled him to sell his queen, his boy, and himself as slaves to pay the inexorable Brahman's fee! If such stories are invented to teach respect and duty due to Brahmans, they fail in their object and inspire other sentiments. The bereaved Harischandra was, however, rewarded in the end, and Visvamitra anointed his son as king, and Harischandra went to heaven. Vasishtha became angry and cursed Visvamitra to be a Vaka or crane, and Visvamitra, too, transformed Vasishtha into an Ari bird! The two birds began a furious contest which shook the whole world, until Brahma had to interpose, and restored the saints to their own forms, and reconciled them!

In the legend of Trisanku, we are told that that prince wished to go bodily to heaven. Vasishtha declared the thing impossible, and in return for the king's angry words changed him to a Chandala. The fiery Visvamitra now appeared on the scene. He declared the thing quite possible, and began a great sacrifice and proceeded with it in spite of Vasishtha's absence. Trisanku ascended to heaven, but Indra refused to receive him, and threw the intruder, head downwards, towards the earth. The irrepressible Visvamitra, however, threatened to create another heaven with Indra and gods and stars! The gods had to give in, and Trisanku ascended to heaven, and shone like a star beyond the sun's course, but in a somewhat uncomfortable position, with his head still downwards!

In various other legends, which have almost become household stories for Hindu boys and girls, these two sages continually appear, in defiance of chronology and date, and are always at enmity with each other. The rival priests appear in courts of kings, twenty, thirty,

or fifty generations removed from each other, and there is hardly a classical composition of note about a royal house or a semi-divine hero in which we do not find mention of Vasishtha and Visvamitra, eternally the rivals of each other. Thus the Vishnu Purana makes Vasishtha the priest of Ikshvaku's son Nimi, as well as the priest of Sagara, who was thirty-seventh in descent from Ikshvaku; and the Ramayana makes Vasishtha the priest of Rama, who was sixty-first in descent from Ikshvaku! Such is the use which later romancers have made of the simple materials furnished by the Rig Veda, and such is the manner in which they have piled story upon story, and myth upon myth in connection with incidents which in the ancient Veda are simple, natural, and human. Not only the Rishis of the Veda, but every deity, and we may almost say every simile or allegory in the Rig Veda about a natural phenomenon, have received such treatment in the hands of the later imaginative Hindus.

But while a hundred wild stories were invented in later days to account for Visvamitra's attaining Brahmanhood, there was no thought of denying that accepted fact. Every legend, every learned disquisition, every childish tale, every great work, from the Mahabharata to Manu and the Puranas,—admit that Visvamitra was a Kshatriya and a Brahman. Yudhisthira in the Anusasana Parva (section 3) of the Mahabharata inquires of Bhishma how Visvamitra had not only become a Brahman but had established "the great and wise family of the Kusikas, *which included Brahmans and hundreds of Brahman Rishis.*". The question would be a difficult one to answer in the Puranic Age in which the Mahabharata received its last touches. The question would not be difficult of solution in the Epic Age when the caste-system was still a pliable institution. And the question would not arise at all in the Age of Visvamitra himself, *i.e.*, in the Vedic Age, when caste as such did not exist.

From the legends of the Visvamitras and the Vasishr

thas, let us now turn to the scarcely less renowned houses of the Angirases, the Vamadevas, the Bharadvajas, and the Bhrigus. All these were families of Vedic Rishis, composers of Vedic hymns; and later writers therefore feel somewhat uncertain about their caste. They are sometimes called Brahmans with the character of Kshatriyas, sometimes Kshatriyas with the character of Brahmans; and occasionally the bold truth is conjectured that these Rishis lived before the institution of caste was formed.

The Angirases are the reputed authors of the ninth Mandala of the Rig Veda. About the Angirases, the Vishnu Purana (IV, 2, 2) has the following:—"The son of Nabhaga was Nabhaga; his son was Ambarisha; his son was Virupa; from him sprang Prishadasva, and from him Rathinara. On this subject there is this verse: These persons *descended from a Kshatriya stock and afterwards known as Angirases* were the chief of the Rathinaras, *Brahmans possessing also the character of Kshatriyas.*"

Vamadeva and Bharadvaja are reputed to be the authors of the fourth and sixth Mandalas of the Rig Veda. The Matsya Purana includes them (section 132) among the Angirases of whom we have spoken before.

To the Gritsamadas are attributed the hymns of the second Mandala of the Rig Veda. The commentator Sayana says of him that he was formerly of the Angiras race, but he afterwards became Gritsamada, of the Bhrigu race. This somewhat mystic legend is elaborated in the Mahabharata, Anusasana Parva (section 30), in which we are told that Vitahavya, a Kshatriya king, had taken shelter with Bhrigu, and Bhrigu, in order to save the fugitive from his pursuer, stated "there is no Kshatriya here, all these are Brahmans." The word of Bhrigu could not prove untrue, and the fugitive Kshatriya Vitahavya forthwith bloomed into Brahmanhood and became Gritsamada! It must be allowed that this was an easier process than the penance of thousands of years

which Visvamitra is said to have performed,—not to mention that his mother had exchanged dishes with a Brahman's wife !

But the story of Gritsamada's change of caste is not universally accepted. The Vishnu Purana and the Vayu Purana conjecture the bold truth that Gritsamada lived before the caste institution was formed. "From Gritsamada was descended Saunaka, *who originated the four castes*" (*Vish. Pur.*, IV, 8).

Lastly, let us turn to the Kanvas and the Atris. The Kanvas are the authors of the eighth Mandala of the Rig Veda, and we find the same uncertainty about their caste. The Vishnu Purana (IV, 19), and the Bhagavata Purana (IX, 20, 6, 7), maintain that Kanva was a descendant of Puru, a Kshatriya. Nevertheless the Kanvas were regarded as Brahmans. "From Ajamidha sprang Kanva, and from him Medhatithi, *from whom were descended the Kanvanaya Brahmans*" (*Vish. Pur.*, IV, 19).

The Atris are the reputed authors of the fifth Mandala of the Rig Veda, and we find the same uncertainty about their caste also. Thus the Vishnu Purana (IV, 6), calls Atri the grandfather of Pururavas, *who belonged to the Kshatriya race.*

These extracts are enough. They are made from works composed or revised two or three thousand years after the time of the Vedic Rishis, but those extracts enable us to comprehend the status and position of the Vedic religious leaders and warriors, and are therefore not out of place in an account of the Vedic Period. Writing at such a long distance of time from the Vedic Age the modern authors often misapprehended ancient facts and traditions. But nevertheless, the unswerving loyalty to the past which has ever characterised Hindu writers prevented them from tampering with such traditions. Those traditions pointed to a state of society which had long passed away, and which had become almost unintelligible. Puranic writers could scarcely comprehend

that priests and warriors could spring from the same race, that a Rishi could be a warrior, or that a warrior could be a priest. They tried to explain such traditions by a hundred different theories and legends, but nevertheless they have faithfully and piously handed down the traditions unchanged and unaltered. Thus, to make only one more extract, the Matsya Purana enumerates 91 Vedic Rishis, and concludes with the following suggestive passage, (section 132) :—"Thus 91 persons have been declared, by whom the hymns have been given forth. *They were Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas*, all sons of Rishis. They were the offspring of the Rishikas, sons of Rishis, Vedic Rishis."

Thus the Purana faithfully preserves the ancient tradition that the Vedic hymns were the common property of the entire Aryan population. And when the writer tells us that the composers of those hymns were Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, we have little difficulty in discovering in that statement a dim recollection of the truth that the hymns were composed by the *undivided ancestors of those castes.*

Modern writers have classed Rishis under three classes, *viz.*, Devarshis, or saintly gods like Narada ; Brahmarshis, or saintly Brahmans like Kanva of the Sakuntala drama ; and Rajarshis, or saintly Kshatriyas like Janaka, king of the Videhas. The ancient Vedic Rishis did not answer to any of these classes, did not belong exclusively to any of these categories, and were therefore a standing puzzle to modern writers. Hence the numerous legends to account for what was unaccountable ; and often in the midst of these wild conjectures, the modern writer made a bold guess after the truth, and maintained that the Vedic Rishis must have lived before caste was originated. We do not wonder at the theories and legends which were multiplied in such profusion ; we admire the boldness with which the truth was sometimes conjectured.

For the rest, these invaluable traditions—that priests

and warriors were descended from the same races, and that the same Rishis were often both priests and warriors, —enable us to comprehend the true position of Vedic Rishis. For, divested of their miraculous and legendary character, what do these traditions indicate? They indicate that the venerable families of the olden times,—like those of the Vasishthas, the Visvamitras, the Angirases, and the Kanvas,—furnished renowned warriors and eminent priests at the same time. A Percy or a Douglas might be an ambitious priest or a fiery warrior, and so might a Kanva or an Angiras. To be sure, the Hindu houses were pre-eminently priestly as the European houses were military, but *caste* was as unknown to the one as to the other. Many a baron of Mediæval Europe, whose name is still preserved in the history of the crusades, had his father or uncle, son or nephew, immured in the solitude of holy monasteries; and many a Vasishtha or Visvamitra, whose religious hymns we still cherish and revere, had his son or nephew engaged in the wars of the Vedic Period, in the unending contests against the aborigines of the soil. These facts are proved by the text of the Rig Veda itself which we have quoted in a previous chapter; and they are confirmed by the legends and traditions which we have quoted in this chapter from later Sanscrit literature. The Vedic Rishis composed their hymns, fought their wars, and ploughed their fields; but were neither Brahmans, nor Kshatriyas, nor Vaisyas. The great Rishi houses of the Vedic Age furnished priests and soldiers, but were no more Brahmans or Kshatriyas than the Percies or Douglases of Mediæval Europe were Brahmans or Kshatriyas.

BOOK II.

EPIC PERIOD, B.C. 1400 TO 1000.

CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

WE have closed our account of the Vedic Age, when the Hindu Aryans gradually conquered and occupied the whole tract of the country watered by the Indus and its five tributaries. We have seen that the sole work of this period which remains to us is the collection of hymns known as the Rig Veda Sanhita, and we have also seen how these hymns illustrate the civilisation of the Vedic Period. We now proceed to describe the civilisation of the Epic Period, when the Hindus crossed the Sutlej, moved down the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and founded powerful kingdoms along the entire valley as far down as modern Benares and North Behar. And as in the case of the Vedic Age, so in the case of the Epic Age, we will base our account on contemporaneous literature.

What is the contemporaneous literature of the Epic Age? And what is the contemporaneous literature of the Philosophical or Rationalistic Age that followed? The Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads, which constantly refer to the actions of the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Kosalas, and the Videhas *living in the valley of the Ganges*, form the literature of the Epic Age. The Sutras, which presuppose the rise of rationalism in

India, and which were composed when the Aryans *had expanded all over India*, form the literature of the Rationalistic Age.

About thirty years ago Professor Max Müller published his great work on Sanscrit literature, and gave reasons, which have since generally been accepted, for considering the mass of Sutra literature as subsequent to the Brahmana literature. He showed that the Sutra literature presupposed and quoted from the Brahmana literature, and the converse was never the case. He showed that the Brahmana literature reflected an age of priestly supremacy and unquestioning obedience on the part of the people, which was anterior to the practical and philosophical and sceptical age of the Sutras. He showed that the Brahmana literature down to the Upanishads was considered *revealed* in India, while all Sutra works were ascribed to human authors. And he enforced these arguments by a wealth of illustrations and a degree of erudition which left nothing to be desired.*

It is needless to say that we cannot enter into the

* Later researches have confirmed the view. Not only are the Sutras of a particular school subsequent to the Brahmanas of the same school, but the body of the Sutra literature as a whole is subsequent to the body of the Brahmana literature. Thus, to quote one instance only, Dr. Bühler, who does not altogether agree with Max Müller on this point, nevertheless points out in his Introductions to the Dharma Sutras that those Sutras repeatedly quote from Brahmanas of different schools. He shows that Gautama's Dharma Sutra, which is the oldest extant, presupposes an Aranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda, a Brahmana of the Sama Veda and even an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda! He points out that Vasishtha's Dharma Sutra quotes from a Brahmana of the Rig Veda, an Aranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda and a Brahmana of the White Yajur Veda, and also mentions an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda. So also Baudhayana's Dharma Sutra quotes from the Brahmanas both of the Black and the White Yajur Veda. On the other hand, no Brahmana ever quotes from any Sutra work.

No scholar maintains that the last Brahmana work was composed before the first Sutra work was written. But there can be little doubt on the evidence now before us, that there was a period when the *prevailing style* of writing was the prose style of the Brahmanas, and that this period was followed by a period when the *prevailing style* was aphorisms or Sutras.

details of these learned discussions. True to the plan of the present work, we will make only a few remarks not on the *literary*, but on the *historical* bearings of the facts stated above. What is the historical import of this sequence in the different classes of Ancient Sanscrit literature? What is the historical reason of this sequence? Why did the Ancient Hindus compose their works in one particular form, the Vedic hymns, for a number of centuries? Why did they gradually abandon that style of composition, and write the prolix and dogmatic prose Brahmanas, for some succeeding centuries? And why again did they gradually change this for the concise aphorisms of the Sutras during the next few centuries? What is there in the nature of things that would induce the Ancient Hindus to take up different styles of composition at different periods of their history,—as if to afford the future historian a clue to the dates of their writings?

The question is more easily asked than answered. It may be answered, however, by a counter-question. What is there in the nature of things which prevented the Chronicles and Romances of Mediæval Europe being composed after the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Why did not Hume and Gibbon compose Chronicles? Why did not Fielding and Scott compose Mediæval Romances? The subjects were still the same;—why was the composition so different that it would be possible to demarcate the feudal ages from the modern period on the testimony of European literature, even if every vestige of European history was destroyed?

An Englishman would answer: It was impossible that Chronicles and feudal Romances should be continued after Elizabeth had reigned and Shakespeare and Bacon had written. A new light had dawned on Europe. The human mind had expanded. Religion was purified. A new world had been discovered. Modern philosophy had taken its rise. Commerce and maritime enterprise had

received a wonderful development. Feudalism had died a natural death. The face of the European world had been changed.

Were it possible to bring before the reader the history of Hindu civilisation as vividly as he has before him the history of European civilisation, he would give similar replies with regard to the epochs of Indian History. It was impossible in the nature of things that Hymns like those of the Rig Veda should be composed after the Hindus had achieved the elaborate civilisation, and adopted the pompous religious rites of the Epic Period. The simple fervency with which the Punjab Aryans looked up to the Sky, the Dawn, or the Sun, had passed, once and for ever. Simple natural phenomena did not excite the wonder and religious admiration of the cultured and somewhat artificial Gangetic Aryans engaged in solemn rites and pompous sacrifices. The fervent prayer to the rain-god Indra, or the loving address to the dawn-goddess Ushas, was almost impossible. The very import and object of the old simple hymns were forgotten, and sacrifices of various descriptions, from the simple morning and evening libations to the elaborate royal sacrifices lasting for many years, formed the essence of the later religion. The rules of the sacrifices, the import and object of every minute rite, the regulations for each insignificant observance,—these occupied the religious minds of the people, these formed the subjects of discussion between learned kings and royal priests, these formed the bulk of the Brahmana literature. It was as impossible for the cultured writers and thinkers of the day to go back to the buried past and disinter the simple faith of the Vedic Hymns, as it was impossible for the erudite schoolmen of Mediæval Europe to produce the wild and simple Norwegian Sagas of a bygone age.

Again, the elaborate and dogmatic trifling of the scholastic philosophy of Europe was impossible after Descartes had lived and Bacon had written. In the

same way, and for the same reason, the elaborate trifling of the Brahmanas were impossible in the Hindu world after Kapila had taught and Gautama Buddha had preached. The human mind in India had received a new impetus. A new world had been discovered beyond the Vindhya range, though the name of the Indian Columbus, who first planted the Hindu flag in a southern kingdom, is forgotten. The earnest and fervent Upanishads had been written, and marked a strong reaction against priestly pedantry. Kapila—the Descartes of India—had startled the Hindu world by his Sankhya philosophy, and Gautama—the Luther of India—had proclaimed a reformed faith for the poor and the lowly, and protested against the privileges of priests. New sciences had started into existence. A new light had dawned in the Hindu world.

The Brahmana literature died a natural death. The elaborate and unmeaning dogmas were left in the shade; the rules for the performance of the ancient sacrifices were condensed for practical purposes. It was a practical age, when everything was condensed and codified. The rules of life were codified. Philosophy was condensed into aphorisms, science and learning in every department were condensed. Treatises were composed in every branch of human knowledge in a concise style, in which teachers could teach and learners could learn by rote. And thus it is that we have the entire literature of the Rationalistic Age in the shape of aphorisms,—of Sutras.

This is the historical import of the three different classes of Ancient Sanscrit literature, which represent three distinct epochs of Hindu history. The Hymns reflect the manly simplicity of the Vedic Age. The Brahmanas reflect the pompous ceremonials of the Epic Age. The Sutras reflect the science and learning, and even the scepticism of the Rationalistic Age.

We have said before that the tide of Hindu colonisation rolled eastward and southward in each successive period,

and the different classes of Sanscrit literature spoken of attest to this onward movement. In Europe feudal literature and modern literature were developed on the same arena, in Italy and Germany, in France and England. In India the case was different. For the Aryans of India went on conquering through successive periods, and the literature of each period speaks of the portion of India under the Aryan influence and domination in that particular period. This in itself is an invaluable index to the dates of the different classes of literature.

The Hymns of the Rig Veda speak of the Punjab alone,—India beyond the Punjab is unknown to the Rig Veda. The banks of the distant Ganges and the Jumna are rarely alluded to; the scenes of all the wars and social ceremonies and religious sacrifices of the Rig Veda are the banks of the Indus and its tributaries and the Sarasvati. This was the Hindu world when the hymns were composed.

But the Hindus soon threw out colonies all over Northern India. In course of centuries these colonies rose into importance and were formed into powerful kingdoms, and by their progress and learning threw the mother-country, the Punjab, into the shade. In the Brahmanas we hear of the mighty Kurus in the tract of the country round modern Delhi; we hear of the powerful Panchalas in the country round modern Kanouj; we read of the Videhas in the country now known as North Behar; we read of the Kosalas in Oudh; and we read of the Kasis in the country round modern Benares. These colonists developed pompous sacrificial rites, and had illustrious and learned kings like Janaka and Ajatasatru and Janamejaya Parikshita. They founded schools or parishads in villages and towns, and they developed a new social system based on caste distinctions. It is of these colonists and their civilisation that we mostly read in the Brahmanas;—the Punjab is almost forgotten, and Southern India is still unknown,

or is referred to as the home of wild beasts and wild men.

And lastly, the Sutra literature makes us familiar with great Hindu kingdoms in Southern India, and some of the existing Sutras were composed in Southern India. Thus the countries and nations described by the different classes of literature point to their respective ages.

We have spoken of the Vedic Period and the Rig Veda Hymns in the First Book of this work. We will speak of the Epic Period and the Brahmana literature in this Second Book. And we will speak of the Rationalistic Period and the Sutra literature in the Third Book.

We have seen before that the Rig Veda Hymns were *composed* in the Vedic Age and were finally *compiled* in the Epic Age. The other three Vedas known as the Sama Veda, the Yajur Veda (White and Black), and the Atharva Veda, were also compiled in this Epic Age.

The reasons which led to the compilation of the Sama Veda and the Yajur Veda have been ascertained with a fair degree of certainty. We find mention in the hymns of the Rig Veda of different classes of priests who performed different duties at sacrifices. The Adhvaryus were entrusted with the material performance of sacrifice. They measured the ground, built the altar, prepared the sacrificial vessels, fetched wood and water, and immolated animals. The Udgatris, on the other hand, were entrusted with the duty of singing, as according to ancient custom some parts of the sacrifice had to be accompanied by songs. The Hotris had to recite hymns. And lastly, the Brahmans presided at sacrifices over all the rest.

Of these four classes of priests, neither the Brahman nor the Hotri required any special manual. For the Brahman was required to know the entire ceremonial, to be able to superintend the performance of the sacrifice, to advise the other priests on doubtful points, and to correct their mistakes. The Hotri too had simply to recite, and if he knew the hymns of the Rig Veda, he did not require

any separate compilation. But the duties of the Adhvaryu and the Udgatri required special training. Special sacrificial formulas must have existed for the former, and a stock of the Rig Veda Hymns, set to music, must have also existed for the latter in the Vedic Period, for we find the names Yajus and Saman in the Rig Veda Hymns. These formulas and chants were, however, separately collected and compiled at a later age, *i.e.*, in the Epic Period; and these separate compilations, in the shape which they last took, are the Yajur Veda and the Sama Veda as we have them now.

No name has been handed down to us as the compiler of the Sama Veda. Professor Benfey has pointed out, what Dr. Stevenson previously suspected, that all the verses of the Sama Veda, with the exception of a few, are to be found in the Rig Veda; and it is supposed that these few verses too must have been contained in some other recension of the Rig Veda now lost to us. It is quite clear, therefore, that the Sama Veda is only a selection from the Rig Veda set to music for a special purpose.

Of the compilers of Yajur Veda, we have some information. The more ancient or Black Yajur Veda is called the Taittiriya Sanhita from Tittiri, who probably compiled or promulgated it in its present shape. In the Anukramani of the Atreya recension of this Veda, however, we are told that the Veda was handed down by Vaisampayana to Yaska Paingi, by Yaska to Tittiri, by Tittiri to Ukha, and by Ukha to Atreya. This would show that the existing oldest recension of the Yajur Veda was not the first recension.

We have fuller information with regard to the more recent White Yajur Veda. It is called the Vajasaneyi Sanhita, from Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya, the compiler or promulgator of that Veda. Yajnavalkya held the influential position of chief priest in the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas, and the promulgation of this new

Veda proceeded probably from the court of that learned king.

There is a striking difference in arrangement between the White Yajur Veda and the Black Yajur Veda. In the latter, the sacrificial formulas are followed by dogmatic explanations, and by accounts of ceremonials belonging to them. In the former, the formulas only find place in the Sanhita, the explanation and the ritual being assigned to the Brahmana. It is not improbable, as has been supposed, that it was to improve the old arrangement, and to separate the exegetic matter from the formulas, that Yajnavalkya, of the court of Janaka, founded the new school known as the Vajasaneyins, and that their labours resulted in a new (Vayasaneyi) Sanhita and an entirely separate (Satapatha) Brahmana.

But although the promulgation of the White Yajur Veda is ascribed to Yajnavalkya, a glance at its contents will show that it is not the compilation of any one man or even of one age. Of its 40 chapters only the first 18 are cited in full and explained in due order in the first nine books of the Satapatha Brahmana; and it is the formulas of these 18 chapters only which are found in the older Black Yajur Veda. These 18 chapters then are the oldest portion of the White Yajur Veda, and may have been compiled or promulgated by Yajnavalkya Vajasaneya. The next 7 chapters are very likely a later addition. The remaining 15 chapters are undoubtedly a still later addition, and are expressly called Parisishta or Khila, *i.e.*, supplement.

Of the Atharva Veda, we need only state that it was not generally recognised as a Veda till long after the period of which we are speaking, though a class of literature known as the Atharvangiras was growing up during the Epic Period, and is alluded to in the later portions of some of the Brahmanas. Throughout the first three Periods of Hindu history, and even in Manu and other metrical codes, three Vedas are generally recognised.

And although the claims of the Atharvan were sometimes put forward, still the work was not generally recognised as a fourth Veda till long after the Christian Era. Numerous passages recognising three Vedas only could be cited from the literature of the period of which we are now speaking; but we are unable to make room for such passages. We will only refer our readers to some of them, *viz.*, Aitareya Brahmana, V, 32; Satapatha Brahmana, IV, 6, 7; Aitareya Aranyaka, III, 2, 3; Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, I, 5; and Chhandogya Upanishad, III and VII. In this last work, after the three Vedas are named, Atharvangiras is classed with Itihasa. It is only in the Brahmana and Upanishads of the Atharva Veda itself that we find a uniform recognition of this work as a Veda. For instance, it is the principal object of the Gopatha Brahmana to show the necessity of four Vedas. A carriage, we are told, does not proceed with less than four wheels, an animal cannot walk with less than four feet, nor can sacrifice be perfect with less than four Vedas! Such special pleading only proves that the fourth Veda was not yet recognised generally, even in the comparatively recent times when the Gopatha Brahmana was composed.

Atharvan and Angiras are, as Professor Whitney remarks, half mythical names of ancient and venerated Indian families, and it was sought to bring the recent Veda into connection with these ancient names! The Veda is divided into twenty books, and contains nearly six thousand verses, and a sixth of this is in prose. Of the remaining, one-sixth is found among the hymns of the Rig Veda, mostly in the tenth book. The nineteenth book is a kind of supplement to the previous eighteen, while the twentieth book is made up of extracts from the Rig Veda.

The entire Veda principally consists of formulas intended to protect men against the baneful influences of divine powers, against diseases, noxious animals, and curses of enemies. It knows a host of "imps and hob-

goblins," and offers homage to them to prevent them from doing harm. The hymns are supposed to bring from the unwilling hands of gods the favours that are wanted. Incantations calculated to procure long life or wealth or recovery from illness, and invocations for good luck in journeys, in gaming, &c., fill the work. These hymns resemble similar hymns in the last book of the Rig Veda; only, as professor Weber has pointed out, in the Rig Veda they are apparently additions made at the time of the compilation, while in the Atharva Veda they are the natural utterance of the present.

We must now hasten to an account of the compositions called Brahmanas, after which the literature of this Age has been named the Brahmana literature. We have seen that in the Black Yajur Veda the texts are as a rule followed by their dogmatic explanations. These explanations were supposed to elucidate the texts and to explain their hidden meanings, and they contained the speculations of generations of priests. A single discourse of this kind was called a Brahmana; and in later times collections or digests of such discourses were called Brahmanas.

The Rig Veda has two Brahmanas, *viz.*, the Aitareya and the Kaushitaki. The composition of the former is attributed to Mahidasa Aitareya, son of Itara. In the Kaushitaki Brahmana, on the other hand, special regard is paid to the sage Kaushitaka, whose authority is considered to be final. For the rest, these two Brahmanas seem to be only two recensions of the same work, used by the Aitaryins and the Kaushitakins respectively, and they agree with each other in many respects, except that the last ten chapters of the Aitareya are not found in the Kaushitaki, and belong probably to a later age.

The Sama Veda has the Tandya or Panchavinsa Brahmana, the Sadvinsa Brahmana, the Mantra Brahmana, and the better known Chhandogya.

The Black Yajur Veda or Taittiriya Sanhita has its

Taittiriya Brahmana, and the White Yajur Veda or Vajasaneyi Sanhita has its voluminous Satapatha Brahmana. We have already stated that the Satapatha Brahmana is attributed to Yajnavalkya, though it is more likely the handiwork of the school he founded, as he is often quoted in the work. Nor does the work belong entirely to one school or to one age. On the contrary, as in the case of the White Yajur Veda Sanhita so in the case of its Brahmana, there are reasons to think that the work belongs to different periods. The first 18 chapters of the Sanhita are the oldest part of the work, and the first nine books of the Brahmana, which comment on these 18 chapters, are the oldest part of the Brahmana. The remaining five books are of later date than the first nine books.

The Atharva Veda has its Gopatha Brahmana, a comparatively recent production, the contents of which are a medley, derived to a large extent from other sources.

Next after the Brahmanas come the Aranyakas, which may indeed be considered as the last portions of the Brahmanas. They are so called, as Sayana informs us, because they had to be read in the forest, while the Brahmanas were for use in sacrifices performed by householders in their homes.

The Rig Veda has its Kaushitaki Aranyaka and its Aitareya Aranyaka, the latter ascribed to Mahidasa Aitareya. The Black Yajur Veda has its Taittiriya Aranyaka, and the last book of the Satapatha Brahmana is called its Aranyaka. The Sama Veda and the Atharva Veda have no Aranyakas.

What gives these Aranyakas a special importance, however, is, that they are the proper repositories of those celebrated religious speculations known as the Upanishads. The Upanishads, which are the best known, and which are undoubtedly ancient, are the Aitareya and the Kaushitaki, found in the Aranyakas of those names, and belonging to the Rig Veda; the Chhandogya and the

Talavakara (or Kena) belonging to the Sama Veda; the Vajasaneyi (or Isa) and the Brihadaranyaka belonging to the White Yajur Veda; the Taittiriya and Katha and Svetasvatara belonging to the Black Yajur Veda; and the Mundaka and Prasna and Mandukya belonging to the Atharva Veda. These twelve are the ancient Upanishads to which Sankaracharya principally appeals in his great commentary on the Vedanta Sutras. But once after the Upanishads had come to be considered sacred and authoritative works, new compositions of the class began to be added, until the total number reaches 200 or more. The later Upanishads, which are generally known as the Atharva Upanishads, come down as far as the Puranic times, and enter the lists in behalf of sectarian views, instead of being devoted to an inquiry into the nature of Brahman or the Supreme Spirit, like the old Upanishads. Indeed, the later Upanishads come down to a period long subsequent to the Mahommedan Conquest of India, and the idea of a universal religion which was cherished by the great emperor Akbar finds expression in an Upanishad called the Allah Upanishad! We need hardly say that we will refer in this work only to the ancient Upanishads, and not to the later Upanishads.

With the Upanishads the Epic Period ends, and the so-called revealed literature of India ends also. Other classes of works, besides those named herein, undoubtedly existed in the Epic Period, but have now been lost to us, or more frequently replaced by newer works. A fragment only of the vast literature of the Epic Period has come down to us, and the principal works which remain have been detailed above.

Of the Epics themselves, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, we will speak in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER II.

KURUS AND PANCHALAS.

THE tide of Aryan conquests rolled onward. If the reader will refer to a map of India, he will find that from the banks of the Sutlej to the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, there is not a very wide strip of country to cross. The Aryans, who had colonised the whole of the Punjab, were not likely to remain inactive on the banks of the Sutlej or of the Sarasvati. Already in the Vedic Period bands of enterprising colonists had crossed those rivers and explored the distant shores of the Jumna and the Ganges, and those noble streams, though alluded to in the hymns as on the very horizon of the Hindu world, were not unknown. In course of time the emigrants to the fertile banks of the two rivers must have swelled in number, until the colonists founded a powerful kingdom of their own in the country near modern Delhi,—the kingdom of the Kurus.

The colonists were no others than the Bharatas renowned in the wars of Sudas, but their kings belonged to the house of Kurus, and hence the tribe went by both names, Bharatas and Kurus. From what part of the Punjab the Kurus came, is a question still involved in obscurity. In the Aitareya Brahmana (VIII, 14), it is stated that the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras lived beyond the Himalaya. In later works, the Mahabharata (I, 47, 19, &c.) and the Ramayana (IV, 44, 88, &c.), the land of the Uttara Kurus, has already become a mythical country. Uttara Kuru is identified

with Ottorakorra of Ptolemy, and Lassen places the country somewhere east of modern Kashgar; but we would place the Uttara Kuru alluded to in the Aitareya Brahmana somewhere north of the Sub-Himalayan range, *i.e.*, in Kashmir. We assume that the colony of the Kurus on the Ganges rose to prowess and fame about 1400 B.C.

When the Hindus had once begun to colonise the fertile banks of the Jumna and the Ganges, swarms of the colonists marched down the course of those streams and soon occupied the whole of the Doab, *i.e.*, the tract of country between those rivers. While we find the Kurus or Bharatas settling down in the country near modern Delhi, we find another adventurous tribe, the Panchalas, occupying the tract of country near modern Kanouj. The original seat of the Panchalas is still less known than that of the Kurus, and it has been supposed that they also came from the northern hills, like the Kurus. Their name, however, which means "Five tribes," would seem to indicate that they were of the Pancha-Krishti or Pancha-jana, "five cultivating tribes" of whom we read so often in the Rig Veda.

The Panchala kingdom probably rose to distinction about the same time as the kingdom of the Kurus, and the Brahmana literature frequently refers to these allied tribes as forming the very centre of the Hindu world, and renowned by their valour, their learning, and their civilisation. Many of the Brahmanas allude to the culture of their schools, the sanctity of their priests, the ostentatious religious sacrifices of their kings, and the exemplary lives of the people.

For centuries had elapsed since the Aryans had first settled on the banks of the Indus, and the centuries had done their work in progress and civilisation. The Kurus and the Panchalas were no longer like the warrior-cultivators who battled against the black aborigines and won the banks of the Indus and its tributaries. Manners had

changed, society had become more refined and polished, learning and arts had made considerable progress. Kings invited wise men to their courts, held learned controversies with their priests, performed elaborate sacrifices according to the rules of the age, led respectable and trained armies to the field, appointed duly qualified men to collect taxes and to administer justice, and performed all the duties of civilised administrators. The relations and friends of the king and all the warriors of the nation learnt archery and driving the war chariot from their early youth, and also learned the Vedas and all the holy learning that was handed down from generation to generation. The priests multiplied religious rites and observances, preserved the traditional learning of the land, and instructed and helped the people in their religious duties. And the people lived in their towns and villages, cherished the sacred sacrificial fire in their houses, cultivated the arts of peace, trained their boys from early youth in the Vedas and in their social and religious duties, and gradually developed those social customs which in India have the force of laws. Women had their legitimate influence in society, and moved without restriction or restraint. Society in India, fourteen hundred years before Christ, was more polished and refined than that of the preceding Vedic Age, and had more of healthy life and vigour than Hindu society has had in succeeding ages.

Civilisation, however, does not necessarily put a stop to wars and dissensions; and of the political history of the Kurus and the Panchalas, the only reminiscences we possess are those of a sanguinary war in which many neighbouring tribes took part, and which forms the subject of one of the two great epics of India.

The incidents of the war described in the Mahabharata are undoubtedly mythical, as the incidents described in the Iliad are mythical. The five Pandava brothers and their common wife are myths, as Achilles and Paris and

Helen are myths. But nevertheless the great epic based on the recollections of a true war of the great Bharatas (hence the name of the epic), and faithfully describes the manners and customs of the ancient Hindus, as the Iliad describes the manners of the ancient Greeks.

It is because the story of the existing epic throws valuable side-lights on the state of the society of the ancient Hindus that we think it necessary to briefly narrate it here. Let the reader attach no value to the names, which are mostly mythical, or to the incidents, which are mostly imaginary; let him only endeavour to draw from the story a picture of Hindu life in the Epic Period, *i.e.*, the period of Aryan expansion in the Gangetic valley.

The capital of the Kurus at the time of which we are speaking was the city of Hastinapura, the supposed ruins of which have been discovered on the upper course of the Ganges, about sixty-five miles to the north-east of Delhi. Santanu, the old king of Hastinapura, died, leaving two sons, Bhishma, who had taken a vow of celibacy, and a younger prince who became king. This young prince died in his turn, leaving two sons, Dhritarashtra who was blind, and Pandu who ascended the throne.

Pandu died, leaving five sons who are the heroes of the epic. Dhritarashtra remained virtually the king during the minority of the five Pandavas and of his own children, while Dhritarashtra's uncle Bhishma, a renowned warrior, remained the chief councillor and friend of the state.

The account of the training of the young Pandavas and the sons of Dhritarashtra to arms throws much light on the manners of royal houses. Drona was a Brahman, and a renowned warrior, for caste had not yet completely formed itself, Kshatriyas had not yet obtained the monopoly of the use of arms, nor Brahmans of religious learning. He had been insulted by his former friend the king of the Panchalas, and had retired in disgust to the court of the Kurus and undertook to train the princes in arms.

Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandavas, never became much of a warrior, but became versed in the religious learning of the age, and is the most righteous character in the epic. Bhima, the second, learnt to use the club, and was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and is indeed the Ajax of the poem. The third, Arjuna, excelled all other princes in the skill of arms, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of the sons of Dhritarashtra, even in their boyhood. Nakula, the fourth, learned to tame horses, and Sahadeva, the fifth, became proficient in astronomy. Duryodhana, the eldest son of Dhritarashtra, was proficient in the use of the club, and was a rival to Bhima.

At last the day came for a public exhibition of the proficiency which the princes had acquired in the use of arms. A spacious area was enclosed. Seats were arranged all round for the accommodation of ancient warriors and chieftains, of ladies and courtiers. The whole population of Kuruland flocked to see the skill of their young princes. The blind king, Dhritarashtra, was led to his seat; and foremost among the ladies were Gandhari, the queen of Dhritarashtra, and Kunti, the mother of the first three Pandavas. The last two were Pandu's sons by another wife.

There was shooting of arrows at a butt, and there was fighting with swords and bucklers and clubs. Duryodhana and Bhima soon began to fight in right earnest, and rushed towards each other like mad elephants. Shouts ascended to the sky, and soon the fight threatened to have a tragic end. At last the infuriated young men were parted, and peace was restored.

Then the young Arjuna entered the lists in golden mail, with his wondrous bow. His splendid archery surprised his most passionate admirers and thrilled the heart of his mother with joy, while shouts of admiration rose from the multitude like the roar of the ocean. He played with his sword, which flashed like lightning, and

also with his sharp-edged quoit or chakra, and never missed his mark. Lastly, he brought down horses and deer to the ground by the noose, and concluded by doing obeisance to his worthy preceptor Drona, amidst the ringing cheers of the assembled multitude.

The dark cloud of jealousy lowered on the brow of Dhritarashtra's sons, and soon they brought to the field an unknown warrior, Karna, who was a match for Arjuna in archery. King's sons could only fight with their peers, like the knights of old, and Dhritarashtra therefore knighted the unknown warrior, or rather made him a king on the spot, so that Arjuna might have no excuse for declining the fight. To awkward questions which were put to him, the haughty Karna replied that rivers and warriors knew not of their origin and birth,—their prowess was their genealogy. But the Pandavas declined the fight, and the haughty Karna retired in silence and in rage.

Drona now demanded the reward of his tuition. Like doughty warriors of old he held revenge to be the dearest joy of a warrior, and for his reward he asked the help of the Kurus to be revenged on Drupada, king of the Panchalas, who had insulted him. The demand could not be refused. Drona marched against Drupada, conquered him, and wrested half his kingdom. Drupada swore to be avenged.

Dark clouds now arose on the horizon of Kuruland. The time had come for Dhritarashtra to name a Yuvaraja, *i.e.*, or a prince who would reign during his old age. The claim of Yudhisthira to the throne of his father could not be gainsaid, and he was appointed Yuvaraja. But the proud Duryodhana rebelled against the arrangement, and the old monarch had to yield, and sent the five Pandavas in exile to Varanavata, said to be near modern Allahabad, and then the very frontier of Hindu settlements. The vengeance of Duryodhana pursued them there, and the house where the Pandavas lived was

burnt to ashes. The Pandavas and their mother escaped by an underground passage, and for a long time roamed about disguised as Brahmans.

Heralds now went from country to country, and proclaimed in all lands that the daughter of Drupada, king of the Panchalas, was to choose for herself a husband among the most skilful warriors of the time. As usual on such occasions of *Svayamvara*, or choice of a husband by a princess, all the great kings and princes and warriors of the land flocked to the court of Drupada, each hoping to win the lovely bride, who had already attained her youth, and was renowned for her beauty. She was to give her hand to the most skilful archer, and the trial ordained was a pretty severe one. A heavy bow of great size was to be wielded, and an arrow was to be shot through a whirling chakra or quoit into the eye of a golden fish, set high on the top of a pole!

Not only princes and warriors, but multitudes of spectators flocked from all parts of the country to Kampilya, the capital of the Panchalas. The princes thronged the seats, and Brahmans filled the place with Vedic hymns. Then appeared Draupadi with the garland in her hand which she was to offer to the victor of the day. By her appeared her brother Dhrishtadyumna, who proclaimed the feat which was to be performed.

Kings rose and tried to wield the bow, one after another, but in vain. The skilful and proud Karna stepped forth to do the feat, but was prevented.

A Brahman suddenly rose and drew the bow, and shot the arrow through the whirling chakra into the eye of the golden fish. A shout of acclamation arose! and Draupadi, the Kshatriya princess, threw the garland round the neck of the brave Brahman, who led her away as bride. But murmurs of discontent arose like the sound of troubled waters from the Kshatriya ranks at this victory of a Brahman, and the humiliation of the warriors; and they gathered round the bride's father and threatened

violence. The Pandavas now threw off their disguise, and the victor of the day proclaimed himself to be Arjuna, a true-born Kshatriya!

Then follows the strange myth that the Pandavas went back to their mother and said, a great prize had been won. Their mother, not knowing what the prize was, told her sons to share it among them. And as a mother's mandate cannot be disregarded, the five brothers wedded Draupadi as their wife. It is needless to say that the story of Draupadi and of the five Pandavas is a myth. The Pandavas now formed an alliance with the powerful king of the Panchalas, and forced the blind king Dhritarashtra to divide the Kuru country between his sons and the Pandavas. The division, however, was unequal; the fertile tract between the Ganges and the Jumna was retained by the sons of Dhritarashtra, while the uncleared jungle in the west was given to the Pandavas. The jungle Khandava Prastha was soon cleared by fire, and a new capital called Indraprastha was built, the supposed ruins of which are shown to every modern visitor to Delhi.

Military expeditions were now undertaken by the Pandavas on all sides, but these need not detain us, especially as the accounts of these distant expeditions are modern interpolations. When we find in the Mahabharata accounts of expeditions to Ceylon, or to Bengal, we may unhesitatingly put them down as later interpolations.

And now Yudhishthira was to celebrate the Rajasuya, or coronation ceremony, and all the princes of the land, including his kinsmen of Hastinapura, were invited. The place of honour was given to Krishna, chief of the Yadavas of Gujrat. Sisupala of Chedi violently protested, and Krishna killed him on the spot. Krishna is only a great chief, and not a deity, in the older portions of the Mahabharata, and his story shows that Gujrat was colonised from the banks of the Jumna in the Epic Age.

The tumult having subsided, the consecrated water

was sprinkled on the newly-created monarch, and Brahmans went away loaded with presents.

But the newly-created king was not long to enjoy his kingdom. With all his righteousness, Yudhishthira had a weakness for gambling like the other chiefs of the time, and the unforgiving and jealous Duryodhana challenged him to a game. Kingdom, wealth, himself and his brothers, and even his wife were staked and lost,—and behold now, the five brothers and Draupadi the slaves of Duryodhana! The proud Draupadi refused to submit to her position, but Duhsasana dragged her to the assemble-room by her hair, and Duryodhana forced her down on his knee in the sight of the stupefied assembly. The blood of the Pandavas was rising, when the old Dhritarashtra was led to the assembly-room and stopped a tumult. It was decided that the Pandavas had lost their kingdom, but should not be slaves. They agreed to go in exile for twelve years, after which they should remain concealed for a year. If the sons of Dhritarashtra failed to discover them during the year, they would get back their kingdom.

Thus the Pandavas again went in exile; and after twelve years of wanderings in various places, disguised themselves in the thirteenth year and took service under the king of Virata. Yudhishthira was to teach the king gambling; Bhima was the head cook; Arjuana was to teach dancing and music to the king's daughter; Nakula and Sahadeva were to be master of horse and master of cattle respectively, and Draupadi was to be the queen's handmaid. A difficulty arose. The queen's brother was enamoured of the new handmaid of superb beauty, and insulted her and was resolved to possess her. Bhima interfered and killed the lover in secret.

Cattle-lifting was not uncommon among the princes of those days, and the princes of Hastinapura carried away some cattle from Virata. Arjuna, the dancing master, could stand this no longer; he put on his armour, drove

out in chariot, and recovered the cattle, but was discovered! The question whether the year of secret exile had quite expired was never settled.

And now the Pandavas sent an envoy to Hastinapura to claim back their kingdom. The claim was refused, and both parties prepared for a war, the like of which had never been seen in India. All the princes of note joined one side or the other, and the battle which was fought in the plains of Kurukshetra, north of Delhi, lasted for eighteen days, and ended in fearful slaughter and carnage.

The long story of the battle with its endless episodes need not detain us. Arjuna killed the ancient Bhishma unfairly, after that chief was forced to desist from fighting. Drona, with his impenetrable "squares" or phalanxes, killed his old rival Drupada, but Drupada's son revenged his father's death and killed Drona unfairly. Bhima met Duhsasana, who had insulted Draupadi in the gambling room, cut off his head, and in fierce vindictiveness drank his blood! Lastly, there was the crowning contest between Karna and Arjuna, who had hated each other through life; and Arjuna killed Karna unfairly when his chariot wheels had sunk in the earth, and he could not move or fight. On the last or eighteenth day, Duryodhana fled from Bhima, but was compelled by taunts and rebukes to turn round and fight, and Bhima by a foul blow (because struck below the waist) smashed the knee on which Duryodhana had once dragged Draupadi. And the wounded warrior was left there to die. The bloodshed was not yet over, for Drona's son made a midnight raid into the enemy's camp and killed Drupada's son, and thus an ancient feud was quenched in blood.

The remainder of the story is soon told. The Pandavas went to Hastinapura, and Yudhishthira became king. He is said to have subdued every king in Aryan India, and at last celebrated the Asvamedha ceremony or the great horse-sacrifice. A horse was let loose and wandered at its will for a year, and no king dared to stop it.

This was a sign of the submission of all the surrounding kings, and they were then invited to the great horse-sacrifice. We have seen that in the Vedic times the horse was sacrificed simply for eating; in the Epic Period the horse-sacrifice became a means of expiation of sin, and of the assumption of supremacy among kings.

Such is the story of the great epic divested of its numerous legends and episodes, its supernatural incidents and digressions. Krishna, the Island-born, and compiler of the Vedas, (not Krishna the Yadava chief), is said to have been the son of the unmarried girl who afterwards married Santanu. He was therefore the half-brothers of Bhishma. He often appears on the scene abruptly and in a supernatural manner, and imparts instruction and advice. The story has a historical interest, and shows that the Vedas were compiled before the time of the Kuru-Panchala war.

For the rest, it will appear from the above brief account that the first Hindu colonists of the Gangetic valley had not yet lost the sturdy valour and the stubborn war-like determination of the preceding Vedic Age. Kings now ruled over larger countries and peoples, manners were more polished, the rules of social life and of chivalry were more highly developed, and the science of war itself was better organised. But nevertheless the stern and relentless valour of the Vedic warriors breaks through the polished manners of the Kurus and the Panchalas, and those nations, if they had gained in civilisation, had scarcely yet lost much in the vigour of national life. How imperfectly the caste-system flourished among these sturdy races is shown by many facts which still loom out in bold outline amidst the interpolations and additions of later writers. Santanu, the ancient king of Hastinapura, had a brother Devapi, who was a priest. The most learned character in the epic, Yudhishthira, is a Kshatriya, and the most skilful warrior Drona is a Brahman. And the venerable compiler of the Vedas, Krishna Dvaipayana himself—was he a Brahman or a Kshatriya?

CHAPTER III.

VIDEHAS, KOSALAS, AND KASIS.

THE tide of Aryan conquests rolled onward. When the country between the Jumna and the Ganges had been completely conquered, peopled, and Hinduised, new bands of adventurous settlers crossed the Ganges and marched further eastwards to found new colonies and new Hindu kingdoms. Stream after stream was crossed, forest after forest was explored and cleared, region after region was slowly conquered, peopled, and Hinduised in this onward march towards the unknown east. The history of the long struggles and the gradual development of the Hindu power in these regions has been lost to us; and we only see, in the literature which has been preserved, the establishment of powerful and civilised Hindu kingdoms east of the Ganges,—the kingdom of the Kosalas in the country known as modern Oudh, that of the Videhas in North Behar, and that of the Kasis round modern Benares.

Some recollection of the eastern march of the Videhas has been preserved in a stray passage in the Satapatha Brahmana, quoted below :—

"10. Madhava the Videgha carried Agni Vaisvanara in his mouth. The Rishi Gotama Rahugana was his family priest. When addressed by the latter he made no answer, fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth.

"13. Still he did not answer. (The priest continued): 'Thee, O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke!' (Rig Veda,

V, 26, 2). So much he uttered when, at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaisvanara flashed forth from the king's mouth; he was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth and fell down on this earth.

"14. Madhava the Videgha was at that time on the river Sarasvati. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Rahugana and the Videgha Madhava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over (dried up) all these rivers. Now that river which is called Sadanira (Gunduck river) flows from the northern (Himalaya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brahmans did not cross in former times, thinking it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaisvanara.

"15. Nowadays, however, there are many Brahmans to the east of it. At that time it (the land east of the Sadanira) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaisvanara.

"16. Nowadays, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brahmans have caused Agni to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that river, as it were, rages along; so cold it is, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaisvanara.

"17. Madhava the Videgha then said to Agni, 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this river be thy abode!' said he. Even now this river forms the boundary of the Kosalas and Videhas; for these are the Madhavas (or descendants of Madhava)" (*Satapatha Brahmana*, I, 4, 1).

Here then we have an account, in a legendary form, of the gradual march of the colonists from the banks of the Sarasvati eastwards until they came to the Gunduck. That river formed the boundary between the two kingdoms; the Kosalas lived to the west of it, and the Videhas to the east of it.

In course of years, probably of centuries, the kingdom of the Videhas rose in power and in civilisation, until

it became the most prominent kingdom in Northern India.

Janaka, king of the Videhas, is probably the most prominent figure in the history of the Epic Period in India. That monarch had not only established his power in the farthest confines of the Hindu dominions in India, but he gathered round him the most learned men of his time, he entered into discussion with them, and instructed them in holy truths about the Universal Being. It is this that has surrounded the name of Janaka with undying glory. King Ajatasatru of the Kasis, himself a learned man and a most renowned patron of learning, exclaimed in despair, "Verily, all people run away, saying, Janaka is our patron!" (*Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*, II, 1, 1).

The great fame of Janaka is partly owing to the culture and learning of the chief priest of his court, Yajnavalkya Vajasaneyin. Under the royal auspices of Janaka this priest conceived the bold idea of revising the Yajur Veda as it then existed, of separating the formulas from the exegetic matter, of condensing the former in the shape of a new Yajur Veda (the White Yajur Veda), and of amplifying the latter into a vast body of Brahmana (the Satapatha Brahmana). Generations of priests laboured at this stupendous work, but the glory of starting the work belongs to the founder of the school, Yajnavalkya Vajasaneyin, and his learned patron, King Janaka of the Videhas.

But Janaka has a still higher claim to our respect and admiration. While the priestly caste was still multiplying rituals and supplying dogmatic explanations for each rite, the royal caste seems to have felt some impatience at this priestly pedantry. Thinking and earnest Kshatriyas asked themselves if these rites and dogmas were all that religion could teach. Learned Kshatriyas, while still conforming to the rites laid down by priests, gave a start to healthier speculations and inquired about the destination of the Soul and the

nature of the Supreme Being. So bold, so healthy and vigorous were these new and earnest speculations, that the priestly classes, who were wise in their own esteem, at last felt their inferiority, and came to Kshatriyas to learn something of the wisdom of the new school. The Upanishads contain the healthy and earnest speculations which were started at the close of the Epic Period; and King Janaka of Videha is honoured and respected,—more than any other king of the time,—as an originator of the earnest speculations of the Upanishads.

The teaching of the Upanishads will be dwelt on more fully in a subsequent chapter of this Book, but an account of Janaka and of the other kings of the period and their place in Hindu literature will not be complete unless we cite a few passages here, illustrating their relations with their priests, and their labours in the cause of earnest philosophical thought in India.

"Janaka of Videha once met some Brahmans who had just arrived. They were Svetaketu Aruneya, Somasushama Satyayajni and Yajnavalkya. He said to them: 'How do you perform the Agnihotra?'"

The three Brahmans replied as best they could; but not correctly. Yajnavalkya came very near the mark, but was not quite correct. Janaka told them so, and mounted his car and went away!

The priests said: "This fellow of a Rajanya has insulted us." Yajnavalkya mounted his car, followed the king, and had the difficulty explained (*Satapatha Brahmana*, XI, 4, 5). "Henceforth Janaka became a Brahman" (*S. Br.* XI, 6, 2, 1).

We find in Chhandogya Upanishad, V, 3, that one of the three Brahmans named above, Svetaketu Aruneya, came to an assembly of the Panchalas, and Pravahana Jaivali, a Kshatriya, asked him some questions which puzzled him. He came back sorrowful to his father and said: "That fellow of a Rajanya asked me five questions, and I could not answer one of them." The father,

Gautama, was himself puzzled and went to the Kshatriya to have his difficulty removed. Pravahana Jaivali replied, "Gautama, this knowledge did not go to any Brahman before you, and therefore this teaching belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone." And then he imparted the knowledge to Gautama.

In another place in this Upanishad (I, 8), this Pravahana silenced two boastful Brahmans, and then imparted the true knowledge of the Highest God to them.

A story is told in the Satapatha Brahmana (X, 6, 1, 1), and is repeated in the Chhandogya Upanishad (V, 11), that five Brahman householders and theologians became anxious to know, 'What is our Self and what is God?' They came to Uddalaka Aruni to obtain the knowledge, but Aruni had his misgivings, and therefore took them to the Kshatriya king, Asvapati Kaikeya, who courteously invited them to stay at a sacrifice he was going to perform. He said: "In my kingdom there is no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no man without an altar in his house, no ignorant person, no adulterer, much less an adulteress. I am going to perform a sacrifice, sirs, and as much wealth as I give to each Ritvik priest, I shall give to you, sirs. Please to stay here."

They stayed and told him what they had come for, and "on the next morning they approached him, carrying fuel in their hands (like students), and he, without any preparatory rites," imparted to them the knowledge they had come for.

It is curious how we meet the same names over and over in the different Upanishads, and often the same story too in different forms, showing that the old Upanishads were composed at much the same time. We find Uddalaka Aruni, also called Gautama, and his son Svetaketu again in the Kaushitaki Upanishad; and the father and the son went to Chitra Gangyayani, fuel in hand, to learn the truth. Chitra, a Kshatriya king, said: "You are worthy of Brahman, O Gautama, because you were not led

away by pride. Come hither, I shall make you know clearly" (I, 1).

A celebrated story is told in the Kaushitaki Upanishad (IV), of a conversation between Gargya Balaki, a celebrated man of learning, and Ajatasatru, the learned king of the Kasis. The boastful Brahman challenged the king, but in course of the learned dispute which followed, he collapsed and became silent. Ajatasatru said to him: 'Thus far do you know, O Balaki?' 'Thus far only,' replied Balaki. Then Ajatasatru said to him: 'Vainly did you challenge me, saying, Shall I tell you of God?' 'O Balaki, He who is the maker of those objects (which you mentioned), He of whom all this is the work, He alone is to be known.'

"Then Balaki came, carrying fuel in his hand, saying: 'May I come to you as a pupil?' Ajatasatru said to him: 'I deem it improper that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brahman. Come, I will make you know clearly.'"

This story, as well as the story of Svetaketu Aruneya and the Kshatriya king Pravahana Jaivali, are repeated in the Brihadaranyka Upanishad.

There are numerous such passages in the Upanishads in which the Kshatriyas are represented as the wisest teachers in true religious knowledge. But it is needless to multiply instances here. What we have said is enough to indicate the place which belongs to the royal caste at the close of the Epic Period in the history of Hindu religion and philosophy. The Upanishads mark a new era in the history of human knowledge, and this knowledge, which dates about 1000 B.C., "did not belong to any Brahman before," "it belonged in all the worlds to the Kshatra class alone."

These are real claims of Janaka, king of the Videhas, to the admiration and gratitude of posterity. Curiously enough, posterity remembers him and the Videhas and the Kosalas also through a myth which has clung round their revered names. That myth relates to the Aryan

conquest of Southern India; and with a fervid and blind gratitude poets of subsequent ages have connected that great historical event with the names of ancient kings who had nothing to do with the conquest! Historical knowledge in Europe, even in the dark ages, was never so dim as to allow a poet to attribute the recovery of Jerusalem to Charlemagne or Alfred the Great! But the second great epic of India conceives and describes the conquest of Ceylon by a king of the Kosalas who had married the daughter of Janaka, king of the Videhas.

It is not possible with our present knowledge to state when the Ramayana was composed in its original shape. We find references to the Mahabharata in the Sutra literature, but we find no such reference to the Ramayana. The discovery and conquest of Ceylon by Vijaya from Bengal took place in the fifth century B.C., and at first sight one would be inclined to refer the first conception of the epic, which has its scene of action in that island, to that date. On the other hand, the existence of the island was well known to the Hindus for centuries before its conquest by Vijaya. And the composition of the Ramayana, which makes no allusion to Vijaya's conquest, may be referred to an age anterior to Vijaya, when the island was still very imperfectly known to the Hindus.

That this view is more probable appears from the fact that the whole of India south of the Vindhya chain is described in the Ramayana as one interminable forest, inhabited by aborigines who are described as monkeys and bears. Now we know that the banks of the Godavari and even of the Krishna river were colonised by the Aryans early in the Rationalistic Period, and great empires like that of the Andhras rose to power and started new schools of science and learning several centuries before Christ. The first conception of the Ramayana must be referred to a period anterior to these movements in the South, for the Ramayana speaks of no Aryan civilisation

south of the Vindhyas. The original Ramayana, like the original Mahabharata, belongs therefore to the Epic Age.

Like the Mahabharata, the Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of historical events and incidents. As in the Mahabharata, so in the Ramayana, the heroes are myths, pure and simple.

Sita, the field furrow, had received divine honours from the time of the Rig Veda, and had been worshipped as a goddess. When cultivation gradually spread in Southern India, it was not difficult to invent a poetical myth that Sita was carried to the South. And when this goddess and woman—the noblest creation of human imagination,—had acquired a distinct and lovely individuality, she was naturally described as the daughter of the holiest and most learned king on record. Janaka of the Videhas!

But who is Rama, described in the epic as Sita's husband and the king of the Kosalas? The later Puranas tell us that he was an incarnation of Vishnu, but Vishnu himself had not risen to prominence at the time of which we are speaking! Indra was still the chief of the gods of the Epic Period. And in the Sutra literature (*e.g.*, Paraskara Grihya Sutra, II, 17, 9) we learn that Sita, the furrow goddess, is the wife of Indra. Is it then an untenable conjecture that Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, is in his original conception, like Arjuna, the hero of the Mahabharata, only a new edition of Indra battling with the demons of drought? The myth of Indra has thus been mixed up with the epic which describes as a historic war in Northern India, and with the epic which describes the historic conquest of Southern India!

But though the Ramayana is utterly valueless as a narrative of events, still, like the Mahabharata, it throws side-lights on the state of ancient society in India, and the story of the epic therefore needs be briefly told. Only we must premise that, even as a picture of life,

the Ramayana is long posterior to the Mahabharata, and belongs to the very close of the Epic Period. We miss in the Ramayana the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriyas of the Mahabharata; and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete. Janaka himself is not described as the proud asserter of Kshatriya learning and dignity that he was, but as a humble servant of priests. And Rama himself, the hero of the epic, though he encounters and defeats a Brahman warrior Parasu Rama, does so with many apologies and due submission! The story of Parasurama probably conceals a great historic truth. He is said to have fought against the Kshatriyas and exterminated the caste; and then he was conquered by the Kshatriya Rama, the hero of the epic. It would seem that this story indicates the real rivalry and hostilities between the priestly and warrior castes,—indications of which we have found in a literary form in the Upanishads.

For the rest, one feels on reading the Ramayana that the real heroic age of India had passed, and that centuries of residence in the Gangetic valley had produced an enervating effect on the Aryans. We miss the heroic if somewhat rude and sturdy manners and incidents which mark the Mahabharata. We miss characters distinguished by real valour, and battles fought with real obstinacy and determination. We miss men of flesh and blood, and pride and determination, like Karna and Duryodhana and Bhima; and the best developed characters in the Ramayana are women like the proud and scheming Kaikeyi or the gentle and ever suffering Sita. The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and commonplace personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and duty, doing a vast amount of fighting work mechanically, but without the determination, the persistence of real fighters! A change had come over

the spirit of the nation; and if princes and men had become more polished and law-abiding, they had become less sturdy and heroic. For a picture of Hindu life of the thirteenth century, when the hardy and conquering Kurus and the Panchalas ruled in the Doab, we would refer our readers to the Mahabharata. For a picture of Hindu life of the eleventh century, when the Kosalas and the Videhas had, by a long residence in the Gangetic valley, become law-abiding and priest-ridden, learned and enervated, we would refer our readers to the Ramayana. The two epics represent the change which Hindu life and society underwent from the commencement to the close of the Epic Age.

We proceed now with the story of the Ramayana. The people who lived in the wide tract of country between the Ganges and the Gunduck were known by the general name of the Kosalas, as we have seen before. Dasaratha, a distinguished king of this nation, had his capital in Ayodhya, or Oude, the ruins of which ancient town are still shown to travellers in some shapeless mounds. Dasaratha had three queens honoured above the rest, of whom Kausalya bore him his eldest born Rama, Kaikeyi was the mother of Bharata, and Sumitra of Lakshmana and Satrughna. Dasaratha in his old age decided on making Rama the Yuvaraja or reigning prince, but the proud and beauteous Kaikeyi insisted that her son should be Yuvaraja, and the feeble old king yielded to the determined will of his wife.

Before this Rama had won Sita, the daughter of Janaka king of the Videhas, at a *Svayamvara*. Kings and princes had assembled there, but Rama alone could lift the heavy bow, and bent it till it broke in twain. But now, when Ayodhya was still ringing with acclamation at that prospect of Rama's being installed as Yuvaraja, it was decided in queen Kaikeyi's chambers that Bharata must be the Yuvaraja, and further that Rama must go into exile for fourteen years.

Rama was too obedient and dutiful to resist or even resent this decision. His faithful half-brother Lakshmana accompanied him, and the gentle Sita would not hear of parting with her lord. Amidst the tears and lamentation of the people of Ayodhya, Rama and Sita and Lakshmana walked out of the city.

The exiles first went to the hermitage of Bharadvaja in Prayaga or Allahabad, and then to that of Valmiki in Chitrakuta, somewhere in modern Bandelkund. Valmiki is reputed to be the author of the epic Ramayana, just as Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas, is said to be the author of the Mahabharata.

Dasaratha died of grief for Rama, and Bharata followed Rama to Chitrakuta, and informed him of their father's death, and implored his return. But Rama felt himself bound by the promise he had made, and it was agreed that Rama would return after fourteen years and ascend the throne. Bharata returned to Ayodhya.

Leaving Chitrakuta, Rama wandered in the Dandaka forest and towards the sources of the Godavari among jungles and non-Aryan tribes. For Southern India had not yet been colonised by the Aryans. Thirteen years thus passed away.

Ravana, the monster king of Lanka or Ceylon, and of Southern India, heard of the beauty of Sita now dwelling in jungles; and in the absence of Rama took her away from their hut, and carried her off to Ceylon. Rama, after a long search, obtained clue of her; he made alliances with the non-Aryan tribes of Southern India, who are described as monkeys and bears, and made preparations for crossing over to Ceylon to recover his wife.

Bali was a great king among the non-Aryans, but his brother Sugriva thirsted after his kingdom and his wife. Rama fought and killed Bali, helped Sugriva to win the kingdom and Bali's widow, and Sugriva then marched with his army to Lanka.

Hanuman, the commander-in-chief of the non-Aryan army, led the way. He leaped over the strait of sixty miles which separates India from Ceylon, found Sita, and gave her the ring sent by Rama. He then caused a conflagration in the capital of Ravana, and returned to Rama.

A causeway was then built across the strait by boulders and stones. The reader is aware that a natural causeway runs nearly across the strait, and there is no doubt that the physical aspect of this locality suggested to the poet the idea that the causeway was built by the superhuman labours of Rama's army. The whole army then crossed over and laid siege to the capital of Ravana.

The account of the war which follows, though full of poetical incidents and stirring description, is unnatural and tedious. Chief after chief was sent out by Ravana to beat back the invaders, but they all fell in the war, Rama using his supernatural weapons and mystic mantras. Indrajit, the proud son of Ravana, battled from the clouds, but Lakshmana killed him. Ravana came out in rage and killed Lakshmana, but the dead hero revived under the influence of some medicine brought by the faithful Hanuman. One of Ravana's brothers, Bibhisana, had left his brother and had joined Rama, and told him the secret by which each warrior would be killed, and thus chief after chief of Ravana's proud host fell. At last Ravana himself came out, and was killed by Rama. Sita was recovered, but she had to prove her untainted virtue by throwing herself into a lighted pyre, and then coming out of it uninjured.

The fourteenth year of exile having now expired, Rama and Sita returned to Ayodhya and ascended the throne. But the suspicions of the people fell on Sita, who had been in Ravana's house, and could not, they thought, have returned untainted. And Rama, as weak as his father had been, sent poor, suffering Sita—then gone with child—to exile.

Valmiki received her at Chitrakuta, and there her two sons, Lava and Kusa, were born. Valmiki composed the poem of the Ramayana and taught the boys to repeat the piece, and thus years were passed.

Then Rama decided to celebrate the Asvamedha sacrifice, and sent out the horse. The animal came as far as Valmiki's hermitage, and the boys, in a playful humour, caught it and detained it. Rama's troops tried in vain to recover the animal. At last Rama himself saw the princely boys, but did not know who they were; he heard the poem Ramayana chanted by them, and it was in a passion of grief and regret that he at last knew them and embraced them as his own dear boys.

But there was no joy in store for Sita. The people's suspicions could not be allayed, and Rama was too weak to act against his people. The earth which had given poor Sita birth yawned and received its long-suffering child. The Vedic conception of Sita, as the field-furrow, manifests itself in the Epic in this incident. But to the millions of Hindus, Sita is a real human character,—a pattern of female virtue and female self-abnegation. To this day Hindus hesitate to call their female children by the name of Sita; for if her gentleness, her virtue, her uncomplaining devotion, and her unconquerable love for her lord, were more than human, her sufferings and woes too were more than usually fall to the lot of woman. There is not a Hindu woman in the length and breadth of India to whom the story of suffering Sita is not known, and to whom her character is not a model to strive after and to imitate. And Rama too, though scarcely equal to Sita in the worth of character, has been a model to men for his truth, his obedience, and his piety. And thus the epic has been for the millions of India a means of moral education, the value of which can hardly be over-estimated.

CHAPTER IV.

ARYANS AND NON-ARYANS.

THE great river systems of Northern India determined the course of Aryan conquests; when we survey the course of these rivers, we comprehend the history of Aryan conquests during ten centuries. And when we have traced the course of the Indus and its tributaries, and of the Ganges and the Jumna as far as Benares and North Behar, we have seen the whole extent of Indo-Aryan world as it existed at the close of the Epic Period, or about 1000 B.C. Beyond this wide tract of Hindu kingdoms lay the whole extent of India yet unexplored or rather unconquered by the Aryans, and peopled by various aboriginal tribes. A wide belt of this Non-Aryan tract, surrounding the Hindu world to the east, south, and west, was becoming known to the Hindus about the very close of the Epic Period. South Behar, Malwa, and a portion of the Deccan and the regions to the south of the Rajputana desert, formed a wide semi-circular belt of country, as yet not Hinduised, but becoming gradually known to the Hindus, and therefore finding occasional mention in the latest works of the Brahmana literature, as regions peopled by *Satvas*, *i. e.*, living creatures, hardly human beings. We can imagine hardy colonists penetrating into this encircling belt of unknown and uncivilised regions, obtaining a mastery over the aborigines wherever they went, establishing some isolated settlements on the banks of fertile rivers, and presenting to the astonished barbarians some of the results

of civilised administration and civilised life. We can imagine also saintly anchorites retiring into these wild jungles, and fringing the tops of hills or fertile valleys with their holy hermitages, which were the seats of learning and of sanctity. And lastly, adventurous royal huntsmen not unoften penetrated into these jungles, and unhappy princes, exiled by their more powerful rivals, often chose to retire from the world and took up their abodes in these solitudes. In such manner was the belt of Non-Aryan country gradually known to the Hindus, and we will cite a passage or two which will show how far this knowledge extended, and how the civilised Hindus named the different aboriginal tribes dwelling in this tract, probably in the eleventh century B.C.

There is a passage in the last book of the Aitareya Brahmana which, along with an account of the principal Hindu kingdoms of the time, makes some mention of aboriginal races in the south and south-west; and the passage deserves to be quoted:—

"The Vasavas then inaugurated him (Indra) in the eastern direction during thirty-one days by these three Rik verses, the Yajus verse, and the great words (all just mentioned), for the sake of obtaining universal sovereignty. Hence all kings of eastern nations are inaugurated to universal sovereignty and called *Samraj*, *i.e.*, universal sovereign, after this precedent made by the gods.

"Then the Rudras inaugurated Indra in the southern region during thirty-one days, with the three Rik verses, the Yajus, and the great words (just mentioned), for obtaining enjoyment of pleasures. Hence all kings of living creatures* in the southern region, are inaugurated for the enjoyment of pleasures and called *Bhoja*, *i.e.*, the enjoyer.

"Then the divine Adityas inaugurated him in the western region during thirty-one days, with those three Rik

* *Satvanam* is the word in the original.

verses, that Yajus verse, and those great words for obtaining independent rule. Hence all kings of the *Nichyas* and *Apachyas* in the western countries* are inaugurated to independent rule, and called "independent rulers."†

"Then the Visvedevah inaugurated him during thirty-one days in the northern region by those three Rik verses, &c., for distinguished rule. Hence all people living in northern countries beyond the Himalaya, such as the *Uttara Kurus*, *Uttara Madras*, are inaugurated for living without a king *(Vairajyam)*, and called *Viraj*, *i.e.*, without king.

"Then the divine Sadhyas and Aptyas inaugurated Indra during thirty-one days in the middle region, which is a firmly established footing (the immovable centre) to the kingship (*Rajya*). Hence the kings of the *Kuru Panchalas*, with the *Vasas* and *Usinaras*, are inaugurated to kingship and called kings (Raja)."

This passage shows us at one glance the whole of the Hindu world as it existed at the close of the Epic Period. To the farthest east lived the Videhas and the Kasis and the Kosalas, as we have seen before, and those newest and youngest of the Hindu colonists excelled in learning and reputation their elder brethren in the west. Their kings, Janaka and Ajatasatru and others, took the proud title of *Samraj*, and worthily maintained their dignity by their learning and their prowess.

In the south, some bands of Aryan settlers must have worked their way up the valley of the Chumbal, and become acquainted with the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the country now known as Malwa. These tribes were called *Satvas*, *i.e.*, living creatures, scarcely human beings! We note, however, that the kingdoms in this direction already went by the name of *Bhoja* (however fanciful the derivation which the author gives to the word), and *Bhoja* was in later times the name of the same region, lying

* *Pratichyam* is the word in the original.
† *Svarat* is the word in the original, whence *Saurashtra* and Surat.

immediately to the north of the Vindhya chain, and along the valley of the Chumbal.

Westwards from this place surged the waves of Aryan settlers or adventurers, until the invaders came to the shores of the Arabian sea, and could proceed no further. The aboriginal races in these distant tracts were looked upon with some degree of contempt by the civilised colonists or invaders, and were significantly called *Nichyas* and *Apachyas*, and their rulers had the significant name of *Svarat* or independent rulers. These, races dimly known at the very close of the Epic Period, were the ancestors of the proudest and most warlike Hindu tribe of later times, *viz.*, the Maharattas.

To the north the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras and other tribes lived—beyond the Himalaya we are told—but which probably means beyond the lower ranges and among the valleys of the Himalayas. To the present day men in these hills live in independent primitive communities, and have very little concern with chief or king; and it is no wonder that in ancient times they should be known as peoples without kings.

And then, in the very centre of the Hindu world, along the valley of the Ganges, lived the powerful tribes of the Kurus and the Panchalas, and the less known tribes, the Vasas and the Usinaras.

In the west, the deserts of Rajputana were wholly unexplored by the Aryans. The Bhil aborigines of those deserts and mountains were left undisturbed until new and hardy tribes of invaders entered India after the Christian era and settled down in these parts.

In the far east, South Behar was not yet Hinduised. In a passage in the Atharva Veda pointed out by Professor Weber, special and hostile notice is taken of the Angas and the Magadhas. The passage shows that the people of South Behar did not yet belong to the Hindu confederation of nations; but were nevertheless becoming known to the Aryans. Bengal proper was as yet unknown.

And the whole of Southern India, *i.e.*, India south of the Vindhya range, was yet unoccupied by the Hindus. The Aitareya Brahmana gives (VII, 18), the names of certain degraded barbarous tribes, and among others that of the Andhras. We shall see that in the Rationalistic Period the Andhras rose to be a great civilised Hindu power in the Deccan.

We have now spoken of all the principal Aryan races and kingdoms which flourished in the Epic Period, and of the non-Aryan kingdoms, which formed a semicircular belt in the south of the Hindu world. It will be our pleasant task in the following chapters to give some account of the social customs and the domestic life of the people. But before we take leave of kings, we must make some mention of the great coronation ceremony, as it has been described in many works of the Epic Period. This ceremony and the horse-sacrifice were the most imposing and ostentatious royal ceremonials of Ancient India, and we have already said something about both these rites, in connection with the two Epics of the Hindus. An extract or two about the coronation ceremony are all that is needed here :—

"He spreads the tiger-skin on the throne in such a manner that the hairs come out-side, and that part which covered the neck is turned eastward. For the tiger is the Kshattra (royal power) of the beasts in the forests. The Kshattra is the royal prince ; by means of this Kshattra, the king makes his Kshattra (royal power) prosper. The king, when taking his seat on the throne, approaches it from behind, turning his face eastwards, kneels down with crossed legs, so that his right knee touches the earth, and holding the throne with his hands, prays over it an appropriate mantra.

"The priest then pours the holy water over the king's head, and repeats the following : 'With these waters, which are happy, which cure everything, increase the royal power, the immortal Prajapati sprinkled Indra, Soma

sprinkled the royal Varuna, and Yama sprinkled Manu ; with the same sprinkle I thee ! Be the ruler over kings in this world. The illustrious mother bore thee as the great universal ruler over men ; the blessed mother has borne thee, &c.' And the ceremony concludes with a drink of the Soma wine which the priest hands over to the king" (*Aitareya Brahmana*, VIII, 6—9).

We are then told that with this ceremony priests invested a number of kings whose names are already known to us. Tura, the son of Kavasha, thus inaugurated Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit. "Thence Janamejaya went everywhere, conquering the earth up to its ends, and sacrificed the sacrificial horse." Parvata and Narada thus invested Yudhamsraushti, the son of Ugrasena. Vasishtha invested Sudas, the great conqueror of the Rig Veda hymns ; and Dirghatamas invested Bharata, the son of Duhshanta, with this ceremony.

We have another excellent account of the coronation rite in the White Yajur Veda, from which we quote a remarkable passage in which the priest blesses the newly-crowned king : "May God who rules the world bestow on you the power to rule your subjects. May fire, worshipped by householders, bestow on you supremacy over the householders. May Soma, the lord of trees, bestow on you supremacy over forests. May Vrihaspati, the god of speech, bestow on you supremacy in speech. May Indra, the highest among gods, bestow on you the highest supremacy. May Rudra, the cherisher of animals, bestow on you supremacy over animals. May Mitra, who is truth, make you supreme in truth. May Varuna, who cherishes holy works, make you supreme in holy acts" (IX, 39).

In the address to the people which follows, the priest tells them : "This is your king, O ye such and such tribes." The Kanva text reads thus : "This is your king, O ye Kurus, O ye Panchalas."

We will conclude this chapter with an excellent piece

of advice which is given to kings further on, in the same Veda, which modern rulers will do well to remember :— "*If thou shalt be a ruler, then from this day judge the strong and the weak with equal justice, resolve on doing good incessantly to the public, and protect the country from all calamities*" (X, 27).

CHAPTER V.

CASTE.

THE entire isolation in which the Hindu Aryans lived from the outer world for centuries and thousands of years, —an isolation which has no parallel in the history of any other nation,—had its advantages and also its disadvantages. Among other results it led to social institutions being more and more crystallised into hard and fast rules, which gradually contracted the liberties and the free energies of the people. Four or five centuries of peaceful residence in a genial climate in the fertile basin of the Ganges and the Jumna enabled the Hindus to found civilised kingdoms, to cultivate philosophy, science, and arts, and to develop their religious and social institutions; but it was under the same gentle but enervating influences that they also divided themselves into those separate social classes known as "castes."

We have seen that about the close of the Vedic Period the priests had already formed themselves into a separate profession, and sons stepped forward to take up the duties of their fathers. When religious rites became more elaborate in the Epic Period, when with the founding of new kingdoms along the fertile Doab kings prided themselves on the performance of vast sacrifices with endless rites and observances, it is easy to understand that the priests who alone could undertake such complicated rites rose in the estimation of the people, until they were naturally regarded as aloof from the ordinary people, as a distinct and superior race,—as a caste. They devoted their life-

time to learn these rites, and they alone were able to perform them in all their details, and the natural inference in the popular mind was that they alone were worthy of the holy task. And when hereditary priests were thus completely separated from the people by their fancied sanctity and their real knowledge of elaborate rites, it was scarcely considered "good form" on their part to form misalliances with the people outside their holy rank. They might still condescend to honour particular families by choosing brides from among them, but young ladies of priestly houses must never give their hands to men outside their ranks. What is a feeling and a custom among modern nations soon became an inviolable and religious rule among a custom-abiding people like the Gangetic Hindus, isolated from the outside world.

The very same causes led to the rise of a royal caste. Royalty had not assumed a very high dignity among the Punjab Hindus. Warlike chiefs led clans from conquests to conquests; and the greatest of them, like Sudas the patron of the Vasishthas and the Visvamitras, were looked upon more as leaders of men and protectors of clans than as mighty kings. Far different was the state of things with the Gangetic Hindus. Probably in the early days of the martial Kurus and Panchalas, caste distinctions had not yet been fully matured. But later in the day, the kings of the peaceful Kosalas and Videhas, surrounded by all the pomp and circumstance of royalty, were looked upon by the humble and lowly and extremely law-abiding people as more than human. It was scarcely possible, under these circumstances, that maidens of the royal or warlike classes should condescend to marry men from the ranks. The stigma which attaches to such misalliances all over the world gave rise to an inviolable rule in India. And when priests and warriors were thus separated by absolute and inviolable rules from the people, the humblest girls of the former classes were debarred from marriage with the greatest and richest among the Vaisyas.

It is difficult to find in the history of European institutions any parallel to the caste-system of India. Yet there was a time in Europe when institutions somewhat similar to the caste-system of India sprang from the same causes which operated in India, *viz.*, the feebleness of the people, and the power of warriors and priests. When the Roman Empire fell to pieces, and barbarian chiefs and barons carved out among themselves the fairest portions of Europe, the mass of the people were devoid of political life and political freedom. Never in Europe was there such a wide distinction between a powerful clergy and a powerful soldiery on the one hand, and a lifeless and powerless people on the other, as in the days of feudalism in Europe. Vast monasteries arose all over Europe; great feudal towers frowned on every navigable river and every humble village; and the dwellers of villages and the humble artisans in little towns were scarcely regarded as better than slaves. The clergy, the knighthood, and the people of Europe in the Middle Ages answered in some respects to the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas of India.

But the resemblance is in appearance only. The clergy of Feudal Europe did not marry, and their ranks were recruited from the ablest, the cleverest, the most learned among the people. The knights too were glad to welcome into their ranks doughty squires and brave warriors among the people. The people, too, soon formed leagues to protect their commerce, fortified their towns to meet the marauding barons, formed municipal corporations, and trained themselves to arms to defend their interests in those insecure times. Ambitious scions of baronial houses often mixed with the people, and fought their battles in the field and at the council board; and this healthy admixture, which the caste-sytem prevented in India, revived and strengthened the people in Europe. Feudalism and the absolute power of the clergy decayed as trade and commerce and political life rose among the

people; and the danger of the people being divided into three "castes," if it ever existed in Europe, passed away once and for ever.

The simple origin of the caste institution as narrated above is obscured in later Hindu literature in a cloud of strange myths and legends. But in spite of such wonderful legends, later Hindu writers never completely lost sight of the fact that caste was originally only a distinction based on professions. And this simple and natural account of the origin of caste often occurs in the same Puranic works which elsewhere delight in strange and monstrous myths about the origin of the institution. We have room only for one or two extracts.

In the Vayu Purana we are told that in the first or Krita Age, *there were no castes*, and that subsequently Brahma established divisions among men *according to their works*. "Those of them who were suited for command and prone to deeds of violence, he appointed to be Kshatriyas, from their protecting others. Those disinterested men who attended upon them, spoke the truth, and declared the Veda aright, were Brahmans. Those of them who formely were feeble, engaged in the work of husbandmen, tillers of the earth, and industrious, were Vaisyas, cultivators and providers of subsistence. Those who were cleansers and ran about on service, and had little vigour or strength, were called Sudras." Accounts more or less similar to this occur in the other Puranas also.

The Ramayana in its present shape is, as we have seen before, the work of later ages. In the Uttara Kanda, chapter 74, we are told that in the Krita Age Brahmans alone practised austerities: that in the Treta Age, Kshatriyas were born, *and then was established the modern system of four castes*. Reduced from mythical to historical language, the above account may be read thus:—In the Vedic Age, the Hindu Aryans were a united body and practised Hindu rites. In the Epic Age, how-

ever, priests and kings separated themselves as distinct castes, and the people also formed themselves into the lower orders, the Vaisyas and Sudras.

The Mahabharata also, as we have seen before, is in its present shape a work of later ages, but here also we occasionally meet with a sensible and honest attempt to account for caste. In the Santi Parva, section 188, we are told that "red-limbed twice-born men who were fond of sensual pleasure, fiery, irascible, daring, and forgetful of their sacrificial duties, fell into the caste of Kshatriyas. Yellow twice-born men, who derived their livelihood from cows and agriculture, and did not practise religious performances, fell into the caste of Vaisyas. Black twice-born men who were impure and addicted to violence and lying, and were covetous and subsisted by all kinds of works, fell into the caste of Sudras. *Being thus separated by these their works, the twice-born men become of other castes.*"

The composers of these and similar passages no doubt knew of the legend of the four castes springing from four members of Brahma's body; but they ignored it, and treated it as an allegory, which it is. They maintain that in the earliest age there were no castes, and they make a very fair and sensible conjecture that castes were developed in a later age from distinctions in work and professions. We must now, however, return from this digression, and examine the caste-system as it prevailed in the Epic Period.

As we have stated before, the caste-system first formed itself among the peaceful citizens of Gangetic India; it never should be forgotten, however, that the worst results of that system did not appear, and could not appear, until the Hindus had ceased to be a free nation. In the Epic Period the body of the people were still entitled to acquire religious knowledge and learning, and to perform religious rites, just like Brahmans and Kshatriyas. And even intermarriage between Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and

Vaisyas was allowed under certain restrictions. However much, therefore, the historian of Ancient India may deplore the commencement of the caste-system, he should never forget that the worst results of that system were unknown in India until after the Mahommedan conquest.

In the sixteenth chapter of the White Yajur Veda we meet with the names of various professions which throw some light on the state of society at the time the chapter was compiled. It is apparent, however, the list is one of different professions, not of different castes. Thus, various kinds of thieves are enumerated in Kandikas, 20 and 21, and horsemen, charioteers, and infantry are spoken of in 26. Similarly the carpenter, the chariot-maker, the potter, and the blacksmith, mentioned in 27, also formed different professions, and not castes. The Nishada and others, also mentioned in the same Kandika, were obviously aboriginal tribes, who, then as now, formed the lowest strata of Hindu society.

The list is very much enlarged in the 30th chapter of the same work, which, as we have seen before, is of a considerably later date, and indeed belongs to the *Khila* or the supplement. But here, too, we meet with many names which indicate professions only, and many others which undoubtedly refer to the aborigines; and we find no evidence that the mass of the Vaisya population had been divided into sub-castes. We find names of dancers, orators, and frequenters in assemblies; of chariot-makers, carpenters, potters, jewellers, cultivators, arrow-makers, and bow-makers; of dwarfs and crookedly formed men, and blind and deaf persons; of physicians and astronomers; of keepers of elephants, horses, and cattle; of servants, cooks, gate-keepers, and wood-cutters; of painters and engravers; of washermen, dyers, and barbers; of learned men and proud men and women of various descriptions; of tanners, fishermen, hunters and fowlers; of goldsmiths and merchants and men with various diseases; of wig-makers and poets and musicians of various kinds.

It is plain that this is not a list of castes. On the other hand, the Magadha and Suta and Bhimala and Mrigayu and Svanin, and Nishada, and Durmada, and others mentioned in the list, are clearly aborigines, living under the shadow of the Aryan society. We have only to add that the same list, with slight modifications, is given in the Taittiriya Brahmana.

The above lists throw some light on the state of the society and the professions which were recognised in the period of which we speak; but they have nothing to do with caste. Throughout the Epic Period, and throughout the succeeding periods almost to the time of the Mahommedan conquest, the great body of the Aryan people were Vaisyas, although they followed numerous professions. Along with the Brahmans and the Kshatriyas they formed the Aryan nation, and were entitled to all the rights and privileges, and the literary and religious heritages of the nation. The conquered aborigines, who formed the Sudra caste, were alone debarred from the heritage of the Aryans.

This is the cardinal distinction between the ancient caste-system, and the caste-system of the present age. Caste reserved some privileges for priests, and some privileges for warriors, in ancient times; but *never divided and disunited the Aryan people.* Priests and warriors and citizens, though following their hereditary professions from generation to generation, felt that they were one nation and one race, received the same religious instructions, attended the same schools of learning, possessed the same literature and traditions, ate and drank together, intermarried and intermixed in all respects, and were proud to call themselves the Aryan race as against the conquered aborigines. Caste in modern times has cut up the Aryan people, the Vaisyas, into scores of communities, has opened the wide gulf of race distinctions among these different communities, has interdicted marriage and social communion among them, has starved

the entire body of the people of religious knowledge and literature, and has degraded them to the rank of Sudras.

There are numerous passages in the Brahmana literature which show that the distinctions between the castes were by no means so rigid in the early times as at a later period. A remarkable passage, for instance, occurs in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII, 29). When a Kshatriya eats at a sacrifice the portion assigned for Brahmans, his progeny has the characteristics of a Brahman "ready to take gifts, thirsty after drinking Soma, and hungry of eating food, and ready to roam about everywhere according to pleasure." And "*in the second or third generation he is capable of entering completely the Brahmanship.*" When he eats the share of Vaisyas his "offspring will be born with the characteristic of Vaisyas, paying taxes to another king;" "and in the second or third degree they are capable of entering the caste of Vaisyas." When he takes the share of Sudras, his progeny "will have the characteristics of Sudras; they are to serve the three higher castes, to be expelled and beaten according to the pleasure of their masters." And "in the second or third degree, he is capable of entering the condition of Sudras."

In a previous chapter we have seen that Janaka, king of the Videhas, imparted to Yajnavalkya learning unknown to the priest before, and was thenceforward considered a Brahman (Satapatha Brahmana, XI, 6, 2, 1). In Aitareya Brahmana (II, 19), we are told of Kavasha, the son of Ilusha, whom the other Rishis expelled from a sacrificial session, saying, "How should the son of a slave girl, a gamester, who is no Brahman, remain among us and become initiated! But Kavasha knew the gods and all the gods knew him, and he was admitted as a Rishi. Similarly, in the beautiful legend of Satyakama Jabala in the Chhandogya Upanishad (IV, 4), is exemplified the fact that truth and learning opened out in those

days a path to the highest honour and to the highest caste. The legend is so beautiful in its simplicity and its poetry, that we feel no hesitation in quoting a portion of it:—

"1. Satyakama, the son of Jabala, addressed his mother and said: 'I wish to become a Brahmacharin (religious student), mother. Of what family am I?'

"2. She said to him: 'I do not know, my child, of what family thou art. In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabala by name, thou art Satyakama; say that thou art Satyakama Jabala.'

"3. He, going to Gautama Haridrumata, said to him: 'I wish to become a Brahmacharin with you, sir. May I come to you, sir?'

"4. He said to him: 'Of what family are you, my friend?' He replied: 'I do not know, sir, of what family I am. I asked my mother, and she answered—"In my youth when I had to move about much as a servant, I conceived thee. I do not know of what family thou art. I am Jabala by name, thou art Satyakama." I am therefore Satyakama Jabala, sir."

"5. He said to him: 'No one but a true Brahman would thus speak out. Go and fetch fuel, friend; I shall initiate you. You have not swerved from the truth.'"

And this truth-loving young man was initiated, and, according to the custom of the times, went out to tend his teacher's cattle. In time he learnt the great truths which nature, and even the brute creation, teach those whose minds are open to instruction. Yes, he learned truths from the bull of the herd that he was tending, from the fire that he had lighted, and from a flamingo and a diver-bird which flew near him, when in the evening he had penned his cows and laid wood on the evening fire, and sat behind it. The young student then came back to his teacher, and his teacher at once said: 'Friend, you shine like one who knows Brahman: who

then has taught you?" "Not men," was the young student's reply. And the truth which the young student had learnt, though clothed in the fanciful style of the period, was that the four quarters, and the earth, the sky, the heaven and the ocean, and the sun, the moon, the lightning, and the fire, and the organs and minds of living beings, yea the whole universe, was Brahman or God.

Such is the teaching of the Upanishads, and such are the poetical legends in which the teaching is clothed, as we shall see further on. A legend like that of Satyakama Jabala, which is full of human feeling and pathos and the highest moral lessons, cheers and refreshes the student after he has waded through pages of the dry and meaningless dogmas and rituals of the Brahmanas. But our purpose in quoting the legend here is to show that the rules of caste had not become yet rigid when such legends were composed. We find in the legend that the son of a servant girl, who did not know his own father, became a religious student simply through his love of truth, learnt the lessons which nature and the learned men of the time could teach him, and subsequently, became classed among the wisest religious teachers of the time. Surely the caste-system of that ancient time must have been freedom itself compared to the narrow system of later times, when the entire nation except the priests was cruelly debarred from religious knowledge,—that knowledge which is the food of a nation's mind, and the life of a nation's life.

It was in the Epic Period that the sacrificial cord Yajnopavita came into use. We are told in the Satapatha Brahmana (II, 4, 2) that when all beings came to Prajapati, the gods and the fathers came, wearing the sacrificial cord. And we are told in Kaushitaki Upanishad (II, 7) that the all-conquering Kaushitaki adores the sun when rising, having put on the sacrificial cord.

The Yajnopavita was worn in this ancient period by

Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas alike, but only at the time of performing Yajna or Vedic sacrifice.

Things have changed since those ancient times. The Yajnopavita is now habitually and ostentatiously worn at all times, by the members of one caste only—the Brahmans—and that caste has forgotten to perform Vedic Yajna !

CHAPTER VI.

Social Life.

The great distinction, then, between the society of the Vedic times and the society of the Epic Period was that the caste-system was unknown in the former, and had grown up in the latter. But this was not the only distinction. Centuries of culture and progress had their influence on society, and the cultured Hindus of the Epic Period were as widely different in their social manners from the warrior-cultivators of the Vedic Period, as the Greeks of the time of Pericles were different from the Greeks of the time of Agamemnon and Ulysses.

The Hindus of the period of which we are speaking had attained a high degree of refinement and civilisation, and had developed minute rules to regulate their domestic and social duties. Royal courts were the seats of learning, and the learned and wise of all nations were invited, honoured, and rewarded. Justice was administered by learned officers, and laws regulated every duty of life. Towns, with their strong walls and beautiful edifices, multiplied among all nations, and had their judges, their executive officers, and their police. Agriculture was fostered, and the king's officers looked to the collection of taxes and the comforts of cultivators.

We have said that the courts of enlightened and learned kings, like those of the Videhas, the Kasis, and the Kuru-Panchalas, were the principal seats of learning in those times. Learned priests were retained in such courts for the performance of sacrifices, and also for the purpose

of the cultivation of learning; and many of the Brahmanas which have been handed down to us, were composed in the schools which these priests founded. On great occasions men of learning came from distant towns and villages, and discussions were held not only on ritualistic matters, but on such subjects as the human mind, the destination of the soul after death, the future world, the nature of the gods, the fathers, and the different orders of being, and lastly, on the nature of that Universal Being who has manifested himself in all the works we see.

But learning was not confined to royal courts. There were Parishads or Brahmanic establishments for the cultivation of learning, answering to the Universities of Europe, and young men went to these Parishads to acquire learning. Thus in Brihadaranyaka Upanishad VI, 2, we learn that Svetaketu went to the Parishads of the Panchalas for his education. Professor Max Müller, in his History of Sanscrit Literature, quotes passages which show that, according to modern writers, a Parishad ought to consist of twenty-one Brahmans well versed in philosophy, theology, and law; but these rules, as he points out, are laid down in later law books, and do not describe the character of the Parishads of the Epic Period. Parasara says that four, or even three, able men from amongst the Brahmans in a village, who know the Veda and keep the sacrificial fire, form a Parishad.

Besides these Parishads, individual teachers established what would be called private schools in Europe, and often collected round themselves students from various parts of the country. These students lived with their teachers, served them in a menial capacity during the time of their studentship, and after twelve years or longer, made suitable presents to their teachers and returned to their homes and their longing relatives. Learned Brahmans too, who retired to forests in their old age, often collected students round them, and much of the boldest speculations

of this period has proceeded from these sylvan and retired seats of sanctity and learning. Such is the way in which learning has been cultivated and preserved during thousands of years among the Hindus, a nation who valued learning and knowledge perhaps more than any other nation in ancient or modern times. Good works and religious rites lead, according to the Hindu creed, to happier states of life and to their due reward; but true knowledge alone leads to final union with God.

When students had thus acquired the traditional learning of the age either in Parishads or under private teachers, they returned to their homes, married, and settled down as householders. With marriage began their duties as householders, and the first duty of a householder was to light the sacrificial fire under an auspicious constellation, to offer morning and evening libations of milk to the fire, to perform other religious and domestic rites, and above all, to offer hospitality to strangers. The essence of a Hindu's duties are inculcated in passages like the following:—

"Say what is true! Do thy duty! Do not neglect the study of the Veda! After having brought to thy teacher the proper reward, do not cut off the lives of children! Do not swerve from the truth! Do not swerve from duty! Do not neglect what is useful! Do not neglect greatness! Do not neglect the learning and teaching of the Veda!

Do not neglect the works due to the gods and fathers! Let thy mother be to thee like unto a god! Let thy father be to thee like unto a god! Let thy teacher be to thee like unto a god! Whatever actions are blameless, those should be regarded, not others. Whatever good works have been performed by us, those should be observed by thee" (*Taittiriya Upanishad*, I, 2).

Pleasing pictures of a happy state of society are presented in many passages which we meet with in the literature of the period: "May the Brahmans in our

kingdom," says the priest at a horse-sacrifice, "live in piety; may our warriors be skilled in arms and mighty; may our cows yield us profuse milk, our bullocks carry their weights, and our horses be swift; may our women defend their homes, and our warriors be victorious; may our youths be refined in their manners.....May Parjanya shower rain in every home and in every region; may our crops yield grains and ripen, and we attain our wishes and live in bliss" (*White Yajur-Veda*, XXII, 22).

The wealth of rich men consisted in gold and silver and jewels; in cars, horses, cows, mules and slaves; in houses and fertile fields, and even in elephants (Chhandogya Upanishad, V, 13, 17, and 19; VII, 24; Satapatha Brahmana, III, 2, 48; Taittiriya Upanishad, I, 5, 12, &c., &c.). Gold is considered a proper gift at sacrifice, the gift of silver being strictly prohibited. The reason is sufficiently grotesque, as the reasons given in the Brahmanas generally are: When the gods claimed back the goods deposited with Agni, he wept, and the tears he shed became silver; and hence if silver is given as *dakshina*, there will be weeping in the house! The reason scarcely veils the cupidity of priests, which was the real cause of gifts in gold.

Not only was the use of gold and silver known, but several other metals are mentioned in White Yajur Veda, XVIII, 13. The following passage from the Chhandogya Upanishad specifies some metals then in use:—

"As one binds gold by means of *lavana* (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, and also by means of leather" (IV, 17, 7).

In Aitareya Brahmana (VIII, 22), we are told, evidently in the language of exaggeration, that the son of Atri presented ten thousand elephants, and ten thousand slave girls, "well endowed with ornaments on their necks, who had been gathered from all quarters."

As in the Vedic Period, the food of the people consisted of various kinds of grain as well as the meat of animals. In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (VI, III, 13), ten kinds of seeds are mentioned, *viz.*, rice and barley (brihiyavas), sesamum and kidney beans (tilamashas), millet and panic seed (anupriyangavas), wheat (godhumas) lentils (masuras), pulse (khalvas) and vetches (khalakulas).

In the White Yajur Veda (XVIII, 12) we have a list of these grains, beside mudga, nivara, and syamaka. Grains were ground and sprinkled with curds, honey, and clarified butter, and made into different kinds of cake. Milk and its various preparations have ever been a favourite food in India.

Animal food was in use in the Epic Period, and the cow and the bull were often laid under requisition. In Aitareya Brahmana (I, 15) we learn that an ox or a cow is killed when a king or an honoured guest is received; and an honoured guest is called, even in comparatively modern Sanscrit, a cow-killer.

In the Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda, the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered in minor sacrifices, for the gratification of particular divinities, are laid down in detail. The same Brahmana lays down instructions for carving, and the Gopatha Brahmana tells us who received the different portions. The priests got the tongue, the neck, the shoulder, the rump, the legs, &c.; while the master of the house (wisely) appropriated to himself the sirloin, and his wife had to content herself with the pelvis! Plentiful libations of the Soma beer were taken to wash down the meat!

In III, 1, 2, 21 of the Satapatha Brahmana there is an amusing discussion as to the propriety of eating the meat of an ox or a cow. The conclusion is not very definite: "Let him (the priest) not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox." Nevertheless, Yajnavalkya said (taking apparently a very practical view of the matter), "I for one eat it, provided that it is tender!"

The practical Yajnavalkya could scarcely, however, have contemplated the wonderful effects of vegetable and animal diets respectively, as laid down in the following passage in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad (VI, 4, 17 and 18):—

"And if a man wishes that a learned daughter should be born to him, and that she should live to her full age, then after having prepared boiled rice with sesamum and butter they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring.

"And if a man wishes that a learned son should be born to him, famous, a public man, a popular speaker, that he should know all the Vedas, and that he should live to his full age, then, after having prepared boiled rice with meat and butter, they (the husband and wife) should both eat, being fit to have offspring. The meat should be of a young or of an old bull."

We scarcely thought that the venerable composers of the Vedic Brahmanas ever suspected any sort of connection between beef-eating and public-speaking, such as has manifested itself in later days!

And now let our readers construct for themselves a picture of the social life which the Hindus of the Epic period—which the citizens of Hastinapur and Kampilya and Ayodhya and Mithila—lived three thousand years ago. The towns were surrounded by walls, beautified by edifices, and laid out in streets, which would not bear comparison with the structures and roads of modern days, but were probably the finest of their kind in ancient times. The king's palace was always the centre of the town, and was frequented by boisterous barons and a rude soldiery, as well as by holy saints and learned priests. The people flocked to the palace on every great occasion, loved, respected and worshipped the king, and had no higher faith than loyalty to the king. Householders and citizens had their possessions and wealth in gold, silver, and jewels; in cars, horses, mules, and

slaves; and in the fields surrounding the town. They kept the sacred fire in every respectable household, honoured guests, lived according to the law of the land, offered sacrifices with the help of Brahmans, and honoured knowledge. Every Aryan boy was sent to school at an early age. Brahmans and Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were educated together, learnt the same lessons and the same religion, and returned home, married, and settled down as householders. Priests and soldiers were a portion of the people, intermarried with the people, and ate and drank with the people. Various classes of manufacturers supplied the various wants of a civilised society, and followed their ancestral professions from generation to generation, but were not cut up into separate castes. Agriculturists lived with their herds and their ploughs in their own villages, and according to the ancient custom of India, Hindu village communities managed and settled their own village concerns. The picture of ancient life can be indefinitely enlarged; but each reader will probably do this for himself. We will turn from this general account of ancient society to examine the position which women held in that society.

We have seen that the absolute seclusion of women was unknown in ancient India. Hindu women held an honoured place in society from the dawn of Hindu civilisation four thousand years ago; they inherited and possessed property; they took a share in sacrifices and religious duties; they attended great assemblies on state occasions; they openly frequented public places; they often distinguished themselves in science and in the learning of their times; and they even had their legitimate influence on politics and administration. And although they never mixed so freely in the society of men as women do in modern Europe, yet absolute seclusion and restraint were not Hindu customs; they were unknown in India till the Mahommedan times, and are to this day unknown in

parts of India like the Maharashtra, where the rule of the Moslems was brief. No ancient nation held their women in higher honour than the Hindus, but the Hindus have been misjudged and wronged by writers unacquainted with their literature, and who received their notions of the women of the East from Turkish and Arab customs.

Innumerable passages could be quoted from the Brahmana literature, showing the high esteem in which women were held, but we will content ourselves with one or two. The first is the celebrated conversation between Yajnavalkya and his learned wife Maitreyi on the eve of his retirement into forests :—

"1. Now when Yajnavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said : 'Maitreyi, verily I am going away from this my house. Forsooth let me make a settlement between thee and Katyayani.'

"2. Maitreyi said : 'My Lord, if this whole earth full of wealth belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it ?' 'No,' replied Yajnavalkya ; 'like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth ?'

"3. And Maitreyi said : 'What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal ? What my lord knoweth of immortality, tell that to me ?'

"4. Yajnavalkya replied : 'Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words. Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.'"

And then he explained the principle which is so often and so impressively taught in the Upanishads, that the Universal Soul dwells in the husband, in the wife, in the sons, and in wealth ; in the Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and in all the worlds ; in the Devas, in all living creatures, yea, in all the universe. Maitreyi,—the wise, the accomplished, the learned lady—received and grasped this great truth, and valued it more than all the wealth of the world (*Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*).

Our next quotation, which is also from the same

Upanishad, relates to a great assembly of learned men in the court of Janaka, king of the Videhas :—

"Janaka Videha sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests of (the Asvamedha). Brahmans of the Kurus and the Panchalas had come thither, and Janaka wished to know which of those Brahmans was the best read. So he enclosed a thousand cows, and ten padas (of gold) were fastened to each pair of horns.

"And Janaka spoke to them : 'Ye venerable Brahmans, he who among you is the wisest, let him drive away these cows.' Then those Brahmans durst not, but Yajnavalkya said to his pupil, 'Drive them away, my dear.' He replied, 'O glory of the Saman !' and drove them away."

On this the Brahmans became angry, and plied the haughty priest Yajnavalkya with questions, but Yajnavalkya was a match for them all. Asvala the Hotri priest, Jaratkarava Artabhaga, Bhujyu Lahyayani, Ushasta Chakrayana, Kahola Kaushitakeya, Uddalaka Aruni, and others plied Yajnavalkya with questions, but Yajnavalkya was not found wanting ; the learned men, one by one, held their peace.

There was one in the great assembly—and this is a remarkable fact which throws light on the manners of the time—who was not deficient in the learning and the priestly lore of those times, because she was a lady. She rose in the open assembly, and said : "O Yajnavalkya, as the son of a warrior from the Kasis or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to battle, I have risen to fight thee with two questions. Answer me these questions." The questions were put and were answered, and Gargi Vachaknavi was silent.

Do not these passages and such passages as these indicate that women were honoured in ancient India, more perhaps than among any other ancient nation in the face

of the globe? Considered as the intellectual companions of their husbands, as their affectionate helpers in the journey of life, and as the inseparable partners of their religious duties, Hindu wives received the honour and respect due to their position. They also had their rights to property and to inheritance, which indicate the regard in which they were held. It would be scarcely fair to compare ancient customs with the institutions of modern civilisation; but the historian of India, who has studied the literature of the ancient Hindus, will have no hesitation in asserting that never in the most polished days of Greece or Rome were women held in such high regard in those countries as in India three thousand years ago.

As we have said before, early marriage and child-marriage were still unknown in the Epic Period, and we have numerous allusions, in the Epics and elsewhere, to the marriage of girls at a proper age. Widow-marriage was not only not prohibited, but there is distinct sanction for it; and the rites which the widow had to perform before she entered into the married state again are distinctly laid down. As caste was still a pliable institution, men belonging to one caste not unoften married widows of another, and Brahmans married widows of other castes without any scruple. "And when a woman has had ten former husbands, not Brahmans, if a Brahman then marries her, it is he alone who is her husband" (*Atharva Veda*, V, 17, 8).

Polygamy was allowed among the Hindus as among many other ancient nations, but was confined to kings and wealthy lords as a rule. Modern readers, who would judge harshly of ancient Hindu civilisation from the prevalence of this custom, should remember that polygamy was nearly universal among the wealthy people of all nations in ancient times, and that, to take some instances, Alexander the Great and his successors Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, Demetrius, Pyrrhus, and others were all polygamists! Polyandry, we need hardly say, was

unknown in Aryan India: "For one man has many wives, but one wife has not many husbands at the same time" (*Aitareya Brahmana*, III, 23).

There is in the Satapatha Brahmana (I, 8, 3, 6) a curious passage prohibiting marriages among blood relations to the third or fourth generation: "Hence from one and the same man spring both the enjoyer (the husband) and the one to be enjoyed (the wife);" "for now kinsfolk live sporting and rejoicing together, saying, in the fourth or third generation we unite." The rule of prohibition became more strict in later times.

Women in India have ever been remarkable for their faithfulness and their duteous affection towards their husbands, and female unfaithfulness is comparatively rare. It would appear that Hindu priests, like Roman Catholic priests, found a way to discover the most hidden secrets of frail women, and the following reads like a rule of Catholic confessional:—

"Thereupon the Pratiprasthatri returns to the place where the sacrificer's wife is seated. When he is about to lead the wife away, he asks her: 'With whom holdest thou intercourse?' Now when a woman who belongs to one man carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits a sin against Varuna. He therefore asks her, lest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed, the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth: this is why he thus asks her. And whatever connection she confesses not, that indeed will turn be injurious to the relatives" (*Satapatha Brahmana*, II, 5, 2, 20).

CHAPTER VII.

Law, Astronomy, and Learning.

The punishment of criminals and the proper administration of laws are foundations on which all civilised societies are built, and we find a true appreciation of laws in some passages in the Brahmana literature: "Law is the kshatra (power) of the Kshatra, therefore there is nothing higher than the law. Thenceforth even a weak man rules a stronger with the help of the law as with the help of a king. Thus the law is what is called the true. And if a man declares what is true, they say he declares the law; and if he declares the law, they say he declares what is true. Thus both are the same" (*Brihadaranyaka*, I, 4, 14). No nobler definition of law has been discovered by all the jurists in the world.

The judicial procedure was still however crude, and, as among other ancient nations, criminals were often tried by the order of fire.

"They bring a man hither whom they have taken by the hand, and they say: 'He has taken something, he has commited theft.' (When he denies, they say): 'Heat the hatchet for him.' If he committed the theft, then he . . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is burnt, and he is killed. But if he did not commit the theft, then he . . . grasps the heated hatchet, he is not burnt, and he is delivered" (*Chhandogya*, VI, 16). Murder, theft, drunkenness, and adultery are considered the most heinous offences.

We will now turn to Astronomy. The first elementary knowledge of the astronomical science is discernible in

the Rig Veda itself. The year was divided into twelve lunar months, and a thirteenth or intercalary month was added to adjust the lunar with the solar year (I, 25, 8). The six seasons of the year were named Madhu, Madhava, Sukra, Suchi, Nabha, and Nabhasya, and were connected with different gods (II, 36). The different phases of the moon were observed and were personified as deities. Raka is the full moon, Sinivali is the last day before the new moon, and Gungu is the new moon (II, 32). The position of the moon with regard to the Nakshatras or the lunar mansions is also alluded to (VIII, 3, 20), and some of the constellations of the lunar mansions are also named in X, 85, 13. It would appear from this that the Nakshatras were observed and named in the Vedic Age, and it was in the Epic Period that the lunar zodiac was finally settled.

As might be expected, there was a considerable progress made in the Epic Period. Astronomy had now come to be regarded as a distinct science, and astronomers by profession were called Nakshatra Darsa and Ganaka (Taittiriya Brahmana, IV, 5, and White Yajur Veda, XXX, 10, 20). The twenty-eight lunar mansions are also enumerated in the Black Yajur Veda, and a second and later enumeration occurs in the Atharva Sanhita and in the Taittiriya Brahmana. An interesting passage in Satapatha Brahmana (II, 1, 2) shows how sacrificial rites were regulated by the position of the moon in reference to these lunar asterisms. It is too long to be quoted, and we will therefore give extracts :—

"1. He may set up two fires under the *Krittikas* (the pleiades), for they, the Krittikas, are doubtless Agni's asterism. . . .

"6. He may also set up his fires under *Rohini*. For under Rohini it was that Prajapati, when desirous of progeny, set up his fires. . . .

"8. He may also set up his fires under the asterism or *Mrigasirsha*. For Mrigasirsha, indeed, is the head

of Prajapati. . . . He may also set up his fires under the *Phalgunis*. They, the Phalgunis, are Indra's asterism, and even correspond to him in name; for, indeed, Indra is also called Arjuna, this being his mystic name; and they (Phalgunis) are also called Arjunis. . . .

"12. Let him set up his fire under the asterism *Hasta*, whosoever should wish that presents should be offered him: then indeed that will take place forthwith; for whatever is offered with the hand (hasta), that indeed is given to him.

"13. He may also set up his fires under *Chitra*," &c., &c.

It will thus appear that the setting up of the sacrificial fires was regulated by the constellations. In the same way, sacrifices having for a year were regulated by the sun's annual course. Dr. Martin Haug, the editor and translator of the Aitareya Brahmana, has made some excellent remarks on this subject, which deserve to be quoted:—

"The great sacrifices take place generally in spring, in the months *Chaitra* and *Vaisakha* (April and May). The *Sattras*, which lasted for a year, were, as one may learn from a careful perusal of the fourth book of the Aitareya Brahmana, nothing but an imitation of the sun's yearly course. They were divided into two distinct parts, each consisting of six months of thirty days each; in the midst of both was the Vishuvan, *i. e.*, equator or central day, cutting the whole *Sattra* into two halves. The ceremonies were in both the halves exactly the same; but they were in the latter half performed in an inverted order. This represents the increase of the days in the northern and their decrease in the southern progress; for both increase and decrease take place exactly in the same proportions" (*Introduction*, p. 47).

We have said that the lunar zodiac was finally arranged in India towards the commencement of the Epic Period, say, B. C. 1400. The illustrious Colebrooke

first stated his opinion that the Hindus arranged the lunar mansions from their own observations, and later researches into the intimate connection between the Vedic rites and the position of the moon with regard to the stars, leave no doubt whatever as to the indigenous origin of Hindu astronomy. But nevertheless some European scholars have indulged in conjectures as to the foreign origin of Hindu astronomy, and a controversy which may really be called a battle of books has raged in Europe and America!

The eminent French savant Biot, writing in 1860, described the Chinese system of *Sieu* as an indigenous Chinese institutions, and the inference was that the Hindu *Nakshatras* and Arab *Manazil* were borrowed from the Chinese. The German scholar Lassen was led to adopt this opinion. Professor Weber, however, took up the subject, and in two elaborate essays, published in 1860 and 1861, proved that the Chinese *Sieu* as well as the Arab *Manazil*, "in respect of order, number, identity of limiting stars, and inequality of distance, correspond to one of the most modern phases of the Hindu *Nakshatras*, prior to which these have their own peculiar history of development." Professor Weber thus finally disposes of the theory of the Chinese origin of the *Nakshatras*, and further proves that the Arab lunar mansions were imported by the Arabs from India. And this is exactly the conclusion to which Colebrooke had arrived as far back as 1807, when he wrote that the Hindus had an ecliptic, "seemingly their own: it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians."

Having thus finally disposed of the Chinese and Arabian theories, Professor Weber must needs start a theory of his own, which we may call the Chaldean theory! He conjectures that the Hindu system may have been derived from some foreign source, probably Babylon. This is nothing but a conjecture, a mere suspicion, for Assyrian scholars have not yet obtained

any trace of a lunar zodiac among the archives of old Babylonian learning; but Professor Whitney of America supports this "suspicion," as he calls it, because he thinks the Hindus "were not a people of such habits of mind" as to make observations in the heavens and settle the lunar zodiac. The argument is so amusing that the learned professor almost withdraws it himself, stating that the argument "is not of a character to compel belief."

When scholars condescend to such wild reasoning, it is idle to pursue the controversy. We will therefore conclude this subject with a passage in which Professor Max Müller puts forward the common sense view of the subject. "The 27 Nakshatras, or the 27 constellations which were chosen in India as a kind of lunar zodiac, were supposed to have come from Babylon. Now the Babylonian zodiac was solar, and in spite of repeated researches, no trace of a lunar zodiac has been found, where so many things have been found, in the cuneiform inscriptions. But supposing even that a lunar zodiac had been discovered in Babylon, no one acquainted with Vedic literature, and with the ancient Vedic ceremonial, would easily allow himself to be persuaded that the Hindus had borrowed that simple division of the sky from the Babylonians."*

Besides fixing the lunar zodiac, the Hindus of this period observed the solstitial points to fix the dates of momentous events, and divided the year into months, naming each month after the lunar constellation in which the moon was at its full in the particular month. According to Bentley the lunar zodiac was fixed in 1426 B.C., and the months were named in 1181 B.C.† A knowledge of the solar zodiac was borrowed from the Greeks, after the Christian era, as we will see in a subsequent book.

Besides astronomy, other branches of learning were

* India: What can it teach us (1883), p. 126.

† Hindu Astronomy (London, 1825), pp. 3 and 10.

also cultivated in the Epic Period. Thus in Chhandogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2) we find Narada saying to Sanatkumara, "I know the Rig Veda, sir, the Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa Purana, the Veda of the Vedas (grammar); the Pitrya (rules for sacrifices for the ancestors); the Rasi (the science of numbers); the Daiva (the science of portents); the Nidhi (the science of time); the Vakovakya (logic); the Ekayana (ethics); the Deva Vidya (etymology); the Brahma Vidya (pronunciation, prosody, &c.); the Bhuta Vidya (the science of demons); the Kshatra Vidya (the science of weapons); the Nakshatra Vidya (astronomy); the Sarpa Devanjana Vidya (the science of serpents and of genii). All this I know, sir."

In Brihadaranyaka (II, 4, 10) we are told that "Rig-Veda, Yajur Veda, Sama Veda, Atharvangirasas, Itihasa (legends), Purana (cosmogonies), Vidya (knowledge), the Upanishads, Slokas (verses), Sutras (prose rules), Anu Vyakhyanas (glosses), Vyakhyanas (commentaries), have all been breathed forth from the Supreme Being."

Again, in the eleventh book of the Satapatha Brahmana, we have mention of the three Vedas, the Atharvangirasas, the Aunsasanas, the Vidyas, the Vakovakya, the Itihasa Purana, the Narasansis, and the Gathas.

Professor Weber is of opinion that these names do not necessarily imply distinct works which existed in the Epic Period, and which have been since lost to us. He points out that many of the names merely imply the different subjects which we will still find in the Brahmanas. It was at a later age, in the Rationalistic Period, that these different subjects which we find interwoven in the Brahmanas and Upanishads branched out as separate subjects of study, and were taught in the separate Sutra works and compositions which have came down to us.

There is some force in this supposition, but, at the same time, many of the subjects enumerated above could

scarcely have been taught properly and handed down from teacher to pupil without the help of special works on those subjects. We therefore believe that such separate works existed in the Epic Period, which have been lost to us, because they have been replaced by more elaborate and scientific works of a later age on the same subjects.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SACRIFICIAL RITES OF THE BRAHMANAS.

THE main feature which distinguishes the religion of the Epic Period from that of the preceding age is the great importance which came to be attached to *sacrifice.* In the earlier portion of the Vedic Period, men composed hymns in praise of the most imposing manifestations of nature; they deified these various natural phenomena, and they worshipped these deities under the name of Indra or Varuna, of Agni or the Maruts. And the worship took the shape of sacrifice, *i. e.*, the offering of milk or grain, of animals or libations of the Soma-juice to the gods.

A gradual change, however, is perceptible towards the close of the Vedic Age, and in the Epic Age sacrifice as such,—the mere forms and ceremonials and offerings,—had acquired such an abnormal importance, that everything else was lost in it. This was inevitable when the priests formed into a caste. They multiplied ceremonials, and attached the utmost importance to every minute rite, until both they and the worshippers almost lost sight of the deities they worshipped in the voluminous rites they performed.

Sacrifices were generally accompanied by gifts of cattle, gold, garments, and food, and by the offering of animals as victims. There is a curious passage in Satapatha Brahmana, 1, 2, 3, 7 and 8, about animal sacrifice, which deserves to be quoted :—

"At first, namely, the gods offered up a man as a victim. When he was offered up, the sacrificial essence

went out of him. It entered into the horse. They offered up the horse. When it was offered, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the ox. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the sheep. They offered up the sheep. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into the goat. They offered up the goat. When it was offered up, the sacrificial essence went out of it. It entered into this earth. They searched for it by digging. They found it in the shape of those two substances, the rice and barley: therefore even now they obtain those two by digging; and as much efficacy as all those sacrificed animal victims would have for him, so much efficacy has this oblation (of rice, &c.) for him who knows this."

Professor Max Müller infers from this passage that human sacrifices prevailed among the ancient Hindus, not in the Epic Period, not even in the Vedic Period, but at a still remoter age. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, we regret to observe, follows the lead of Professor Max Müller, and infers from certain other passages which he quotes from the literature of this period, that the inhuman custom prevailed in the remote past. We demur to the conclusions of both these scholars.

If human sacrifice had prevailed in India before the Rig Veda hymns were composed, we should certainly have found allusions to it in the hymns themselves—allusions far more frequent than we find in the later Brahmana literature. We find no such allusions. The story of Sunahsepha, as told in the Rig Veda, is no evidence of human sacrifice. And there is absolutely nothing else in the Rig Veda which can be construed as evidence of this custom. It is impossible to suppose that such a striking and fearful custom should have existed and gradually fallen into disuse without leaving the slightest trace in the Vedic hymns, some of which have come down from a very ancient date.

And where do we find allusions to this custom in the

literature of the Epic Period? The Sama Veda is compiled from the Vedic hymns, and of course there is no mention of human sacrifice in this Veda. There is no mention of the custom in the Black Yajur Veda, and there is no mention of it in the White Yajur Veda, properly so-called. It is in the very latest compositions of the Epic Period,—in the *khila* or supplementary portion of the White Yajur Veda, in the Brahmana of the Black Yajur Veda, in the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rig Veda, and the last but one book of the Satapatha Brahmana, that we have accounts of human sacrifice. Is it possible to postulate the existence of a horrible custom in India in the remote past of which we find no mention in the Rig Veda, in the Sama Veda, in the Black or White Yajur Veda, but the memory of which suddenly revived after a thousand years in the supplements and Brahmanas of the Vedas? Or is it not far more natural to suppose that all the allusions to human sacrifice in the later compositions of the Epic Period are the speculations of priests, just as there are speculations about the sacrifice of the Supreme Being Himself? If the priests needed any suggestion, the customs of the non-Aryan tribes with whom they became familiar in the Epic Period would yield that suggestion.

We will now give a brief account of the principal sacrifices which were performed in this ancient age. We know from the Yajur Veda what these sacrifices were.

The *Darsa purnamasa* was performed on the first day after the full and new moon, and Hindus down to the present time consider these days as sacred. The *Pindapitri yajna* was a sacrifice to the departed ancestors, and is one of the few ancient sacrifices which are performed to this day.

The *Agni hotra* was the daily libation of milk to the sacred fire, performed morning and evening. And the *Chaturmasya* was a sacrifice which was performed only once every four months.

The *Agni shtoma* was a Soma sacrifice; while the

Sautramani was originally an expiation for over-indulgence in Soma. The *Raja suya* was the imperial coronation sacrifice which was performed by great kings after they had established their prowess and fame by conquests; and the *Asva medha* was the celebrated horse-sacrifice which was also performed after great wars and conquests. Humbler than these, but far more important for our purpose, was the *Agniadhana* or setting up of the sacrificial fires, which had an important bearing on the life of every Hindu, and which deserves a few words in explanation.

Asvapti, as has been observed before, boasted that in his kingdom there was no thief, no miser, no drunkard, no ignorant person, no adulterer or adulteress, and "no man without an altar in his house." In those days, to keep the sacred fire in the altar was a duty incumbent on every householder, and the breach of this rule was regarded as positive impiety and irreligiousness. The student who had returned home from his teacher or his Parishad married in due time, and then set up the sacrificial fires. This was generally done on the first day of the waxing moon, but sometimes also at full moon, probably to enable the newly married couple to enter on the sacred duties as early as possible. The performance of the Agniadhana, or the establishment of the sacred fires, generally required two days. The sacrificer chose his four priests, the Brahman, the Hotri, the Adhvaryu, and the Agnidhra, and erected two sheds or fire-houses, for the Garhapatya and the Ahavaniya fires respectively. A circle was marked for the Garhapatya fire, and a square for the Ahavaniya fire; and if a southern or Dakshinagni was required, a semicircular area was marked to the south of the space between the other two.

The Adhvaryu then procured a temporary fire, either producing it by friction, or obtaining it from certain specified sources in the village, and after the usual five-fold lustration of the Garhapatya fire-place, he laid down

the fire thereon. Towards sunset the sacrificer invoked the gods and manes. He and his wife then entered the Garhapatya house, and the Adhvaryu handed him two pieces of wood, the *Arani*, for the production of the Ahavaniya fire on the next morning. And the sacrificer and his wife laid them on their laps, performed propitiatory ceremonies, and remained awake the whole night and kept up the fire. In the morning the Adhvaryu extinguished the fire, or if there was to be a Dakshinagni, he kept it till that fire was made up. Such in brief is the ceremony of the Agniadhana, or the setting up of sacrificial fires, which formed an important duty in the life of every Hindu householders in ancient days, when the gods were worshipped by each man in his fire-place, and temples and idols were unknown.

The illustrious scholar Dr. Roth first pointed out in 1854, from a passage in the Rig Veda (X, 18, 11), that in ancient ages burial was practised by the Hindus. This custom was followed by the burning of the dead and the burial of the ashes. That this latter custom was also in vogue in the Rig Veda Period appears from other passages, such as X, 15, 14, and X, 16, 1. In the Epic Period, of which we are now speaking, the custom of burying had ceased altogether, and the dead were burnt, and the ashes were buried. We find an account of this in the 35th chapter of the White Yajur Veda. The bones of the deceased were collected in a vessel and buried in the ground near a stream, and a mound was raised as high as the knee and covered with grass. The relatives then bathed and changed their clothes and left the funeral ground. The same ceremony is more fully described in the Aranyaka of the Black Yajur Veda. It is scarcely necessary to add that the custom which now prevails among the Hindus is simple cremation, without the burial of the ashes. This recent custom began, according to Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, shortly after the commencement of the Christian Era.

Another important rite which deserves some explanation is the Pindapitri yajna, or the gift of cakes to the departed ancestors. The cakes were offered to Fire and to Soma, and the Fathers were invoked to receive their shares. Then followed an address to the Fathers with reference to the six seasons of the year. The worshipper then looked at his wife and said: "Fathers! you have made us domestic men—we have brought these gifts to you according to our power." Then offering a thread or wool or hair, he said: "Fathers! this is your apparel, wear it." Then the wife ate a cake with a desire to have children, and said: "Fathers! let a male be born in me in this season. Do you protect the son in this womb from all sickness." Departed spirits, according to the Hindu religion, receive offerings from their living descendants, and get none when the family is extinct. Hence the extreme fear of Hindus to die without male issue, and the birth or adoption of a son is a part of their religion.

We do not propose to give an account of the other sacrificial rites; what we have already said will convey a general idea as to how sacrifices were performed. We will now turn to some of the legends of the Brahmanas, which are curious and interesting. A most remarkable legend is told of Manu, who in the Vedic hymns is alluded to as the ancient progenitor of man, who introduced cultivation and worship by fire. The legend in the Satapatha Brahmana (I, 8, 1) is not unlike the account of the Deluge in the Old Testament. As Manu was washing his hands a fish came unto him and said: "Rear me, I will save thee." Manu reared it, and in time it told him "in such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i. e.*, to my advice) by preparing a ship." The flood came, and Manu entered into the ship which he had built in time, and the fish swam up to him and carried the ship beyond the northern mountain. The ship was fastened to a tree there, and as the flood

subsided, Manu gradually descended. "The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here."

The legends relating to the creation of the world are also interesting. There is a beautiful Vedic simile in which the Sun, pursuing the Dawn, is compared to a lover pursuing a maiden. This gave rise to the legend which is found in the Brahmanas (Satapatha, I, 7, 4; Aitereya, III, 33, &c.) that Prajapati, the supreme god, felt a passion for his daughter, and this was the origin of creation! This legend in the Brahmanas was further developed in the Puranas, where Brahma is represented as amorous of his daughter. The whole of these monstrous legends arose from a simple metaphor in the Rig Veda about the Sun following the Dawn. That such is the origin of the Puranic fables was known to Hindu thinkers and commentators, as will appear from the following well-known argument of Kumarila, the great opponent of Buddhism, and the predecessor of Sankaracharya :—

"It is fabled that Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean? Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun; and he is called so because he protects all creatures. His daughter Ushas is the dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that at sunrise the sun runs after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun because she rises when he approaches. In the same manner it is said that Indra was the seducer of Ahalya. This does not imply that the god Indra committed such a crime; but Indra means the sun, and Ahalya the night; and as the night is seduced and ruined by the sun of the morning, therefore is Indra called the paramour of Ahalya."

There is another legend of creation in the Taittiriya Brahmana (I, 1, 3, 5). In the beginning there was nothing except water, and a lotus leaf standing out of it. Prajapati dived in the shape of a boar and brought

up some earth and spread it out and fastened it down by pebbles. This was the earth.

A similar story is told in the Satapatha Brahmana (II, 1, 1, 8), that after the creation, the gods and asuras both sprung from Prajapati, and the earth trembled like a lotus leaf when the gods and asuras contended for mastery. We know that in the Rig Veda, the word Asura is an adjective which means strong or powerful, and is invariably applied to gods except in the very last hymns of the last Mandala. In the Brahmanas the word has changed its meaning altogether, and is applied to the enemies of the gods, about whom many new legends were invented.

Another account of creation is given in the Satapatha Brahmana (II, 5, 1): "Verily in the beginning Prajapati alone existed here." He created living beings and birds and reptiles and snakes, but they all passed away for want of food. He then made the breasts in the forepart of their body (*i.e.*, of the mammals) teem with milk, and so the living creatures survived. And thus the world was originally peopled.

While thus legends and sacrificial rites multiplied in the Epic Period, religion was still the same as in the Vedic Period. The gods of the Rig Veda were still worshipped, and the hymns of the Rik, Saman, or Yajus were still uttered as texts. Only the veneration with which the gods were looked up to in the Vedic Period was now merged in the veneration for the sacrificial ceremonies.

New gods, however, were slowly finding a place in the Hindu pantheon—names which have acquired importance in later times. We have already seen that Arjuna was another name of Indra, even in the Satapatha Brahmana. In Chapter XVI of the White Yajur Veda, we find Rudra already assuming his more modern Puranic names, and acquiring a more distinct individuality. In the Rig Veda, as we have already seen, Rudra is the father of the storms, he is the thunder. In the White Yajur Veda he

is also described as the thunder-cloud, but is specially represented as a fearful god, and often the god of thieves and criminals, and altogether a destructive power. He is called Girisha (because clouds rest on mountains); he is called *Tamra* or *Aruna* or *Babhru* (from the colour of the clouds); he is named Nilakantha or blue-necked (also from the same reason); Kapardin or the long-haired; Pasupati or the nourisher of animals; Sankara or the benefactor; and Siva or the beneficent. Thus in the Epic Period we find Rudra in a transition stage, and we already see the origin of some of the Puranic legends about him. But nowhere in the Brahmana literature do we find those legends fully developed, or Rudra represented as the Puranic Siva, the consort of Durga or Kali. In the Kaushitaki Brahmana, we find great importance attached in one passage to Isana or Mahadeva. In Satapatha Brahmana, we find the following remarkable passage:—"This is thy share, O Rudra! Graciously accept it together with thy sister Ambika!" (II, 6, 2, 9). And in a celebrated passage in the Mundaka Upanishad, an Upanishad of the Atharva Veda, we find Kali, Karali, Manojava, Sulohita, Sudhumarvarna Sphulingini, and Bisvarupi as the names of the seven tongues of fire. In Satapatha Brahmana (II, 4, 4, 6), we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Parvati; and in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of a female called Uma Haimavati, who appeared before Indra and explained to Indra the nature of Brahman. These are a few specimens of the scattered materials in the Brahmana literature, out of which the gorgeous Puranic legend of Siva and his consort was reared.

In Aitareya Brahmana (VI, 15), and in Satapatha Brahmana (I, 2, 5), we are told the story of the gods obtaining from the Asuras the part of the world which Vishnu could stride over or cover, and thus they managed to get the whole world. It is in the last book of the

Satapatha Brahmana (XIV, 1, 1), that Vishnu obtains a sort of supremacy among gods, and his head is then struck off by Indra. Krishna, the son of Devaki, is not yet a deity; he is a pupil of Ghora Angirasa in the Chhandogya Upanishad (III, 17, 6).

While in these scattered allusions we detect materials for the construction of the gorgeous Puranic mythology of a later day, we also find in the Epic Period traces of that disbelief in Brahmanical rites and creed which broke out also at a later day in the Buddhist revolution. The Tandya Brahmana of the Sama Veda contains the Vratya-stomas, by which the Vratyas or *Aryans not living according to the Brahmanical system* could get admission into that community. Some of them are thus described:—"They drive in open chariots of war, carry bows and lances, wear turbans, robes bordered with red and having fluttering ends, shoes, and sheep skins folded double; their leaders are distinguished by brown robes and silver neck ornaments; they pursue neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws are in a state of confusion; they speak the same language as those who have received Brahmanical consecration, but nevertheless call what is easily spoken hard to pronounce." For the rest, a Vratya was not yet looked upon with contempt, and the Supreme Being is addressed in Prasna Upanishad as a Vratya.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RELIGIOUS DOCTRINES OF THE UPANISHADS.

It is a relief to pass from the rituals and legends of the Brahmanas to the more vigorous speculations of the Upanishads. Some impatience appears to have been felt with the elaborate but unmeaning rites, the dogmatic but childish explanations, and the mystic but grotesque reasoning which fill the voluminous Brahmanas; and thinking men asked themselves if this was all that religion could teach. Earnest men, while still conforming to the rites laid down in the Brahmanas, began to speculate on the destination of the Soul and on the nature of the Supreme Being. Learned Kshatriyas must have given a start to these healthier speculations, or at least carried them on with vigour and success, until Brahmans came to them to learn something of the wisdom of the new school. And even after the lapse of nearly three thousand years, it is impossible not to be struck with the vigour, the earnestness, and the philosophy which characterise the doctrines of the Upanishads. The most important among them are (1) the Doctrine of a Universal Soul, (2) the Doctrine of Creation, (3) the Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls, and (4) the Doctrine of Final Beatitude.

We begin with the Doctrine of a Universal Soul, an ill-pervading Breath which is the keystone of the philosophy and thought of the Upanishads. This idea is somewhat different from monotheism as it has been generally understood in later days. For monotheism generally

recognises a God and Creator as distinct from the created beings; but the monotheism of the Upanishads, which has been the monotheism of the Hindu religion ever since, recognises God as the Universal Being;—all things else have emanated from him, are a part of him, and will mingle in him, and have no separate existence. This is the lesson which Satyakama Jabala learnt from nature, and this is the lesson which Yajnavalkya imparted to his beloved and esteemed wife Maitreyi. This too is the great idea which is taught in the Upanishads in a hundred similes and stories and beautiful legends, which impart to the Upanishads their unique value in the literature of the world.

"All this is Brahman (the Universal Being). Let a man meditate on the visible world as beginning, ending, and breathing in the Brahman. . . .

"The Intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like either (omnipresent and invisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed; he who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised.

"He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

"He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odours and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and is never surprised, he—my self within the heart—is that Brahman. When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him" (*Chhandogya*, III, 14).

Such is the sublime language in which the ancient Hindus expressed their sublime conception of the minute but all-pervading and Universal Being whom they called Brahman or God.

We proceed with other extracts from the Chhandogya.

Svetaketu, as we have seen before, stayed with his teacher from his twelfth year to his twenty-fourth, and then returned home, "having then studied all the Vedas, conceited, considering himself well read, and stern." But he had yet things to learn which were not ordinarily taught in the schools of the age, and his father Uddalaka Aruneya taught him the true nature of the Universal Being in beautiful similes:—

"As the bees, my son, make honey by collecting the juices of distant trees, and reduce the juice into one form. And as these juices have no discrimination, so that they might say, I am the juice of this tree or that, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, when they have become merged in the True, know not that they are merged in the True. . . .

"These rivers, my son, run, the eastern (like the Ganges) towards the east, the western (like the Indus) towards the west. They go from sea to sea (*i.e.*, the clouds lift up the water from the sea to the sky and send it back as rain to the sea). They become indeed sea. And as those rivers, when they are in the sea, do not know, I am this or that river, in the same manner, my son, all these creatures, proceeding from the True, know not that they have proceeded from the True. . . .

" 'Place this salt in water, and then wait on me in the morning.'

"The son did as he was commanded. The father said to him: 'Bring me the salt which you placed in the water last night.' The son having looked for it found it not, for, of course, it was melted.

"The father said: 'Taste it from the surface of the water. How is it?' The son replied: 'It is salt.' 'Taste it from the middle. How is it?' The son replied: 'It is salt.' 'Taste it from the bottom. How is it?' The son replied: 'It is salt.' The father said: Throw it away, and then wait on me.' "

"The son waited on the father, and the father ex-

plained to his son that the Universal Being, though invisible, dwells in us, as the salt is in the water". (*Chhandogya*, VI).

These extracts from the Chhandogya bring home to us the Hindu idea of a Universal Being. We will now quote one or two passages from the Kena and the Isa :—

"At whose wish does the mind, sent forth, proceed on its errand?" asks the pupil. "At whose command does the first breath go forth? At whose wish do we utter this speech? What god directs the eye or the ear?"

The teacher replies: "It is the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, the speech of the speech, the breath of the breath, and the eye of the eye. . . .

"That which is not expressed by speech, and by which speech is expressed. . . . That which does not think by mind, and by which mind is thought. . . . That which does not see by the eye, and by which one sees. . . . That which does not hear by the ear, and by which the ear is heard. . . . That which does not breathe by breath, and by which breath is drawn,—*that alone know as Brahman,*—*not that which people here adore*" (*Kena Upanishad*, I).

The italics are, of course, ours. But who does not see in the above passage an effort of the human mind to shake itself from the trammels of meaningless ceremonials which priests taught and the "people here" practised, to soar into a higher reign of thought and to comprehend the incomprehensible,—the breath of the breath and the soul of the soul? Who is not struck by this manly and fervent effort made by the Hindu nation, three thousand years ago, to know the unknown Maker, to comprehend the incomprehensible God.

And the joy of him who has comprehended, however feebly, the incomprehensible God, has been well described :—

"He who beholds all beings in the Self, and Self in all beings, he never turns away from it.

"When to a man who understands, the Self has

become all things, what sorrow, what trouble can there be to him who once beheld that unity?

"He, the Self, encircled all, bright, incorporeal, scatheless, without muscles, pure, untouched by evil, a seer, wise, omnipresent, self-existent, he disposed all things rightly for eternal years" (*Isa Upanishad*).

Lastly, in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad we are told that all gods are the manifestation of Self or Purusha, "for he is all gods" (I, 4, 6). And likewise that he exists in all men, in the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra (I, 4, 15).

Our extracts on this subject have been somewhat lengthy, but the reader will not regret it. For the Doctrine of a Universal Soul is the very keystone of the Hindu religion, and it is necessary to know how this idea was first developed in India in the Upanishads. We will now pass on to another important doctrine, *viz.*, the Doctrine of Creation.

The Creation of the world was still a mystery to those early thinkers, and the attempts to solve it were necessarily fanciful. A few passages may be quoted:—

"In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent as it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold.

"The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yolk) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea.

"And what was born from it was Aditya, the Sun. When he was born shouts of hurrah arose, and all beings arose, and all things which they desired" (*Chhandogya*, III, 19).

A different account is given in VI, 2, of the same Upanishad, where we are told that—"In the beginning there was that only, which is,—One only, without a second." And that sent forth fire, and fire sent forth water, and the water sent forth the earth.

The Aitareya Aranyaka describes how Prana, the Universal Breath, created the world, and then discusses the question of the material cause out of which the world was created. As in the Rig Veda (X, 129), and as in the Jewish account of creation, water is said to be the first material cause.

"Was it water really? Was it water? Yes, all this was water indeed. The water was the root, the world was the shoot. He (the person) is the father, they (earth, fire, &c.), are the sons." Mahidasa Aitareya knew this. (II, 1, 8, 1).

Elsewhere in the same Upanishad the following account of Creation is given:—

"Verily in the beginning all this was Self,—one only. There was nothing else blinking whatsoever." And that Self sent forth the water (above the heaven), the lights which are the sky, the mortal which is the earth, and the waters under the earth. He then formed the Purusha, and the universe was produced from the Purusha.

Some of these extracts clearly recognise an original Creator,—the Breath or the Soul or the Self—and also a material cause, water or fire. We shall see hereafter how this doctrine of a Primal Soul and Primal Matter is developed in later Hindu Philosophy. We must now turn to the most important Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. It is to the Hindus what the doctrine of Resurrection is to Christians. And while the Christians believe that our souls will live in another sphere after death, the Hindus believe that our souls have lived in other spheres before, and will live again in other spheres after death.

The central idea is that which has been adopted as the cardinal principle of the Hindu religion, that good acts lead to their rewards in future existences, but it is true knowledge only which leads to union with the Universal Spirit. "As here on earth, whatever has been acquired by exertion perishes, so perishes whatever is acquired for the next world by sacrifices and other good

actions performed on earth. Those who depart from hence without having discovered the Self and those true desires, for them there is no freedom in all the worlds" (*Chhandogya*, VIII, 1, 6).

The doctrine of transmigration of souls is fully and beautifully explained in the Brihadaranyaka (IV, 4), and we will make an extract from that Upanishad :—

"As a caterpillar, after having reached the end of a blade of grass, and after having made another approach to another blade, draws itself together towards it, thus does the Self, after having thrown off this body, and dispelled all ignorance, and after making another approach to another body, draw itself together towards it.

"And as a goldsmith, taking a piece of gold, turns it into another newer and more beautiful shape, so does the Self, after having thrown off this body, and dispelled all ignorance, make unto himself another newer and more beautiful shape, whether it be like the Fathers, or like the Gandharvas, or like the Devas, or like Prajapati, or like Brahman, or like other beings. . . .

"So much for the man who desires. But as to the man who does not desire; who, not desiring, free from desires, is satisfied in his desires, or desires the Self only, his vital spirits do not depart elsewhere; being Brahman, he goes to Brahman. . . .

"And as the slough of a snake lies on an anthill, dead and cast away, thus lies the body; but that disembodied immortal spirit is Brahman only, is only light."

And this brings us to the Doctrine of Final Beatitude and Salvation. There is nothing sublimer in the literature of the ancient Hindus than the passages in which they fervently recorded their hope and faith that the disembodied Soul, purified from all stains and all sins, will at last be received in the Universal Soul even as light mingles with light. We quote another passage from the Brihadaranyaka :—

"He, therefore, that knows it, after having become

quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected, sees self in Self, sees all in Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubt, he becomes a true Brahman ;—enters the Brahma world."

It was this Doctrine of Final Beatitude which Death explained to Nachiketas in that beautiful idyll of an Upanishad called *Katha*. We will close the present chapter with an extract from that beautiful creation of fancy and of piety.

Nachiketas was given by his father unto Death and entered the abode of Yama Vaivasvata, and asked him for three boons, the last of which was this :—

"There is that doubt, when a man is dead ;—some saying, he is ; others, he is not. This I should like to know taught by thee ; this is the third of my boons."

But Death was unwilling to reveal his secrets, and told Nachiketas to ask for other boons.

"Choose sons and grandsons who shall live a hundred years, herds of cattle, elephants, gold, horses. Choose the wide abode of the earth, and live thyself as many harvests as thou desirest.

"If you can think of any boon equal to that, choose wealth and long life. Be king, Nachiketas, on the whole earth. I make thee the enjoyer of all desires.

"Whatever desires are difficult to attain among mortals, ask for them, anything to thy wish ;—these fair maidens with their chariots and musical instruments,—such are indeed not to be obtained by men ; be waited on by them whom I give thee, but do not ask me about dying."

Nachiketas said : "These things last till to-morrow, O Death, for they wear out this vigour of all the senses. Even the whole of life is short. Keep thou thy horses, keep dance and song for thyself."

Pressed by the pious inquirer, Death at last revealed the great secret, which is the principle of the Upanishads and the principle of the Hindu religion :—

"The wise who, by means of meditation on his self, recognises the Ancient, who is difficult to be seen, who has entered into the dark, who has hidden in the cave, who dwells in the abyss, as God,—he indeed leaves joy and sorrow far behind.

"A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing. The house of Brahman is open, I believe, O Nachiketas!"

Who can, even in the present day, peruse these pious inquiries and fervent thoughts of a long buried past, without feeling a new emotion in his heart, without seeing a new light before his eyes! The mysteries of the unknown future will never be solved by human intellect or by human science; but the first recorded attempts to solve them in a pious, fervent, philosophical spirit will ever have an abiding interest for every patriotic Hindu and for every thoughtful man.

In the words of the eminent German writer and philosopher Schopenhauer: "From every sentence deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. . . . In the whole world there is no study except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Oupnekhat.* It has been the solace of my life; it will be the solace of my death."

* Latin translation of the Upanishads.

BOOK III.

RATIONALISTIC PERIOD, B.C. 1000 TO 320.

CHAPTER I.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD.

A CHANGE came over the spirit of the Hindu world in the third period, and the change is reflected in the Sutra literature of India. The Vindhya range was the extreme southern limit of the Hindu world in the Epic Period but now the Hindus crossed that chain of mountains and penetrated beyond the wastes and jungles of Central India, and founded powerful Hindu kingdoms on the banks of the Godavari and the Krishna, extending to the blue waters of the ocean. In the east the kingdom of Magadha rose to power and greatness and threw out colonies into Bengal and Orissa, and in the west the kingdom of Saurashtra extended its limits to the Arabian Sea. This expansion of the Hindu world had its effects on the Hindu mind; the Hindus became more venturesome, and their ideas became more expanded. Whatever literature was handed down from ancient times was put in a condensed, practical shape, and new discoveries in every department of science were made with the boldness of new explorers and conquerors.

The practical spirit of the age showed itself in the form which literature assumed. All learning, all sciences all religious teachings, were reduced to concise practical manuals. Brevity is the characteristic of the Sutra litera-

ture, as verbosity is of the Brahmana literature. Indeed, the writers went from one extreme to another;—verbose prose was replaced by aphorisms, and the proverbial saying which applies to the Sutra literature is often quoted, that "an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son!"

One main reason which led to this extreme conciseness was that young Hindu students were expected in their early years to learn these Sutras by rote. Aryan boys were expected to place themselves under some teacher at the early age of eight or ten or twelve, and for twelve years or more they remained in their teacher's house, doing menial service under him, begging alms for him, and learning day by day the ancestral religion by rote. The diffuse details of the Brahmanas were therefore compressed into short treatises in order that they might be imparted and learnt with ease, and a separate body of Sutras was thus composed for each Sutra Charana or school. The names of the authors of many of these compositions have been handed down to us, and while the Vedas and the Brahmanas are declared to be *revealed*, no such claim is put forward for the Sutras, which are admitted to be human compositions. The so-called *revealed* literature of India closes therefore with the Upanishads, which form the last portions of the Brahmanas.

When once the Sutras began to be composed, the system spread rapidly all over India, and Sutra schools multiplied. The Charanyavyuha names five Charanas of the Rig Veda, twenty-seven of the Black Yajur Veda, fifteen of the White Yajur Veda, twelve of the Sama Veda, and nine of the Atharva Veda. Each Sutra Charana must have had a separate body of Sutras for itself, and the adherents of any particular Charana,—in whatever part of India they might live,—learnt and imparted to students the Sutras of that particular school. A vast mass of Sutra literature thus gradually sprung up in India, but of the numerous bodies of Sutras

which must have been composed and taught in these numerous Sutra Charanas a lamentably small number has been left to us! As with the Brahmanas, so with the Sutras, a limited number of works only have been saved from the shipwreck of ancient Sanscrit literature.

We will now rapidly survey the different branches of learning which gradually assumed the Sutra form, and we will begin with religion. Details of ceremonials relating to Vedic sacrifices were compressed into concise manuals, and these manuals are called *Srauta Sutras*. Two collections of these Srauta Sutras belonging to the Rig Veda, called Asvalayana and Sankhayana; three belonging to the Sama Veda, and called Masaka, Latyayana and Drahyayana; four belonging to the Black Yajur Veda, and called Baudhayana, Bharadvaja, Apastamba, and Hiranyakesin; and one belonging to the White Yajur Veda, and called Katyayana, have been left entire. An account of these Srauta Sutras will not be interesting to our readers, but nevertheless, some fact about them deserve mention.

Asvalayana is said to have been the pupil of the celebrated Saunaka, and the teacher and pupil are said to have been the joint authors of the last two books of the Aitareya Aranyaka. The fact clearly points to the interesting fact that the earliest works of the Sutra literature connect themselves with the last works of the Brahmana or Epic Period.

Saunaka is indeed an interesting character of the Epic Period. In an anterior state of existence he is said to have been Gritsamada, the "seer" of the second book of the Rig Veda, and by this legend we may probably understand that he belonged to the line of teachers or families by whom that book of the Rig Veda was handed down from century to century. Saunaka was again the priest of Janamejaya Parikshita in the famous horse-sacrifice which he celebrated. We may infer therefore that a line of Saunakas were celebrated priests and men

of learning in the Epic Period. No wonder that the earliest compilers of Sutras seek to connect themselves with this honoured name.

The Sankhayana Srauta Sutra, it has been conjectured, belongs to the Western part of Hindustan, as the Asvalayana belongs to the Eastern.

Of the Sama Veda the Masaka Srauta Sutra is only a tabular enumeration of prayers belonging to different ceremonies, the Latyayana embodies the opinions of various teachers, and both these Sutras connect themselves with the great Tandya or Panchavinsa Brahmana of the Sama Veda. The Drahyayana differs but little from the Latyayana.

The Sutras of the Black Yajur Veda have been chronologically arranged as those of Baudhayana, Bharadvaja, Apastamba, and Hiranyakesin, and Dr. Bühler, who has recovered the lost Bharadvaja Sutra, justly remarks that the distance in years between Baudhayana and Apastamba must be measured not by decades but by centuries. In a most valuable introduction to his translation of the Dharma Sutra of Apastamba, Dr. Bühler states that a powerful Hindu kingdom, *i.e.*, of the Andhras, had been founded in Southern India before the Christian era, that the capital of the empire was probably situated near modern Amaravati on the river Krishna, that Apastamba was probably born or naturalised in this country and founded his Sutra school there, and that the date of his work cannot be put down later than the third century before Christ. And as Apastamba speaks not only of the six Vedangas, but also of the Purva Mimansa and the Vedanta schools of philosophy, we can conclude that the philosophical schools of India had begun their work previous to that date.

The Srauta Sutra of the White Yajur Veda is by Katyayana, who also claims to be a pupil of the renowned Saunaka. Katyayana was a critic of Panini the grammarian, and lived, according to Max Müller, in the fourth century before Christ. An interesting "battle of books"

has been waged by scholars about the date of Panini, but we must avoid entering into the arena reserved for doughty scholars, and only express our assent to the prevailing opinion that the grammarian must have lived some centuries before his critic. The Katyayana Sutra strictly follows the Satapatha Brahmana, and the first eighteen chapters of the Sutra correspond with the first nine books of the Brahmana. As in Latyayana, so in Katyayana we find allusion to Magadhadesiya Brahmabandhu, who are supposed to be the first Buddhists.

We turn with pleasure from the Srauta Sutras to the *Dharma Sutras*, which present to us the customs and manners and laws of the times, and are, therefore, far more valuable for our historical purpose. In the Srauta Sutras we see the Hindus as sacrificers; in the Dharma Sutras we see them as citizens.

But the Dharma Sutras of this ancient period have a still further claim to our attention, because they are the originals which have been modified and put into verse at a later age, and transformed into those law-books with which modern Hindus are familiar, such as Manu and Yajnavalkya. This was pointed out by Professor Max Müller thirty years ago, and the researches which have been made since have fully confirmed the fact. A world of conjectures and fancies about the Code of Manu, previously supposed to be the work of legislators and rulers, has been exploded by this discovery, and we now know what the so-called codes are, and how and why they were framed. In their original Sutra form (often in prose, sometimes in prose and verse, but never in continuous verse like the later codes), they were composed, just as the Srauta Sutras were composed, by the founders of the Sutra Charanas, and were learnt by rote by young Hindus, so that they might, in later life, never forget their duties as citizens and as members of society. No nation has taken greater precautions than the Hindus to implant in the mind of every member of society his religious, social, and legal duties.

Among the Dharma Sutras which are lost, and have not yet been recovered, was the Manava Sutra or Sutra of Manu, from which the later metrical Code of Manu has been compiled. It seems that the Dharma Sutra of Manu was held in high honour in the Sutra Period, as the metrical Code of Manu is held in honour in the present day. The references to Manu are frequent in the Sutra literature, and Dr. Bühler has pointed out two quotations from Manu in Vasishtha's and Gautama's Dharma Sutras.

Among the Dharma Sutras still extant, Vasishtha belonging to the Rig Veda, Gautama belonging to the Sama Veda, and Baudhayana and Apastamba belonging to the Black Yajur Veda, have been translated by Dr. Bühler.

In point of time Gautama is the oldest, and we find Baudhayana transferring a whole chapter of Gautama's into his Sutra, and Vasishtha again has borrowed the same chapter from Baudhayana. And we have seen before that Apastamba also comes after Baudhayana.

We have spoken of the Srauta Sutras which treat of the duties of a worshipper, and of the Dharma Sutras which treat of the duties of a citizen. But man has other duties and responsibilities beyond those of a worshipper and a citizen. As a son, a husband, and a father, he has duties to perform towards the members of his family. He has little rites to perform in connection with domestic occurrences, which are quite different from the more elaborate ceremonials taught in the Srauta Sutras. A distinct class of rules was necessary to fix the details of these Grihya or domestic rites, and these rules are given in the *Grihya Sutras*.

A great deal of interest attaches to these simple domestic rites performed at the domestic fireside, and not at the hearths which had to be specially lighted at great sacrifices. The domestic fire was lighted by each householder on his marriage, and the simple rites, the

Pakayajnas, were easily performed. "A log of wood," says Professor Max Müller, "placed on the fire of the hearth, an oblation poured out to the gods, or alms given to Brahmans, this is what constitutes a Pakayajna." Gautama enumerates seven Paka sacrifices, *viz.*:—(1) Astaka, performed in the four winter months; (2) Parvana, at full and new moon; (3) Sraddha, or monthly funeral oblations; (4 to 7) Sravani, Agrahayani, Chaitri, and Asvajuji, performed on the days of full moon in the months from which the rites have been named. The account of these rites contained in the Grihya Sutras is deeply interesting to Hindus, because after a lapse of over two thousand years we are still practising, as will be seen further on, the same interesting rites, sometimes under the same name, and often under a different name and in a somewhat different way. The Grihya Sutras also contain accounts of social ceremonies performed at marriage, at the birth of a child, at his first feeding, at his assuming the life of a student, &c. And thus we get a complete idea of domestic life among the ancient Hindus from these invaluable Grihya Sutras.

The Sankhayana and Asvalayana Grihya Sutras belonging to the Rig Veda, and the Paraskara Grihya Sutra belonging to the White Yajur Veda, have been translated by Herman Oldenberg. A second volume, which promises to contain a translation of Gobhila, &c., has been announced but has not yet been published.*

The Srauta Sutra, the Dharma Sutra, and the Grihya Sutra go collectively under the name of Kalpa Sutra. Indeed, each Sutra Charana is supposed to have had a complete body of Kalpa Sutra including the divisions mentioned above, but much of what existed has been lost, and we have only fragments of the Sutra literature left. The entire Kalpa Sutra of Apastamba still exists, and is divided into thirty prasnas or sections. The first twenty-four of these treat of Srauta sacrifices; the 5th

* It has been published since the above was written.

contains the rules of interpretation; the 26th and 27th treat of the Grihya rites; the 28th and 29th contain the Dharma Sutra, and the 30th section, the *Sulva Sutra*, teaches the geometrical principles according to which the altars for the Srauta sacrifices had to be constructed. These interesting Sulva Sutras have been made known to the western world by Dr. Thibaut. The publication of his work confirms the conclusions of Von Schrader, that Pythagoras learnt not only his theory of transmigration but his mathematics also from India in the sixth century before Christ.

We have so long spoken of the Kalpa Sutra, as the Kalpa Sutra forms the most important and, historically, the most valuable portion of the literature of the period. Our ancient writers enumerate five other Vedangas or departments of Vedic study, and we will briefly allude to them here.

Siksha or Phonetics is the science of pronunciation, and there is reason to believe that rules on the subject were formerly embodied in the Aranyakas and even in the Brahmanas of the Epic Period, but that they have disappeared in consequence of the appearance of more scientific works on the same subject in the Rationalistic Period. These works are called Pratisakhyas, which were collections of phonetic rules applicable to each Sakha or recension of each Veda.

Many of the Pratisakhyas, however, have been lost, and only one Pratisakhya for each Veda (except the Sama Veda) has been preserved to us. The Pratisakhya of the Rig Veda is ascribed to the renowned Saunaka. Similarly, a Pratisakhya of the White Yajur Veda is also extant and is ascribed to Katyayana. A Pratisakhya of the Black Yajur Veda and one of the Atharva Veda are also extant, but the names of the authors are forgotten. It will interest our readers to learn that among the teachers named in the Pratisakhya of the Black Yajur Veda we have the name of a Valmiki!

Chhandas or Metre is spoken of in the Vedas, and whole chapters in the Aranyakas and Upanishads are devoted to it. But as in the case of Siksha, so in the case of Chhandas, we have a clear scientific treatment of the subject for the first time in the Sutra literature. There are some chapters on the metre of the Rig Veda at the end of the Pratiśakhya of that Veda. For the Sama Veda we have the well-known Nidana Sutra.

The deservedly great fame of Panini in the department of *Vyakarana* or Grammar has eclipsed that of all other grammarians of the period. Panini belonged to the extreme north-west corner of India, where the Brahmanas and Aranyakas and Upanishads, composed mostly on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna, were little known or respected; and Panini therefore knew little of them. Dr. Goldstücker is right in holding Panini to be anterior to Buddha.

Similarly, the great fame of Yaska (anterior to Panini according to Dr. Goldstücker and other scholars) in the department of *Nirukta* has eclipsed the fame of his predecessors, of whom we know little except from the mention made of them in Yaska's work. A common mistake is made in calling Yaska's work the Nirukta. Nirukta is a work, as Sayana says, where only a number of words is given. Yaska takes up such an old existing Nirukta, and on this text he writes a commentary, which is his work.

Colebrooke speaks of different treatises on *Jyotisha* or Astronomy for each Veda, and he calls one which has a commentary, the Jyotisha of the Rig Veda. Professor Max Müller, however, has found the works to be different manuscripts of the same work, and he believes the work to have been composed after the Sutra Period, although the doctrines and rules propounded in it belong to the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy. Its practical object is to convey a knowledge of the heavenly bodies necessary for fixing the time for sacrifices, and to establish

a sacred calendar. However recent the date of the existing work may be, it contains observations made in India during the Epic Period, *i. e.*, when the Vedas were collected and arranged, and it furnishes evidence therefore of the date of that period, which should not be lightly rejected or ignored.

Besides the six Vedangas detailed above, there is another class of works called the Anukramani or Index to the Vedas, which also belongs to Sutra literature. The Anukramani of the Rig Veda is ascribed to Katyayana, and gives the first words of each hymn, the number of verses, the name of the poet, the metre, and the deity. There were some older Anukramanis of the Rig Veda, which have all been replaced by Katyayana's fuller work.

The Yajur Veda has three Anukramanis, *viz.*, one for the Atreya recension of the Black Yajur Veda, one for the recension of the Charakas, and the third for the Madhyandina recension of the White Yajur Veda.

Of the Sama Veda we have an ancient index in the Arsheya Brahmana, and some more among the Parisishtas or supplementary works. An Anukramani of the Atharva Veda has been discovered in the British Museum.

We have still to refer to the most important product of the Hindu mind in the Rationalistic Period. The doctrines and philosophical inquiries started at the close of the Epic Period in the Upanishads led to those deeper investigations and profound researches which are known as the six schools of Hindu Philosophy. Professor Weber justly remarks that it was in Philosophy as well as in Grammar that the speculative Hindu mind attained the highest pitch of its marvellous fertility. The abstrusest questions of matter and spirit, of creation and future existence, were dealt with in Sankhya Philosophy, not as in the Upanishads in guesses and speculations, but with the strictest method and relentless logic. Other schools of Philosophy followed the lead of Sankhya Philosophy, and

inquired boldly into the mysteries of soul and mind, of creation and of the Creator.

Orthodox Hindus became alarmed at the spread of sceptical ideas, and a reaction set in. The result is the Vedanta system of Philosophy, which reasserts the great doctrines of the Upanishads, and which forms to this day the basis of Hindu beliefs and religious convictions. In the meantime, however, a far mightier movement than that caused by philosophical opinions had been set on foot. Gautama Buddha was born in the sixth century before Christ, and proclaimed to the poor and the lowly that Vedic rites were useless, that a holy and tranquil and benevolent life is the essence of religion, that caste-distinctions do not exist among those who strive after holiness and purity. Thousands responded to his appeal, and thus a catholic religion began to spread in India, which has since become the religion of Asia.

From the brief account of the literature of the age given above, the reader will have some idea of the intellectual activity of this most brilliant period of Hindu civilisation. Religious rights and duties were laid down lucidly and concisely for householders; civil and criminal laws were compiled; phonetics, metre, and grammar were dealt with with scientific accuracy; geometry and mathematics were cultivated; mental philosophy and logic were studied and developed with marvellous success; and a noble religion was proclaimed which is now the religion of a third of the human race.

CHAPTER II.

EXPANSION OF THE HINDUS.

THE History of India receives a new light in the Rationalistic Period, as it was in this period that the Greeks visited India and also compiled accounts of it from report. Greek civilisation and national life had not commenced during the long centuries of the Vedic Age in India. Again, the rude heroes of the Trojan War knew little of their civilised but distant contemporaries, the Hindus of the Epic Age. The first two epochs of Hindu history receive no light therefore from Greek literature. The first Greek who is supposed to have borrowed his learning from the Hindus is the philosopher Pythagoras. He lived in the sixth century before Christ, *i.e.*, in the Rationalistic Period of Hindu history, and his theories and ideas throw some light on the prevailing ideas of the Hindus of that age. He learnt the Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls and the Doctrine of Final Beatitude from the Upanishads and the current faith of the Hindus, and his ascetic observances and prohibition to eat flesh and beans were also borrowed from India. He learnt his elementary geometry from the Sulva Sutras; his notion of the virtues of numbers was borrowed from Sankhya Philosophy; and lastly, his idea of the five elements was essentially an Indian idea.

Herodotus, the father of Greek history, lived in the fifth century before Christ; and although he never visited India, he gives accounts of the Hindus from report which are valuable, although he mixes them up with legends and stories, and often confounds the customs of the Hindus

with those of the uncivilised aborigines who still inhabited large tracts in India. Herodotus tells us that the Indians were the greatest nation of the age, that they were divided into various tribes and spoke different tongues, that they procured great quantities of gold in their country, that India abounded in quadrupeds and birds larger than any other country, and produced wild trees which bore wool (cotton) from which the Indians made their clothing (III, 94–106). Elsewhere he says, speaking of the Thracians, that they were the greatest of nations among men excepting only the Indians (V, 3). Herodotus also mentions the fact, which is probably historically true, that Darius, king of Persia, subjugated a part of India, and his ships sailed down the Indus to the sea (IV, 44).

And lastly, Megasthenes came to India in the fourth century before Christ, and lived in the court of Chandragupta in Pataliputra or ancient Patna. And although his original account is lost, still extracts from his writings are found scattered in many subsequent works. These have been carefully collected by Dr. Schwanbeck of Bonn and translated into English by Mr. MacCrindle, and are invaluable for the purposes of Indian History, and we shall frequently have occasion to quote them. Pythagoras, Herodotus, and Megasthenes are unimpeachable witnesses to the high civilisation of India during three successive centuries which fall within the Rationalistic Period, *viz.*, the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries before Christ.

We have seen that by the end of the Epic Period the whole of the valley of the Ganges and Jumna from Delhi to North Behar had been conquered, peopled, and Hinduised. We have seen that towards that very close of the period, *i.e.*, about 1000 B.C., Hindu settlers and adventurers, colonists, and "pilgrim fathers" had left the valley of the Ganges and had penetrated into remote unknown lands, into Southern Behar, Malwa, the Deccan, and Gujrat. And we have seen that these non-Aryan provinces were becoming gradually known to the Hindus, and were slowly

coming under Hindu influence and power when the Epic Period closed and the Rationalistic Period began.

The waves of Hindu conquests rolled onwards, and the aborigines submitted themselves to a higher civilisation and a nobler religion. Rivers were crossed, forests were cleared, lands were reclaimed, wide wastes were peopled, and new countries hitherto aboriginal witnessed the rise of Hindu power and of Hindu religion. Where a few scanty settlers had penetrated at first, powerful colonies arose, where religious teachers had retired in seclusion, quiet villages and towns arose. Where a handful of merchants had made their way by some unknown river, boats navigated up and down with valuable cargoes for a civilised population. Where hardy warriors or scions of royal houses had dwelt in exile or by the chase, powerful monarchs reigned over a conquered, civilised, Hinduised aboriginal population. And where foresters had felled trees and cleared small tracts of land, smiling fields covered with waving corn spread for miles and miles around, betokening the spread of civilisation and of the civilised arts of life.

Such was the history of Aryan conquests from generation to generation and from century to century in the Rationalistic Period, and each succeeding Sutra work that we take up shows that the circle of civilisation has spread wider, and that the zone of unreclaimed barbarism has receded further and further. And long before we come to the close of the Rationalistic Period, *i.e.*, the fourth century B.C., we find that the entire peninsula has been reclaimed, civilised, and Hinduised, and that primitive barbarians dwelt only in rocks, forests, and deserts which the Aryans disdained to conquer. It is not a story of conquests only, which would have little interest for the philosophical reader. It is a story of the spread of Hindu civilisation among hitherto unknown countries and aboriginal nations. It was the acceptance, by the Andhras of the Deccan and the Saurashtras of Gujrat, by the Cholas,

Cheras, and Pandyas of Southern India, by the Magadhas, the Angas, the Vangas, and the Kalingas of Eastern India —of that superior religion and language and civilisation which the Hindu Aryans offered to them. The gift was accepted and cherished, and henceforth the Dravidian and other tribes of Southern and Eastern India bore the livery of Aryan religion, Aryan language, and Aryan civilisation. This was the great work and result of the Rationalistic Period.

Baudhayana lived probably in the sixth century before Christ, and was, as we have seen before, one of the earliest of the Sutrakaras. In his time the zone of Hindu kingdoms and civilisation extended as far south as Kalinga or the eastern seaboard, stretching from modern Orissa southward to the mouth of the Krishna. The passage we refer to is interesting, because it shows that the ancient Aryan region along the Ganges and the Jumna was still regarded as the suitable home of the Aryans, while tracts of country in which the non-Aryan tribes had been recently Hinduised were looked upon with some degree of contempt.

"9. The country of the Aryas (Aryavarta) lies to the east of the region where the River (Sarasvati) disappears, to the west of the Black Forest (Kalakavana), to the north of the Paripatra (Vindhya mountains), and to the south of the Himalaya. The rule of conduct which prevails there is authoritative.

"10. Some declare the country between the Yamuna and Ganga (to be the Aryavarta).

"11. Now the Bhallavins quote also the following verse.

"12. In the west the boundary river, in the east the region where the sun rises, as far as the black antelopes wander, so far spiritual pre-eminence is found.

"13. The inhabitants of Avanti (Malwa), of Anga (East Behar), of Magadha (South Behar), of Saurashtra (Gujrat), of the Deccan, of Upavrit, of Sindh, and the Sauviras (South Punjab) are of mixed origin.

"14. He who has visited the Arattas (in the Punjab), Karaskaras (in South India), Pundras (in North Bengal), Sauviras (in the Punjab), Vangas (in the Eastern Bengal), Kalingas (in Orissa), or Pranunas shall offer a Punastoma or a Sarvaprishtha sacrifice" (*Baudhayana*, I, 1, 2).

The passage is interesting, because it shows us the extent of the Hindu world in the early part of the Rationalistic Period, and also because it divides the Hindu world into three circles as it were, which were regarded with different degrees of esteem. Aryavarta, stretching from the Sarasvati to the confines of Behar, and from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas, forms the first circle; and it is remarkable that the Punjab, which was the earliest home of the Aryans in the Vedic Age, is not included in this sacred circle. That realm had since then been backward in the later developments of Hindu religion and culture, and was rarely alluded to even in the literature of the Epic Period. The second circle, the people of which are said to be of mixed origin, includes Southern Punjab, Sindh, Gujrat, Malwa, the Deccan, and South and East Behar. If the reader refers to the fourth chapter of our last Book, he will find that these were the very regions which were becoming dimly known to the Hindus at the very close of the Epic Period. Early in the Rationalistic Age they had already become recognised as Hindu kingdoms, and Hindu influence and civilisation had travelled *beyond* these kingdoms to other regions which are included in the third circle. That third or last circle embraces the country of the Arattas in the Punjab, some parts of Southern India, Eastern and Northern Bengal, and Orissa. A person travelling in these places had to expiate the sin by a sacrifice. This was the extreme limit of the Hindu world,—say in the sixth century before Christ.

That portions of Southern India had not only been colonised by this date, but had become the seats of Hindu kingdoms and of distinct schools of laws and

learning, is proved by the writings of Baudhayana. Baudhayana himself may have been a southerner, at any rate he takes care to mention the peculiar laws and customs of Southern India. We will cite one passage :—

"1. There is a dispute regarding five practices, in the south and in the north.

"2. We will explain those peculiar to the south.

"3. They are to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, *to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt.**

"4. Now the customs peculiar to the north are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, *and to go to sea.*†

"5. He who follows these practices in any other country than where they prevail commits sin.

"6. For each of these customs the rule of the country should be the authority.

"7. Gautama declares that that is false" (*Baudhayana*, I, 1, 2).

Let us now take leave of Baudhayana and come to the next Sutrakara of India. If Baudhayana be supposed to have flourished in the sixth century before Christ, Apastamba probably flourished in the fifth.‡ There can be little doubt that Apastamba lived and taught in the Andhra country, and the limits of that great monarchy embraced all the districts between the Godavari and the Krishna. Dr. Bühler supposes that the capital of this southern empire was situated near modern Amara-

* Dr. Bühler points out that such marriages still prevail among the Desastha and Karhada Brahmans of the Deccan.

† Later degeneracy has fabricated a prohibition against going to sea for all Hindus.

‡ Dr. Bühler would on linguistic grounds place Apastamba in the third century B.C., but on other grounds he would put back that Sutrakara by another 150 or 200 years, *i.e.*, to the fifth century B.C.

vati on the lower Krishna. It was the Andhra text of the Taittiriya Aranyaka which Apastamba recognised and followed, and his teachings are to this day held in regard by the Brahmanas of Nasik, Puna, Ahmadabad, Satara, Sholapur, and Kolhapur, and other places in the Deccan who are Apastambiyas.

Thus we find that the conquest of Southern India which was commenced at the close of the Epic Period went on through succeeding centuries; that by the sixth century, Bengal, Orissa, Gujrat, and the Deccan had been conquered and Aryanised; and that by the fifth century the Deccan as far south as the Krishna river was the seat of a powerful Hindu Empire. By the fourth century B.C., the whole of Southern India south of the Krishna river had been Hinduised, and three great Hindu kingdoms, those of the Cholas, and Cheras, and the Pandyas had been founded, stretching as far south as Cape Comorin; and Ceylon too had been discovered. And when we come towards the close of this (fourth) century, we issue now from the obscurity of isolated passages in the Sutra works to the sunlight of Greek accounts of India! For it was in this century that Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleucus, came to India and resided in the royal court of Chandragupta in Pataliputra (or ancient Patna) between 317 and 312 B.C.

The account of the races and kingdoms in India given by Megasthenes is full and intelligible, and gives us a clear idea of the state of the country at the close of the Rationalistic Period.

The Prachyas, by which name we are now to understand the Magadhas, had become the most powerful and foremost nation in India in the fourth century B.C., as the Kurus, the Panchalas, the Videhas and the Kosalas had been in the Epic Period. They had their capital at Pataliputra, a flourishing town described at 80 stadia or 9 miles long (a stadium = 202½ yards) and 15 stadia or nearly 2 miles wide. It was of the shape of a parallelo-

gram, girded with a wooden wall* pierced with loopholes for the discharge of arrows, and defended by a ditch in front.'

It would seem that the whole of Northern India was now included in the powerful and extensive empire of Chandragupta, for the Jumna flowing through Mathura and Caresbora, was said to run through the kingdom of Pataliputra. The nation surpassed in power and glory every other people in India, and their king Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot soldiers, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants, "whence may be formed some conjecture as to the vastness of his resources."

Speaking of South Bengal, Megasthenes mentions the Calingœ living nearest the sea, the Mandu and the Malli living higher up, the Gangerides, near the mouths of the Ganges, and the Modo-Galingœ in an island in the Ganges. It is impossible not to recognise in the first and last of these names the ancient name of Kalinga, which included Orissa and the sea-coast of Bengal.

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* The wooden wall was still standing in the fifth century after Christ, when the Chinese traveller Fa Hian saw it. Fa Hian writes: "The palaces of the king which are in the city have walls of which the stones have been collected by the genii. The carvings and the sculptures which ornament the windows are such as this age could not make; they still actually exist." The fall of Pataliputra was accomplished shortly after Fa Hian's time, for when Houen Tsang visited the place in the seventh century after Christ, he found nothing but ruins, and a village with two or three hundred houses. In an excavation made in 1876 for the construction of a public tank, some remains were discovered of what is supposed to have been the wooden wall spoken of by Megasthenes. In a part of Patna, half way between the railway station and the *chauk* or market-place, the excavators discovered, some twelve or fifteen feet below the surface, a long brick wall running from north-west to south-east. Parallel to this wall was found a line of palisades, the strong timber of which it was composed, being inclined slightly towards the wall. In one place there appeared to be an outlet or gate, two wooden pillars rising to a height of eight or nine feet, with no palisades between them. A number of wells were also found covered with fragments of broken mud vessels, and one of the wells being cleared yielded capital drinking water, while among the rubbish taken out were discovered several iron spear heads—See MacCrindle's *Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 207, *note*.

Megasthenes describes Parthalis as the capital of the Calingœ. The powerful king of this place had 60,000 foot soldiers, 1000 horse, and 700 elephants. A large island in the Ganges is said to have been inhabited by the Modo-Galingœ (Madhya-Kalinga), and beyond them several powerful tribes lived under a king who had 50,000 foot soldiers, 4000 cavalry, and 400 elephants. Beyond them again lived the Andarœ, in whom it is impossible not to recognise the Andhras of Southern India. The Andhras were a great and powerful nation who had settled originally between the Godavari and the Krishna, but who before the time of Megasthenes had extended their kingdom as far north as the Narmada. Megasthenes writes that they were a powerful race, possessed numerous villages and thirty walled towns, and supplied their king with 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 1000 elephants.

In the extreme North-West, Megasthenes speaks of the Isari, the Cosyri, and other tribes located probably in Kashmir or its neighbourhood. The Indus is said to skirt the frontiers of the Prachyas, by which we understand that the powerful and extensive empire of Magadha extended as far as the frontiers of the Punjab, and embraced all Northern India.

A great portion of modern Rajputana was still the home of aboriginal tribes in the time of Megasthenes, of men who lived in woods, among tigers noted for their ferocity. He speaks of the tribes who lived in the fertile tracts surrounded by deserts, and of tribes who inhabited the hills, which ran in an unbroken chain parallel to the shores of the ocean. He also speaks of the tribes who lived enclosed by the loftiest mountain, Capitalia, which has been identified with Abu. He speaks further on of the Horatœ, who were undoubtedly the Saurashtras. They had a capital on the coast, which was a noble emporium of trade, and their king was the master of 1600 elephants, 150,000 foot, and 5000 horse.

"Next come the Pandœ, the only race in India ruled by women. They say that Hercules having but one daughter, who was on that account all the more beloved, endowed her with a noble kingdom. Her descendants rule over 300 cities and command an army of 150,000 foot and 500 elephants."

Such is the half mythical account which Megasthenes gives us of the Pandyas, who were the ruling nation in the extreme south of India. These Pandyas have a history which is remarkable.

The Yadavas, who under the leadership of Krishna left Mathura and settled in Dwarka in Gujrat, did not flourish there long. They fell fighting among themselves, and the remainder left Dwarka by sea. It is believed that they came to Southern India, where they founded a new kingdom. They called themselves Pandyas probably because they pretended to be of the same race with the Pandavas, and they named their new southern capital Mathura or Madura, as the town is called to the present day. Megasthenes no doubt refers to Krishna under the name of Hercules, and he probably heard some legend, which was then current in India, about the foundation of the southern kingdom by Krishna for his daughter.

And lastly, the Island of Ceylon too was known in the time of Megasthenes. It was conquered by Vijaya, a prince of Magadha who had been exiled by his father for his misdeeds in the fifth century before Christ. When Megasthenes came to India, Ceylon was already a Hindu kingdom. The island was called Taprobane by the Greeks, the name being slightly altered from the Pali name Tambapanni, which corresponds to the Sanscrit Tamraparni or the copper-leaved. Megasthenes says that the island was separated from the mainland by a river, and that the country was productive of gold and large pearls, and elephants much larger than the Indian breeds. Ælian who wrote long after Megasthenes, but like most other Greek and Roman writers got much of his information

bout India from the account of Megasthenes, says that Taprobane was a large mountainous island full of palm groves, that the inhabitants dwelt in huts of reeds, and transported their elephants in boats which they constructed for the purpose, and sold them to the king of Kalingai.

We have surveyed the political results of the seven centuries included in the Rationalistic Period, as we surveyed the literary results in the last chapter. Within this period Hindu colonists issued in bands from the Gangetic valley, came to strange lands, conquered strange nations, and gradually imposed upon them their language, their religion, and their civilisation. The Magadhas of South Behar were not only Hinduised, but became the foremost nation in India. The Saurashtras of Gujrat and the Angas, the Vangas, and the Kalingas of the east were Hinduised. The great Andhra tribe not only accepted Hindu religion and civilisation, but distinguished itself by schools of Hindu learning rivalling the great schools of the Gangetic valley. Further down, other nations accepted the superior civilisation, religion, and language of the Aryans; and all India, Aryan and non-Aryan, wore the mantle of Hindu-Aryan civilisation.

CHAPTER III.

ADMINISTRATION, AGRICULTURE, AND ARTS.

AN account of the system of administration which prevailed in India over two thousand years ago will naturally interest our readers, and fortunately, both Hindu Sutrakaras and Greek writers furnish us with reliable information on the subject. We will begin our account with some extracts from Sutra works. The king is directed to build a royal town, and a palace for himself, looking towards the south :—

"3. The palace shall stand in the heart of the town.

"4. In front of that there shall be a hall. That is called the hall of invitation.

"5. At a little distance from the town to the south he shall cause to be built an assembly house with doors on the south and on the north sides, so that one can see what passes inside and outside."

Fires shall burn constantly and oblations shall be offered in these fires, and—

"8. In the hall he shall put up his guests, at least those who are learnt in the Vedas.

"9. Rooms, a couch, meat and drink should be given to them according to their good qualities."

A table with dice should also be provided, and Brahmans, Vaisyas, and Sudras may be allowed to play there. Assaults of arms, dancing, singing and music are allowed in the houses of the king's servants; and the king shall constantly take care of his subjects :—

"15. That king only takes care of the welfare of his

subjects in whose dominions, be it in villages or forests, there is no danger from thieves" (*Apastamba*, II, 10, 25).

Vasishtha thus details the duties of the king :—

"1. The particular duty of a king is to protect all beings; by fulfilling it he obtains success.

"3. Let him appoint a domestic priest to perform the rites obligatory on the order of householders.

"8. Let him punish those who stray from the path of duty.

"11. Let him not injure trees that bear fruit and flowers.

"12. He may injure them in order to extend cultivation.

"13. The measures and weights of objects necessary for households must be guarded (against falsification).

"14. Let him not take property for his own use from the inhabitants of his realm.

"15. The measures and price of such property shall only be liable to deductions in the shape of taxes" (*Vasishtha*, XIV).

Vasishtha (I, 42) and Baudhayana (I, 10, 18, 1) declare that the king is entitled to a sixth portion of the income of his subjects as taxes, but exempt many classes who are unable to pay. Gautama details the taxes thus :—

"24. Cultivators pay to the king a tax amounting to one-tenth, one-eighth, or one-sixth (of the produce).

"25. Some declare that the tax on cattle and gold amounts to one-fiftieth (of the stock).

"26. In the case of merchandise one-twentieth (must be paid by the seller) as duty.

"27. Of roots, fruits, flowers, medicinal herbs, honey, meat, grass, and firewood, one-sixtieth.

"31. Each artisan shall monthly do one day's work (for the king).

"32. Hereby the taxes payable by those who support themselves by personal labour have been explained.

"33. And those payable by owners of ships and carts.

"34. He must feed these persons while they work for him" (*Gautama*, X).

Megasthenes gives us a valuable account of the manner in which the work of administration was actually carried on, and the following passages will be read with interest :—

"Those who have charge of the city are divided into six bodies of five each. The members of the first look after everything relating to the industrial arts. Those of the second attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings, and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying, forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them. The third body consists of those who inquire when and how births and deaths occur, with the view not only of levying a tax, but also in order that births and deaths among both high and low may not escape the cognisance of Government. The fourth class superintend trade and commerce. Its members have charge of weights and measures, and see that the products in their season are sold by public notice. No one is allowed to deal in more than one kind of commodity unless he pays a double tax. The fifth class supervises manufactured articles, which they sell by public notice. What is new is sold separately from what is old, and there is a fine for mixing the two together. The sixth and last class consists of those who collect the tenths of the prices of the articles sold."

The military officers "also consist of six divisions with five members to each. One division is appointed to co-operate with the Admiral of the fleet; another with the Superintendent of the bullock trains which are used for transporting engines of war, food for the soldiers, provender for the cattle, and other military requisites. . . .

The third division has charge of the foot soldiers, the fourth of the horses, the fifth of the war chariots, and the sixth of the elephants."

Besides the municipal officers and military officers, there was yet a third class of officers who superintended agriculture, irrigation, forests, and generally the work of administration in rural tracts. "Some superintend the rivers, measure the land as is done in Egypt, and inspect the sluices by which water is let out from the main canals into their branches, so that every one may have an equal supply of it. The same persons have charge also of the huntsmen, and are entrusted with the power of rewarding or punishing them according to their deserts. They collect the taxes, and superintend the occupations connected with land as those of the wood-cutters, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, and the miners. They construct roads, and at every ten stadia set up a pillar to show the by-roads and distances" (*MacCrindle's Translation*).

Of the personal habits and occupations of kings, Megasthenes has given us a picture which agrees in the main with the picture given in Sanscrit literature. The care of the king's person was entrusted to female slaves, who were bought from their parents, and the guards and the rest of the soldiery were stationed outside the gates. The king attended the court every day, and remained there during the day without allowing the business to be interrupted. The only other occasions on which he left the palace were when he performed sacrifices or went out for the chase. Crowds of women surrounded him when he went out for the chase, and outside this circle the spearmen were ranged. Armed women attended the king in chariots, on horses, or on elephants, when he hunted in the open grounds from the back of an elephant. Sometimes he shot arrows from a platform inside an enclosure, and two or three armed women stood by him on the platform. These accounts

show that the sturdy and warlike manners of the Kurus and the Panchalas of the Epic Age had already been replaced by more luxurious and effeminate habits in the Rationalistic Age. The age of chivalry had gone, and that of luxury had come!

Arrian gives an account of the mode in which the Hindus equipped themselves for war:—"The foot soldiers carry a bow made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot, thus discharge the arrow, having drawn the string far backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot,—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence, if such there be. In their left hand they carry bucklers made of undressed ox-hide, which are not so broad as those who carry them, but are about as long. Some are equipped with javelins instead of bows, but wear a sword, which is broad in the blade, but not longer than three cubits; and this, when they engage in close fight (which they do with reluctance), they wield with both hands to fetch down a lustier blow. The horsemen are equipped with two lances like the lances called *Saunia*, and with a shorter buckler than that carried by the foot soldiers. For they do not put saddles on their horses; nor do they curb them with bits in use among the Greeks or the Kelts, but they fit on round the extremity of the horse's mouth a circular piece of stitched raw ox-hide studded with pricks of iron or brass pointing inwards, but not very sharp; if a man is rich he uses pricks made of ivory" (*MacCrindle's Translation*).

The laws of war were more humane among the Hindus than among other nations in the world. "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who beg for mercy with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives" (*Apastamba*, II, 5, 10,11). "Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated,

insane, or out of their minds, nor with those who have lost their armour, nor with women, infants, aged men, and Brahmans" (*Baudhayana*, I, 10, 18, 11). "The wives (of slain soldiers) shall be provided for" (*Vasishtha*, XIX, 20). And Megasthenes too vouches for the humane laws of war among the Hindus. "For whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil, and thus to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undistributed by any sense of danger; for the combatants on either side, in waging the conflict, make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees."

Megasthenes tells us that the Indian tribes numbered 118 in all. On the north of India, and beyond the Himalaya, the country "is inhabited by those Scythians who are called the Sakai." Such is the brief mention made of that powerful tribe which hung like an ominous cloud on the northern slopes of the Himalaya in the fourth century before Christ, but which in course of a few centuries burst like a hurricane on the plains of Western India, and convulsed and shattered Hindu kingdoms.

Of the peaceful and law-abiding people in India, Megasthenes gives an account which every Hindu will read with legitimate pride:—"They live happily enough, being simple in their manners and frugal. They never drink wine, except at sacrifices. Their beverage is a liquor composed from rice instead of barley, and their food is principally a rice pottage. The simplicity of their laws and their contracts is proved by the fact that they seldom go to law. They have no suits about pledges and deposits, nor do they require either seals or witnesses,

but make their deposits and confide in each other. Their houses and property they generally leave unguarded. These things indicate that they possess sober sense. . . . Truth and virtue they hold alike in esteem. Hence they accord no special privileges to the old unless they possess superior wisdom."

Megasthenes further states that the Indians did "not even use aliens as slaves, and much less a countryman of their own," that thefts were very rare among them, that their laws were administered from memory, and even that they were ignorant of the art of writing. We have the evidence of Nearchos that writing *was* known in India in the Rationalistic Period, and the statement of Megasthenes only shows that writing was in very little use, either in schools where boys received their learning and their religious lessons by rote, or even in Courts of Justice where laws, *i.e.*, the Dharma Sutras, were administered by learned Judges entirely from memory.

Arrian quotes a passage from Nearchos, and says that the Indians "wear an under-garment of cotton which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they throw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head. . . . They wear shoes made of white leather, and these are elaborately trimmed, while the soles are variegated, and made of great thickness." And the great mass of the "people of India live upon grain and are tillers of the soil, but we must except the hillmen, who eat the flesh of beasts of chase."

Our faithful guide Megasthenes also gives us an account of cultivation in Ancient India which, on the whole, corresponds with the system of cultivation prevalent at the present time. Megasthenes speaks of a double rainfall in the year, considering the winter showers as a regular rainfall. He speaks of "many vast plains of great fertility, more or less beautiful, but all alike intersected by a multitude of rivers. *The greater part of the*

soil moreover is under irrigation, and consequently bears two crops in the course of the year. It teems at the same time with animals of all sorts, beasts of the field and fowls of the air, of all different degrees of strength and size. It is prolific, besides, in elephants which are of monstrous bulk. . . . In addition to cereals, there grows throughout India much millet, which is kept well watered by the profusion of river streams, and much pulse of different sorts, and rice also, and what is called *bosporum*, as well as many other plants useful for food, of which most grow spontaneously. The soil yields, moreover, not a few other edible products fit for the subsistence of animals about which it would be tedious to write. It is accordingly affirmed that *famine has never visited India, and that there has never been a general scarcity in the supply of nourishing food.* For since there is a double rainfall in the course of each year,—one in the winter season, when the sowing of wheat takes place as in other countries, and the second at the time of the summer solstice, which is the proper season for sowing rice and *bosporum*, as well as sesamum and millet,—the inhabitants of India almost always gather in two harvests annually; and even should one of the sowings prove more or less abortive, they are always sure of the other crop. The fruits moreover of spontaneous growth, and the esculent roots which grow in marshy places and are of varied sweetness, afford abundant sustenance for man." . . . . .

It is impossible for a Hindu in the modern day to read without a feeling of pride this impartial testimony of an intelligent and observant foreigner regarding the prosperous condition of India as administered by Hindus over two thousand years ago. An industrious and peaceful peasantry peopled the fair villages, and cultivated and irrigated, carefully and laboriously, the endless expanse of fertile fields, while the artisans in towns carried the various manufactures and arts of peace to a high state of

excellence. It is impossible to suppose that these results were achieved without a careful and watchful system of administration, without a fair degree of security of life and property, and without the help of laws which were on the whole just and fair. And even when kings fell out among themselves, and riotous Kshatriya chiefs were engaged in their frequent wars, a humane custom, unknown elsewhere in the ancient world, mitigated the horrors of war, and saved the peaceful villagers and industrious cultivators from disturbance and danger.

The excellent manufactures of India were known to the traders of Phœnicia and in the markets of Western Asia and Egypt long before the Christian era. Megasthenes naïvely says that the Indians were "well skilled in the arts, as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water." The soil, too, has "under ground numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity, and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

With regard to finery and ornament, Megasthenes says that "in contrast to the general simplicity of their style, they love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones, and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin. Attendants walking behind hold up unbrellas over them: for they have a high regard for beauty, and avail themselves of every device to improve their looks."

More striking, however, is a passage in which Strabo describes a gorgeous procession, such as Megasthenes must have seen paraded in the streets of Pataliputra:—

"In processions at their festivals, many elephants are in the train, adorned with gold and silver; numerous carriages drawn by four horses and several pairs of oxen; then follows a body of attendants in full dress (bearing) vessels of gold, large basins and goblets an *orguia* in

breadth, tables, chairs of state, drinking cups and lavers of Indian copper, most of which are set with precious stones, as emeralds, beryls, and Indian carbuncles; garments embroidered and interwoven with gold; wild beasts, as buffaloes, panthers, tame lions, and a multitude of birds of variegated plumage and of fine song" (*Bohn's Translation of Strabo*, III, p. 117).

CHAPTER IV.

LAWS.

THE equality of laws between the conquerors and the conquered, between priests and laymen, has not been known in the world's past history. There was not the same law in the past ages for the Greek and the Helot, the Patrician and the Plebeian, the baron and the serf, the monk and the layman, the white man and the negro, or the white man and the red man. And as in other parts of the world, so in India too, we find inequality in laws among the different classes of the people. There was one law for the Brahman, another for the Sudra; the former was treated with undue leniency, the latter with excessive and cruel severity. If a Brahman committed one of the four or five heinous crimes enumerated in the law-books, *i.e.*, if he slew a Brahman, violated his guru's bed, stole the gold of a Brahman, or drank spirituous liquor, the king branded him on the forehead with a heated iron and banished him from his realm. If a man of a lower caste slew a Brahman, he was punished with death and the confiscation of his property. If such a man slew a man of equal or lower caste, other suitable punishments were meted out to him (*Baudhayana*, I, 10, 18 and 19).

Adultery has always been looked upon in India not only as a criminal offence, but as an offence of a heinous nature; but the punishment for this offence also was regulated by the caste of the offender. A man of the first three castes who committed adultery with a Sudra woman was banished; but a Sudra who committed

adultery with a woman of the first three castes suffered capital punishment (*Apastamba*, II, 10, 27).

Indeed Brahman legislators have painted themselves worse than they really were. In order to point out the vast distinction between themselves and the Sudras, they prescribed monstrous punishments for insolent Sudras, which, it is safe to assert, always remained an empty threat, and were meant as a threat only. The tongue of a Sudra who spoke evil of a virtuous person belonging to one of the first three castes was to be cut out, and a Sudra who assumed an equal position with those castes was to be flogged (*Apastamba*, II, 10, 27). Similarly we are told that a Sudra who reviled a twice-born man or assaulted him with blows should lose the limb with which he offended; that if he listened to a recitation of the Veda, his ears should be stopped with molten lac or tin; that if he recited the Veda, his tongue should be cut out; and if he remembered Vedic texts, his body should be split in twain! (*Gautama*, XII.) The reader will easily perceive, that the Brahman composers of the Sutras were anxious to emphasise the distinction between themselves and the other castes and specially Sudras, and have therefore represented the laws as ten times more iniquitous than they were as actually administered by sensible kings and Kshatriya officers, or even by Brahman judges.

A Kshatriya abusing a Brahman pays 100 karshapanas, and beating a Brahman pays 200 karshapanas. A Vaisya abusing a Brahman pays 150 karshapanas, and we suppose pays 300 for beating him. But a Brahman pays only 50 karshapanas for abusing a Kshatriya, 25 for abusing a Vaisya, and for abusing a Sudra,—nothing! (*Gautama*, XII, 8–13).

Death or corporal punishment seems to have been the punishment for theft at least in some cases; and the thief is directed to appear before the king with flying hair, holding a club in his hand, and proclaiming his deed. If

the king pardons him and does not slay him or strike him, the guilt falls on the king (*Gautama*, XII, 45). The prerogative of mercy was the king's alone, but a guru, a priest, a learned householder or a prince could intercede for an offender, except in the case of a capital offence (*Apastamba*, II, 10, 27, 20).

Vasishtha reserves the right of self-defence in the case of a person attacked by an Atatayin, and that term includes an incendiary, a poisoner, one ready to kill with a weapon in his hand, a robber, a man who takes away another's lands, or abducts another's wife. A man may slay an Atatayin who comes to slay, even if the latter "knows the whole of the Veda, together with the Upanishads" (*Vasishtha*, III, 15-18).

Agriculture and trade were the means of the people's subsistence, and crimes relating to a cultivator's land or to an artisan's trade were punished with the utmost severity. We have seen that defence of land was one of the cases in which the right of self-defence was allowed, and false evidence given about land was looked upon with the utmost detestation. By giving false evidence concerning small cattle, a witness commits the sin of killing ten men; by false evidence concerning cows, horses, and men, he commits the sin of killing a hundred, a thousand, and ten thousand men respectively; but by false evidence concerning land, he commits the sin of killing the whole human race. "Hell is the punishment for a theft of land" (*Gautama*, XIII, 14-17). Similarly, with regard to artisans, Megasthenes informs us that he who caused an artisan to lose his eye or his hand was punished with death.

A severe penance is ordained for the man who attempts suicide, and the relations of a suicide are prohibited from performing funeral rites for him (*Vasishtha*, XXIII, 14, &c.).

Such was the Criminal Law of the Hindus over two thousand years ago. We now turn to the more com-

plicated subject of Civil Law, which may be conveniently treated under five heads, *viz.*, (1) Law of Agriculture and Pasture, (2) Law of Property, (3) Usury Laws, (4) the all-important Law of Inheritance, and (5) the Law of Partition. We begin with the Law of Agriculture and Pasture :—

"1. If a person who has taken a lease of land does not exert himself, and hence the land bears no crop, he shall, if he be rich, be made to pay the value of the crop that ought to have been grown.

"2. A servant in tillage who abandons his work shall be flogged.

"3. The same punishment shall be awarded to a herdsman who leaves his work.

"4. And the flock entrusted to him shall be taken away.

"5. If cattle, leaving their stable, eat crops, the owner of the crops may make them lean (by impounding them); but shall not exceed.

"6. If a herdsman who has taken cattle under his care, allows them to perish or loses them, he shall replace them to the owners.

"7. If (the king's forester) sees cattle that have been sent into the forest through negligence, he shall lead them back to the village and make them over to the owners" (*Apastamba*, II, 11, 28).

Again, Gautama says :—

"19. If damage is done by cattle, the responsibility falls on the owner.

"20. But if the cattle were attended by a herdsman, it falls on the latter.

"21. If the damage was done in an unenclosed field near the road, the responsibility falls on the herdsman and on the owner of the field" (*Gautama*, XII).

As in the present day, unenclosed fields were used as common property for grazing cattle and for obtaining firewood.

"He may take, as his own, grass for a cow, and fuel

for his fire, as well as the flowers of creepers and trees, and their fruit if they be unenclosed" (*Gautama*, XII, 28).

Some equitable provisions are laid down by Vasishtha about the right of way, and about the evidence necessary in disputes about immovable property.

"10. It is declared in the Smriti that there are three kinds of proof which give a title to property, *viz.*, documents, witnesses, and possession; thereby an owner may recover property which formerly belonged to him.

"11. From fields through which there is a right of way, a space sufficient for the road must be set apart, likewise a space for turning a cart.

"12. Near new-built houses and other things of the same description, there shall be a passage three feet broad.

"13. In a dispute about a house or a field, reliance must be placed on the depositions of neighbours.

"14. If the statements of the neighbours disagree, documents may be taken as proof.

"15. If conflicting documents are produced, reliance must be placed on the statements of aged inhabitants of the village or town, and on those of guilds and corporations of artisans or traders" (*Vasishtha*, XVI).

And this brings us to the Law of Property. Property is divided into eight classes, thus:—

"16. Now they quote also the following verse: 'Property inherited from a father, a thing bought, a pledge, property given to a wife after marriage by her husband's family, a gift, property obtained for performing a sacrifice, the property of re-united co-partners, and wages as the eighth.'

"17. Whatever belonging to these eight kinds of property has been enjoyed by another person for ten years continuously is lost to the owner.

"18. They quote also a verse on the other side: 'A pledge, a boundary, and the property of minors, an (open) deposit, a sealed deposit, women, the property of a king,

and the wealth of a Srotriya, are not lost by being enjoyed by others'

"19. Property entirely given up by its owner goes to the king" (*Vasishtha*, XVI).

Gautama has similar rules:—

"37. The property of a person who is neither an idiot nor a minor, having been used by strangers before his eyes for ten years, belongs to him who uses it.

"38. But not if it is used by Srotriyas, ascetics, or royal officials.

"39. Animals, land, and females are not lost to the owner by another's possession" (*Gautama*, XII).

Women and females in the above extracts mean female slaves. With regard to minors, widows, &c., there are provisions to the effect that the king shall administer their property and shall restore it in the case of a minor when he comes of age (*Vasishtha*, XVI, 8 and 9).

We next turn to the important Usury Laws of Ancient India, and many of our readers will admit that they compare not unfavourably with usury laws which prevailed in Europe only a few centuries ago.

"Hear the interest for a money-lender declared by the words of Vasishtha: Five *Mashas* for twenty (*Karshapanas*) may be taken every month; thus the law is not violated" (*Vasishtha*, II, 51).

Similarly Gautama declares (XII, 29):—

"The legal interest for money lent is at the rate of five *Mashas* a month for twenty (*Karshapanas*)."

The commentator Hara Datta reckons 20 mashas to the karshapana, so that the rate of interest comes to 1¼ per cent. per month, or 15 per cent. per annum. Krishna Pandita correctly states that this rate of interest applies to loans for which security is given. Manu specially mentions (VIII, 140) that this rate is prescribed by Vasishtha. Gautama says that after the principal has been doubled, interest ceases, and when the object pledged

is an object used by the creditor, the money lent bears no interest at all (XII, 31 and 32).

Other articles might be lent at a much higher percentage of interest, apparently when no security was given.

"44. Gold may be lent, taking double its value on repayment, and grain trebling the original price.

"45. The case of flavouring substances has been explained by the rule regarding grain.

"46. As well as the case of flowers, roots, and fruit.

"47. He may lend what is sold by weight, taking eight times the original value on repayment."

Similarly Gautama says:—

"The interest on products of animals, on wool, on the produce of a field, and on beasts of burden, shall not increase more than five-fold the value of the object lent" (*Gautama*, XII, 36).

Thus apart from the loan of money on security, articles and products were lent, apparently without security, at an enormous rate of interest. In the former case the interest was only 15 per cent., and the principal could only be doubled; in the latter case it could increase six or eight-fold.

Gautama names no less than six different forms of interest, *viz.*, compound interest, periodical interest, stipulated interest, corporal interest, daily interest, and the use of a pledge (XII, 34 and 35). He lays down that the heirs shall pay the debts of a deceased person, but provides that money due by a surety, a commercial debt, a fee due to the parents of the bride, immoral debts, and fines shall not devolve on the sons of the debtor (XII, 40 and 41).

And this brings us to the most important portion of the Civil Law, *viz.*, the Law of Inheritance.

To leave male issue was considered a religious duty by the ancient Hindus, and in the absence of a legitimate son, therefore, other kinds of sons seem to have been recognised in ancient times.

In the following passage Gautama indicates the different kinds of sons who were considered by him to be heirs, and those who were not heirs, but only members of the family :—

"32. A legitimate son (*Aurasa*), a son begotten on the wife (*Kshetraja*), an adopted son (*Datta*), a son made (*Kritrima*), a son born secretly (*Gudhaja*), and a son abandoned (*Apaviddha*), inherit the estate.

"33. The son of an unmarried damsel (*Kanina*), the son of a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*), the son of twice-married woman (*Paunarbhava*), the son of an appointed daughter (*Putrikaputra*), a son self-given (*Svayamdatta*), and a son bought (*Krita*), belong to the family" (XXVIII).

Baudhayana and Vasishtha lived long after Gautama, and their opinions varied from that of Gautama as well as from each other in some respects.

"14. One must know a son begotten by the husband himself on a wedded wife of equal caste to be a legitimate son of the body (*Aurasa*). . . .

"15. The male child born of a daughter after an agreement has been made is the son of an appointed daughter (*Putrikaputra*). . . .

"17. He who is begotten by another man on the wife of a deceased man, of a eunuch, or of one diseased, after permission, is called the son begotten on a wife (*Kshetraja*).

"20. He is called an adopted son (*Datta*) who, being given by his father and his mother, or by either of the two, is received in the place of a child.

"21. He is called a son made (*Kritrima*) whom a man himself makes his son with the (adoptee's) consent only, and who belongs to the same caste.

"22. He is called a son born secretly (*Gudhaja*) who is secretly born in the house, and whose origin is afterwards recognised.

"23. He is called a son cast off (*Apaviddha*) who,

being cast off by his father and his mother, or by either, is received in the place of a child.

"24. If anybody aproaches an unmarried girl without the permission (of her father or guardian), the son born by such a woman is called the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kanina*).

"25. If one marries either knowingly or unknowingly a pregnant bride, the child which is born of her is called a son taken with the bride (*Sahodha*).

"26. He is called a son bought (*Krita*) who, being purchased from his father and his mother, or from either of them, is received in the place of a child.

"27. He is called the son of a twice-married woman (*Paunarbhava*) who is born of a remarried female, *i.e.*, of one who, having left an impotent man, has taken a second husband.

"28. He is called a self-given son (*Svayamdatta*) who, abandoned by his father and his mother, gives himself to a stranger.

"29. He who is begotten by a man of the first twice-born caste, on a female of the Sudra caste, is called a *Nishada*.

"30. He who is begotten by the same parents through lust is called a *Parasava*. . . ." (*Baudhayana*, II, 2, 3).

Baudhayana then quotes verses which declare that of the fourteen kinds of sons enumerated above, the first-named seven, *i.e.*, the Aurasa, the Putrikaputra, the Kshetraja, the Datta, the Kritrima, the Gudhaja, and the Apaviddha, were entitled to share the inheritance. The next six, *i.e.*, the Kanina, the Sahodha, the Krita, the Paunarbhava, the Svayamdatta, and the Nishada, were considered members of the family. The Parasava was not even considered a member of the family.

Vasishtha enumerates twelve kinds of sons like Gautama.

"12. Twelve kinds of sons only are noticed by the ancients.

"13. The first is begotten by the husband himself on his legally married wife (*Aurasa*).

"14. The second is the son begotten on a wife (or widow—*Kshetraja*), duly authorised thereto on the failure of the first kind of sons.

"15. The third is an appointed daughter (*Putrika-putra*).

"16. It is declared in the Veda, 'a maiden who has no brothers comes back to the male ancestors (of her own family); *returning she becomes their son.*'*

"17. With reference to this, a verse (to be spoken by the father when appointing his daughter), 'I shall give thee a brotherless damsel, decked with ornaments, the son whom she may bear, shall be my son.'

"18. The fourth is the son of a remarried widow (*Paunarbhava*).

"19. She is called remarried (*Punarbhu*) who, leaving the husband of her youth, and having lived with others, re-enters his family.

"20. And she is called remarried who, *leaving an impotent, outcast, or mad husband, or after the death of her husband, takes another lord.*†

"21. The fifth is the son of an unmarried damsel (*Kanina*).

"24. A male child secretly born in the house is the sixth (*Gudhaja*).

"25. They declare that *these six are heirs and kinsmen*, preservers from a great danger.

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* "The curious fact that Vasishtha here calls the appointed daughter a son may perhaps be explained by a custom which, though rarely practised, still occurs in Kashmir, and by which a brotherless maiden is given a male name. A historical instance of this kind is mentioned in the Rajatarangini, where it is stated that Kalyanadevi, princess of Gauda and wife of king Jayapida, was called by her father Kalyanamalla."—*Dr. Bühler.*

† The circumstances which allowed the second marriage of a woman have been enumerated in this verse. They are insanity, impotency, loss of caste, or death of her husband. The son of a woman thus remarried a second time is allowed by Vasishtha to inherit.

"26. Now among those sons *who are not heirs but kinsmen*, the first is he who is received with a pregnant bride (*Sahodha*).

"28. The second is the adopted son (*Datta*).

"30. The son bought (*Krita*) is the third.

"33. The fourth is the son self-given (*Svayamdatta*).

"36. The son cast off is the fifth (*Apaviddha*).

"38. They declare that the son of a woman of the Sudra caste (*Nishada*) is the sixth. . . ." (*Vasishtha*, XVII.)

The last-named six kinds of sons cannot inherit according to Vasishtha, but he quotes a verse that they shall be allowed "to take the heritage of him who has no heir belonging to the first-mentioned six classes."

The rules of Gautama, Vasishtha, and Baudhayana may be thus shown in parallel columns:—

	Gautama.	Vasishtha.	Baudhayana.
Kinsmen and heirs.	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.	1. Aurasa.
	2. Kshetraja.	2. Kshetraja.	2. Putrikaputra.
	3. Datta.	3. Putrikaputra.	3. Kshetraja.
	4. Kritrima.	4. Paunarbhava.	4. Datta.
	5. Gudhaja.	5. Kanina.	5. Kritrima.
	6. Apaviddha.	6. Gudhaja.	6. Gudhaja.
			7. Apaviddha.
Kinsmen not heirs.	7. Kanina.	7. Sahodha.	8. Kanina.
	8. Sahodha.	8. Datta.	9. Sahodha.
	9. Paunarbhava.	9. Krita.	10. Krita.
	10. Putrikaputra.	10. Svayamdatta.	11. Paunarbhava.
	11. Svayamdatta.	11. Apaviddha.	12. Svayamdatta.
	12. Krita.	12. Nishada.	13. Nishada.
Neither kinsmen nor heirs.	" "	" "	14. Parasava.

But a reaction appears to have set in early against the recognition of sons legitimate and illegitimate,—even to escape the torments of hell after death! Apastamba, who lived a century or more after Baudhayana, protests against the recognition of heirs and sons of various kinds, and explains away ancient customs by stating that

what had been allowed in ancient times could not be permitted among the sinful men of the present time.

"1. Sons begotten by a man who approaches in the proper season a woman of equal caste, who has not belonged to another man, and who has been married legally, have a right to follow the occupations (of their castes).

"2. And to inherit the estate.

"8. Transgression of the law and violence are found among the ancients.

"9. They committed no sin on account of the greatness of their lustre.

"10. A man of later times who, seeing their deeds, follows them, falls.

"11. The gift (or acceptance of a child) and the right to sell (or buy) a child are not recognised" (*Apastamba*, II, 6, 13).

Elsewhere Apastamba says :—

"2. (A husband) shall not make over his (wife), who occupies the position of a 'gentilis,' to others than to his 'gentiles' in order to cause children to be begot for himself.

"3. For they declare that a bride is given to the family.

"4. That is (at present) forbidden on account of the weakness of men's senses.

"5. The hand of a 'gentilis' is considered in law to be that of a stranger, as well as that of any other person except the husband.

"6. If the marriage vow is transgressed, both husband and wife certainly go to hell" (*Apastamba*, II, 10, 27).

Thus Apastamba makes a clear sweep not only of Niyoga or appointment of a wife to raise issue, but also of the adoption or the buying of a son. Modern Hindus recognise no kinds of sons except legitimate sons, and sons adopted in the absence of legitimate issue.

Lastly, we come to the subject of the Law of Partition. There is the same dissimilarity of opinion in respect of

the partition of property among brothers. The law of primogeniture never obtained in India, but so long as the joint family system remained in vogue, the property of the father was inherited by the eldest son, who supported the rest as a father. It would seem, however, that to live in a joint family under the eldest brother was never the universal custom in India, and even Gautama, the earliest of the Sutrakaras whose works are extant, considers a partition among brothers preferable, for "in partition there is an increase of spiritual merit" (XXVIII, 4).

According to Gautama, the eldest son gets as an additional share a twentieth part of the estate, some animals, and a carriage; the middlemost son gets some poor animals, and the youngest gets sheep, grain, utensils, a house, a cart, and some animals; and then the remaining property is equally divided. Or he would allow the eldest two shares, and the remaining sons one share each; or he would allow them each to take one kind of property by choice according to seniority; or the special shares may be adjusted according to their mothers (XXVIII, 5-17).

Vasishtha allows the eldest brother to take a double share and a little of the kine and horses; he allows the youngest to take the goats, sheep, and house; while the middlemost gets utensils and furniture. And if a Brahman has sons by Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaisya wives, the first gets three shares, the second two shares, and the third, *i.e.*, the son by the Vaisya wife, gets one share (XVII, 42-50).

Baudhayana allows all the children to take equal shares, or the eldest son to take one tenth in excess. Where there are sons born of wives of different castes, the sons will take four, three, two and one shares, according to the order of the castes (II, 2, 3, 2-10).

Apastamba differs in this respect also from his predecessors, and protests against the unequal division of

property. He quotes the opinion about giving a preference to the eldest son, examines the texts on which the opinion is based, argues that the texts make a statement of facts and is not a rule, and therefore declares the preference of the eldest son to be forbidden. All sons who are virtuous inherit, but he who spends money unrighteously shall be disinherited, though he be the eldest son (II, 6, 14, 1-15).

The separate property of a wife, *i.e.*, her nuptial presents and ornaments, were inherited by her daughters (*Gautama*, XXVIII, 24; *Vasishtha*, XVII, 46; *Baudhayana*, II, 2, 3, 43).

Such were the laws of the Rationalistic Age. They show unmistakably the vast distance of time between this and the Epic Age, and show also the culture, the training, and the practical method of dealing with intricate subjects which were the peculiar features of the Rationalistic Period. Everything that was confused during the Epic Period was brought to order and subjected to a severe classification; everything that was discursive was condensed; everything that was vague and uncertain was dealt with in a practical manner. Criminal offences and civil cases were no longer dealt with according to the vague and varying opinions and feelings of learned men and priests; those opinions were arranged, condensed, and codified into bodies of laws which learned men were called upon to administer. The caste-rules, which were still pliable in the Epic Period, were made more rigid, more in accordance with the inviolable codified rules of the Rationalistic Period; and the whole social system of the Hindus underwent a similar rigid treatment. We will dwell on these two subjects in the next two chapters, and will then proceed to show how Science and Philosophy also underwent the same logical treatment.

CHAPTER V.

CASTE.

In trying to reduce the caste-system into a code of rigid rules, the Sutrakaras of the period met with an initial difficulty. They firmly believed that there were originally but four castes among men, *viz.*, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras;—but they actually found around them various other castes, formed by tribes of non-Aryans, who had gradually entered into the Hindu fold, and formed low Hindu castes. Whence these new castes? What was their origin? Believing that all mankind was originally divided only into four castes, the Sutrakaras tried to evolve the new castes from the four parent castes. The strange fiction was then conceived that the new castes were formed by inter-marriages among the parent castes! We may imagine a dogmatic Greek priest of the fifth century declaring that the Huns were descended from a Roman patrician who married a Parthian maiden; or we may conceive a monk of the thirteenth century declaring that the Moguls were descended from a German baron who married a Chinese maiden. Such wild theories would be accepted in an ignorant age, but would be forgotten with the progress of knowledge. But in India, where popular knowledge has become gradually restricted, such theories have been scrupulously adhered to by all later writers, and obtain credence in India to the present day!

Vasishtha says:—

"1. They declare that the offspring of a Sudra

and of a female of the Brahman caste, becomes a Chandala.

"2. That of a Sudra and of a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Vaina.

"3. That of a Sudra and of a female of the Vaisya caste, an Antyavasayin.

"4. They declare that the son begotten by a Vaisya on a female of the Brahman caste becomes a Ramaka.

"5. The son begotten by the same on a female of the Kshatriya caste, a Paulkasa.

"6. They declare that the son begotten by a Kshatriya on a female of the Brahman caste becomes a Suta.

"8. Children begotten by Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas on females of the next lower, second lower, and third lower castes become respectively Ambashthas, Ugras, and Nishadas.

"9. The son of a Brahman and of a Sudra woman is a Parasava" (*Vasishtha*, XVIII).

Baudhayana is somewhat different.

"3. A Brahman begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Brahman, on a female of the Vaisya caste an Ambashtha, on a female of the Sudra caste a Nishada.

"4. According to some, a Parasava.

"5. A Kshatriya begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Kshatriya, on a female of the Sudra caste an Ugra.

"6. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Sudra caste a Rathakara.

"7. A Sudra begets on a female of the Vaisya caste a Magadha, on a female of the Kshatriya caste a Kshattri, but on a female of the Brahman caste a Chandala.

"8. A Vaisya begets on a female of the Kshatriya caste an Ayogava, on a female of the Brahman caste a Suta."

And so a Svapaka has an Ugra father and a Kshattri mother; a Vaina has a Vaidehaka father and an Ambashtha mother; a Paulkasa has a Nishada father and a

Sudra mother; a Kukkutaka has a Sudra father and a Nishada mother; and "the wise declare those sprung by an intermixture of the castes to be Vratyas" (*Baudhayana*, I, 9, 17).

Gautama's enumeration is comprehensive as well as brief, and we will give it below:—

"16. Children born in the regular order of the wives of the next, second, or third lower castes become Savarnas, *i.e.*, of equal caste, Ambashthas, Ugras, Nishadas, Daushyantas, and Parasavas.

"17. Children born in the inverted order (of wives of higher castes) become Sutas, Magadhas, Ayogavas, Kshattris, Vaidehakas, or Chandalas.

"18. Some declare that a woman of the Brahman caste has borne successively to husbands of the four castes sons who are Brahmans, Sutas, Magadhas, or Chandalas;

"19. And that a woman of the Kshatriya caste has borne to the same Murdhavasiktas, Kshatriyas, Dhivaras, Paulkasas.

"20. Further, a woman of the Vaisya caste has borne to the same Bhrigyakanthas, Mahishyas, Vaisyas, and Vaidehas;

"21. And a woman of the Sudra caste to the same Parasavas, Yavanas, Karanas, and Sudras" (*Gautama*, IV).

Here we have an authoritative statement which may well stagger the most faithful believer! Magadhas and Vaidehas who were different races, Chandalas and Paulkasas who were undoubtedly non-Aryan tribes, and even Yavanas who were Bactrian Greeks and foreigners, were all treated by the same general and rigid law which recognised no exception, and were all declared to be descended from the four parent castes! And as the Hindus came to know other foreign nations later on, the elastic theory was stretched, and Manu derived those nations too from the same Hindu parent castes!

It is remarkable, however, that the castes or races

named above, of whom such a strange origin has been expounded, were nearly all aboriginal tribes or foreigners, or Aryans who had incurred odium by their partiality for scepticism and Buddhism. We do not find names of profession-castes, answering to the Kayasthas, the Vaidyas, the goldsmiths, the blacksmiths, the potters, the weavers, and other artisans of Modern India. How were these professions classed in Ancient India, if they were not classed as separate castes? The reply is plain, that the great and yet undivided Vaisya caste of the Rationalistic Period still embraced all those different professions which in modern times have been divided and disunited into castes.* The Aryan Vaisyas followed different trades and professions in Ancient India without forming separate castes; they were scribes and physicians, goldsmiths and blacksmiths, potters and weavers, while still belonging to the same common Vaisya caste. Thus the great body of the Aryan population was still united, and was still entitled to religious knowledge and learning.

The study of the Veda, the performance of sacrifices, and the gift of alms are prescribed for all twice-born men, *i.e.*, for Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas. The special and additional occupations of the Brahman were the performance of sacrifice for others, and the receiving of alms, and agriculture and trade were also allowed to him *provided he did not work himself* (*Gautama*, X, 5).

* One instance will suffice. The Vaidyas or physician caste of Bengal were unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but later tradition has applied to them the same fiction that was developed in the Rationalistic Period, and the Vaidyas are said to have descended from the union of men and women of different castes. And yet common sense would suggest that they are the descendants of a section of the Aryan people,—the Vaisyas,—who specially applied themselves to one particular science as soon as the science was sufficiently developed to call for special application, and thus in course of time formed a hereditary caste. This view receives a curious confirmation from the name which the Bengal Vaidyas still bear. All Vaidyas are Guptas (Sena Guptas, Dasa Guptas, &c.). Now there are passages in the Sutra literature which clearly lay down that all Brahmans are Sarmans, all Kshatriyas are Barmans, and *all Vaisyas are Guptas*. We will quote such a passage in the next chapter.

The abuses begotten of the privileges of caste had already commenced as early as the Rationalistic Period, and Brahmans, relieved of manual labour, had already commenced to feed on the resources of the industrious classes, without acquiring that learning which would alone justify their exemption from labour. Vasishtha felt the abuse and the injustice keenly, and protested against idlers being supported and fed, in language which could only be indited when Hinduism was still a living nation's religion.

"1. (Brahmans) who neither study nor teach the Veda nor keep sacred fires *become equal to Sudras.*

"4. The king shall punish that village where Brahmans, unobservant of their sacred duties and ignorant of the Veda, subsist by begging, *for it feeds robbers.*

"6. The sin that *dunces, perplexed by ignorance,* and unacquainted with the sacred law, declare to be duty, shall fall, increased a hundred-fold, on those who propound it.

"11. An elephant made of wood, an antelope made of leather, and a Brahman ignorant of the Veda, those three *have nothing but the name of their kind.*

"12. Those kingdoms where ignorant men eat the food of the learned will be visited by drought; or some other *great evil will befall them*" (*Vasishtha*, III).

The additional occupations of the Kshatriya were to govern and fight and make conquests, to learn the management of chariots and the use of the bow, and to stand firm in battle and not to turn back (*Gautama*, X, 15 and 16). The special occupations of the Vaisya were trade, agriculture, tending cattle, lending money, and labour for gain (*Gautama*, X, 49). Sudras were to serve the other three castes, but were also allowed to labour for gain (*Gautama*, X, 42); and there can be no doubt they traded and earned money by independent work to a large extent in the Rationalistic Period as in all succeeding periods. Religious knowledge was, however, forbidden to Sudras.

"To see ourselves as others see us" is always a gain, and we will therefore now examine how the caste-system was regarded by foreigners. It is quite evident that the seven castes spoken of by Megasthenes are virtually the four castes spoken of above. His philosophers and councillors were the Brahmans, those who engaged themselves in religious study, and those who took employment under the State respectively. His husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans were the Vaisyas and Sudras, who engaged themselves in cultivation, in pasture, and in manufacture. And his soldiers were the Kshatriyas; while his overseers were only special servants, spies of the king.

Megasthenes further subdivides the philosophers into Brahmans or householders, and Sramans or ascetics. Of the former he says that "the children are under the care of one person after another, and as they advance in age, each succeeding master is more accomplished than his predecessor. The philosophers have their abode in a grove in front of the city within a moderate-sized enclosure. They live in a simple style, and lie on beds of rushes or (deer) skins. They abstain from animal food and sensual pleasures, and spend their time listening to religious discourse and in imparting their knowledge to such as will listen to them. . . . After living in this manner for seven and thirty years each individual retires to his own property, where he lives for the rest of his days in ease and security. They then array themselves in fine muslin, and wear a few trinkets of gold on their fingers and in their ears. They eat flesh, but not that of animals employed in labour. They abstain from hot and highly seasoned food. They marry as many wives as they please, with a view to having numerous children, for by having many wives, greater advantages are enjoyed, and since they have no slaves, they have more need to have children around them to attend to their wants."

Of the Sramans or ascetics, Megasthenes tells us that "they live in the wood, where they subsist on leaves of

trees and wild fruits, and wear garments made from the bark of trees. . . . They communicate with the kings, who consult them by messengers, regarding the causes of things, and who through them worship and supplicate the deity." Some of them practised medicines, and Megasthenes writes : "By their knowledge of pharmacy they can make marriages fruitful, and determine the sex of the offspring. They effect cures rather by regulating diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed are ointments and plasters." We learn from this account, as we learn from other sources, that sects of ascetics subsisting on roots and wild fruits, lived in Ancient India, and bore the name of Sramanas, before and after the time of Gautama Buddha. And when that great reformer preached a holy life and retirement from the world, as the essence of his religion, his followers, who retired from the world, were called Sakyaputriya Sramans,—or ascetics who followed the Sakya,—to distinguish them from other sects of ascetics.

Elsewhere Megasthenes says of the Philosopher-caste that they, "being exempted from all public duties, are neither the masters nor the servants of others. They are however engaged by private persons to offer the sacrifices due in lifetime, and to celebrate the obsequies of the dead. . . . They forewarn assembled multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and also about propitious winds and diseases." We have thus a brief but intelligent sketch, from the hand of an impartial foreigner, of the life which the Brahmans lived in the Rationalistic Period. They gave religious instruction to the young, they presided at sacrifices and funeral ceremonies, they advised villagers and cultivators about weather and harvests, and they also prescribed medicines for various diseases. Kings looked up to them for advice in emergencies, and the class of Brahmans whom Megasthenes considers a separate caste and calls councillors, also advised the king in state affairs, were entrusted with the treasury, and were the judges in civil and criminal cases. The educated classes looked up

to the Brahmans for priestly advice and assistance at large sacrifices, while the humble cultivators consulted the wise men about the prospects of the year. With the gradual decline of the nation the caste so universally honoured gradually came to abuse its privileges, and tried to strengthen by superstition that pre-eminence which was first acquired by sanctity and knowledge.

Of the military class or the Kshatriya caste Megasthenes gives a very brief sketch. The soldiers were organised and equipped for war, but in times of peace gave themselves up to idleness and amusements.

"The entire force, men-at-arms, war-horses, war-elephants, and all are maintained at the king's expense." It was the duty of the overseers to inquire into all that went on in the kingdom and report them to the king.

Of the husbandmen, shepherds, and artisans, who obviously were the Vaisya and Sudra castes, Megasthenes gives us a more interesting and life-like sketch. Being exempted from fighting and other public services, the husbandmen "devote the whole of their time to tillage; *nor would an enemy, coming upon a husbandman at work on his land, do him any harm*, for men of this class, being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The land thus remaining unravaged, and producing heavy crops, supplies the inhabitants with all that is requisite to make life very enjoyable. . . . They pay a land tribute to the king, because all India is the property of the crown, and no private person is permitted to own land. Besides the land tribute, they pay into the royal treasury a fourth part of the produce of the soil."*

"The shepherds neither settle in towns nor in villages, but live in tents.† By hunting and trapping they clear

* The usual land tax in India was one-sixth of the produce in the Hindu times.

† This description must refer to some tribes of aborigines who were scarcely yet completely Hinduised.

the country of noxious birds and wild beasts. Of the artisans some are armourers, while others make the implements which husbandmen and others find useful in their different callings. This class is not only exempted from paying taxes, but even receives maintenance from the royal exchequer."

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL LIFE.

It is in the Sutras that we first find mention of the different forms of marriage with which we are familiar from the later metrical codes of law. Vasishtha mentions only six forms, *viz.* :—

Brahma marriage; the father pours out a libation of water and gives his daughter to a suitor, a student.

Daiva marriage; the father decks his daughter with ornaments and gives her to an officiating priest, when sacrifice is being performed.

Arsha marriage; the father gives his daughter for a cow or a bull.

Gandharva marriage; the lover takes and weds a loving damsel.

Kshatra (or *Rakshasa*) marriage; the bridegroom forcibly takes a damsel, destroying her relatives by strength of arms.

Manusha (or *Asura*) marriage; the suitor purchases a damsel from her father.

Apastamba, too, recognises only these six forms of marriage, but calls the Kshatra marriage by the name Rakshasa, and the Manusha marriage by the name Asura. Apastamba further mentions the first three forms only, *viz.*, the Brahma, the Daiva, and the Arsha, as praiseworthy.

The older writers Gautama and Baudhayana, however, prescribe eight forms of marriage, adding to the above six forms one rite, Prajapatya, which was considered

praiseworthy, and another form, *Paisacha*, which was sinful. In the Prajapatya form the father simply gave away his daughter to the suitor, saying, "*Fulfil ye the* law conjointly." The Paisacha form was simply a form of rape, when a man embraced a woman deprived of consciousness.

Marriages among kinsfolk were rigorously prohibited in the Rationalistic Period. Vasishtha prohibits marriage between a man and a woman of the same *Gotra* or *Pravara*, or who are related within four degrees on the mother's side, or within six degrees on the father's side (VIII, 1 and 2). Apastamba prohibits marriage between men and women of the same *Gotra*, or who are related (within six degrees) on the mother's (or father's) side (II, 5, 11, 15 and 16). But Baudhayana allows a man to marry the daughter of a maternal uncle or a paternal aunt (I, 1, 2, 4).

The marriage of girls at a tender age was not yet prevalent in the Rationalistic Period. Vasishtha says:—

"67. A maiden who has attained puberty *shall wait for three years.*

"68. After three years, she may take a husband of equal caste" (XVII).

In contradiction, however, to the above, there is a passage, immediately after, recommending the marriage of girls while they are yet children. The passage appears to be an interpolation.

The marriage of widows, which was a prevalent custom in the Vedic and Epic Periods, continued to prevail in the Rationalistic Period, but except in the case of child-widows, was not looked upon with favour. The son of a widow married again was, as will appear from passages quoted in the previous chapter, often classed with adopted sons, or sons by an appointed wife or daughter.

Such are the rules laid down in the Dharma Sutras for marriage. Marriage marks the entrance to a new stage of life, *viz.*, that of a *Householder*; before marriage,

a young man is only a *Student*. It would be interesting to briefly review the rules laid down in the Sutras regarding the conduct of a student and that of a householder, respectively.

The first great event in a boy's life seems to have been his initiation as a student. A Brahman boy was initiated between 8 and 16, a Kshatriya between 11 and 22, and a Vaisya between 12 and 24. The initiated boy then lived as a religious student in the house of his teacher for 12, 24, 36, or 48 years, according as he wished to master one, two, three, or the four Vedas. During this period of his life he avoided all spiced food, perfumes, and articles of luxury; he tied his hair in a knot, he bore a staff and a girdle, and a cloth of flax or hemp, or even only a skin. Avoiding all places of amusement and of pleasure, restraining his senses, modest and humble, the young student went out every morning with his staff to beg for food from charitable householders in the neighbouring villages, and all that he obtained in the course of the day he placed before his teacher, and he only tasted food after his teacher had done with his meals. He went to the forest to fetch fuel, and evening and morning he fetched water for household use. Every morning he swept and cleaned the altar, kindled the fire, and placed the sacred fuel on it; and every evening he washed his teacher's feet and rubbed him and put him to bed, before he retired to rest. Such was the humble and simple life which ancient Hindu students led, when they devoted all the energies of their mind to the acquisition of the sacred learning of their forefathers.

Instruction, it is needless to repeat, was imparted by rote. The student respectfully held the hand of his teacher, and fixed his mind on the teacher and said, "Venerable sir, recite," and the Savitri (the well-known Gayatri verse of the Rig Veda) was recited, and learnt as the introduction to the learning of the Vedas (*Gautama*, I, 55, 56). And from day to day new lessons were recited

and learnt, the student dividing his day's work between minding his lessons and minding the household work of his teacher.

When after years of study, often under different teachers, the student at last returned to his home, he made a handsome gift to his instructors, married, and settled down as a householder or *snataka, i.e.*, a man who has bathed after his studentship is over. The Sutrakaras are never tired with impressing on householders the paramount duty of courtesy and hospitality towards guests, for the reception of guests is an everlasting sacrifice offered by the householder to God (*Apastamba*, II, 3, 7, 1).

Besides the order of the student and that of the householder, there were two other orders of life, *viz.*, those of the *Ascetic* (Bhikshu), and that of the *Hermit* (Vaikhanasa). We learn from later Sanscrit literature that a typical or perfect life was the life of a man who belonged to these four orders in the successive periods of his life. Apastamba, too, who is one of the latest of the Sutrakaras, says that "if he lives in all these four (orders of life) . . . he will obtain salvation" (II, 9, 21, 2). But this was not the original idea, and in early times a man might have chosen to spend the whole of his life in one of these four orders. Thus Vasishtha says that a man after completing his education may, according to his choice, embrace one of the four orders for the rest of his life (VII, 3), and Baudhayana too quotes a rule that a man on finishing his education may be an ascetic at once (II, 10, 17, 2). It is needless for our purpose to dwell on rules laid down for an ascetic and a hermit respectively. It will suffice to state that an ascetic shaved his head, had no property or home, practised austerities, fasted or lived on alms, wore a single garment or a skin, slept on the bare ground, wandered about from place to place, discontinued the performance of all religious ceremonies, but never discontinued the study of the Veda or the

contemplation of the Universal Soul (*Vasishtha*, X). A hermit, on the other hand, though dwelling in woods, living on roots and fruits, and leading a chaste life, kindled the sacred fire and offered the morning and evening libations (*Vasishtha*, IX).

We now return to the householders, who form the best of the four orders. For the householders, and not hermits and ascetics, formed the nation, and "as rivers, both great and small, find a resting place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders" (*Vasishtha*, VIII, 15).

No less than forty sacraments have been prescribed for the householder (*Gautama*, VIII, 14-20), and an account of these sacraments will give us a glimpse into the religious and domestic life of the ancient Hindu.

Domestic ceremonies.—(1) Garbhadhana (ceremony to cause conception); (2) Pumsavana (ceremony to cause the birth of a male child); (3) Simantonnayana (arranging the hair of the pregnant wife); (4) Jatakarman (ceremony on birth of a child); (5) naming the child; (6) the first feeding; (7) the tonsure of the head; (8) the initiation; (9 to 12) the four vows for the study of the Veda; (13) the bath or completion of studentship; (14) marriage, or, as it is called, the taking a helpmate for the performance of religious duties; and (15 to 19) the five sacrifices to gods, manes, men, spirits, and to Brahman or God.

Grihya rites, also called *Pakayajnas.*—(1) Astaka, or rites performed in winter; (2) Parvana, or new and full moon rites; (3) Sraddha, or sacrifices to departed ancestors; (4) Sravani, a rite performed in the Sravana month; (5) Agrahayani, performed in the Agrahayana month; (6) Chaitri, performed in the month of Chaitra; and (7) Asvayugi, performed in the month of Asvina.

Srauta rites.—These are again divided into two classes, *viz.*, *Haviryajna*, performed with offerings of rice, milk,

butter, meat, &c.; and the *Somayajna*, performed with libations of the Soma-juice.

The Haviryajnas are—(1) Agnyadhana, (2) Agnihotra, (3) Darsapurnamasa, (4) Agrayana, (5) Chaturmasya, (6) Nirudhapasubandha, and (7) Sautramani.

The Somayajnas are (1) Agnishtoma, (2) Atyagnishtoma, (3) Ukthya, (4) Shodasin, (5) Vajapeya, (6) Atiratra, and (7) Aptoryama.

Such were the forty sacraments prescribed for householders;—but far above the performance of these sacrifices was esteemed the possession of virtue and goodness, which alone led to heaven. Gautama says:—

"He who is sanctified by these forty sacraments, but whose soul is destitute of the eight good qualities, will not be united with Brahman, nor does he reach His heaven.

"But he, forsooth, who is sanctified by a few only of these forty sacraments, and whose soul is endowed with the excellent qualities, will be united with Brahman and will dwell in His heaven" (VIII, 24 and 25).

Similarly Vasishtha says:—

"The Vedas do not purify him who is deficient in good conduct, though he may have learnt them all, together with the six Angas; the sacred texts depart from such a man, even as birds when full fledged leave their nests.

"As the beauty of a wife causes no joy to a blind man, even so all the four Vedas, together with the six Angas and sacrifices, bring no blessing to him who is deficient in good conduct.

"The several texts do not save from sin the deceitful man who behaves deceitfully. But that Veda, two syllables of which are studied with due observances of rules of conduct, purifies, just as the clouds in the month of Asvina" (VI, 3-5).

We will now say a few words about the forty sacraments, or rather with regard to those of them which

illustrate Hindu life. They include, as stated above, Domestic ceremonies, Grihya rites, and Srauta rites. The Srauta rites are described in detail in the Yajur Veda and the Brahmanas, and also in a condensed form in the Srauta Sutras, as we have stated before. These rites have been briefly described in our account of the Epic Age, and throw little light on the manners and life of the people, and are therefore not of very much importance for our historical purpose. The Domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites, on the other hand, give us glimpses which are of inestimable value into the manners of the ancient Hindus, and indeed give us a perfect picture of the life that they lived and the habits and customs they followed.

We will first treat of the Domestic ceremonies, and afterwards speak of the Grihya religious rites. The most important of the Domestic ceremonies are Marriage, Ceremonies performed during pregnancy of wife, Birth of child, Annaprasana or the first feeding of a child, Tonsure, Initiation, and Return from School on the completion of education. As we read accounts of these domestic ceremonies, we think we survey the whole life of our ancient ancestors;—and the ceremonies are all the more interesting to us, because we continue to practise many of them to the present day, after a lapse of over two thousand years.

Marriage.—The bridegroom sends messengers to the house of the girl's father, reciting verse X, 85, 23, of the Rig Veda, which we have translated before. If the proposal pleases both parties, the promise of marriage is ratified, and both parties touch a full vessel into which flowers, fried grain, barley, and gold have been put, and recite a formula. The bridegroom then performs a sacrifice. On the appointed day, the bride's relations wash her with water fragrant with the choicest fruits and scents, make her put on a newly dyed garment, and cause her to sit down by a fire while the family

Acharya performs a sacrifice. The bridegroom, who has also bathed and gone through auspicious ceremonies, "is escorted by happy young women who are not widows to the girl's house" (*Sankhayana.*)

The actual marriage ceremony varied in detail in different localities, but agreed in the essential points. "Various indeed are the customs of the different countries, and the customs of the different villages. . . . What however is commonly accepted, that we shall state" *(Asvalayana).* The bridegroom holds the bride by the hand, and leads her three times round a fire, reciting some verses, as, "Come, let us marry. Let us beget offspring. Loving, bright, with genial mind, may we live a hundred autumns." Each time he makes her tread a millstone, saying, "Like a stone be firm." The bride's brother or guardian fills her hands with Ajya or fried grain, and she sacrifices it to the fire. The bridegroom then causes the bride to step forward seven steps, reciting suitable words. The going round the fire, treading the stone, sacrificing the fried grain, and stepping forward seven steps, constituted the principal forms of the marriage ceremony. "And she should dwell that night in the house of an old Brahman woman whose husband is alive, and whose children are alive. When she sees the Polar star, the star of Arundhati, and the Seven Rishis (Ursa Major), let her break the silence, and say, May my husband live, and I get offspring" *(Asvalayana).* Sankhayana says, "Let them sit silent, when the sun has set, until the Polar star appears. He shows her the star with the words, 'Firm be thou, thriving with me.' Let her say, 'I see the Polar star; may I obtain offspring.' Through a period of three nights let them refrain from conjugal intercourse."

Pregnancy.—Various were the rites performed during the pregnancy of a wife. In the first place, there was the Garbhadhana rite, which was supposed to secure conception. The *Pumsavana* rite was supposed to determine

the male sex of the child, and the *Garbharakshana* secured the child in the womb from dangers. The *Simantonnayana*, performed according to Asvalayana in the fourth month, and according to Sankhayana in the seventh month of pregnancy, is a more interesting ceremony. Gobhila says it may be performed in the fourth, sixth, or eighth month, and it consisted in the husband affectionately parting his wife's hair, with certain rites.

Birth of child.—The rites performed on this occasion and called *Jatakarman* or birth ceremony, *Medhajananam* or the production of intelligence, and *Ayushya* or rite for prolonging life. On this occasion the father gives the child a secret name,—of an even number of syllables if the child is male, and an uneven number if it is female, and only the father and mother know that name. On the tenth day, when the mother gets up from childbed, a name for common use is given to the child. "The name of a Brahman should end in Sarman (*e.g.*, Vishnu Sarman), that of a Kshatriya in Varman (*e.g.*, Lakshmi Varman), that of a Vaisya in Gupta (*e.g.*, Chandra Gupta)" (*Paraskara*, I, 17, 4).

First feeding of the child with solid food.—This is the well-known *Annaprasana* ceremony. The child seems to have been allowed a greater variety of food in the olden days than in the present time. "Goat's flesh, if he is desirous of nourishment; flesh of partridge, if desirous of holy lustre; boiled rice with ghee, if desirous of splendour" (*Asvalayana and Sankhayana*). "Flesh of that bird called Bharadvaji, if he wishes fluency of speech; fish, if swiftness was desired, &c., &c." (*Paraskara*).

Tonsure of the child's head, called *Chuda Karana.*—This was performed when the child was one year old according to Sankhayana and Paraskara, or when the child was in his third year according to Asvalayana and Gobhila. The child's head was shaved with a razor with

certain mantras (without mantras in the case of a girl), and some hair was left and arranged according to the custom of the family.

Initiation or *Upanayana.*—This was an important ceremony, and was performed when a boy was made over by his father or guardian to the teacher for education. The age of initiation, as we have seen before, varied in the case of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, and the sacred thread was worn on this occasion by all the three castes.

A garment, a girdle, and a staff of appropriate materials were then assumed by the student, and he approached the teacher.

"He (the teacher) fills the two hollows of his own and the student's joined hands with water, and then says to him (*i.e.*, to the student), 'What is thy name?'

"'I am N. N., sir,' says the other.

"'Descending from the same Rishis,' says the teacher.

"'Descending from the same Rishis, sir,' says the other.

"'Declare that thou art a student, sir.'

"'I am a student, sir,' says the other.

"With the words 'Bhur Bhuvah Svah,' the teacher sprinkles thrice with his joined hands water on the joined hands of the student.

"And seizing the student's hands with his own hands, holding the right uppermost, he murmurs:—

"By the impulse of the god Savitri, with the arms of the two Asvins, with Pushan's hands, I initiate thee, N. N."

Such was the ceremony of the *Upanayana* in ancient times, the initiation into the life of a student, the commencement of the study of the Veda. How has the *Upanayana* custom degenerated in modern times! It no longer means the study of the Veda, which is now forgotten, nor the performance of sacrifices, which have now fallen into disuse. It now means the habitual assumption of a meaningless thread, which was neither

meaningless nor habitually worn in ancient days; and modern Brahmans claim a monopoly of the sacrificial thread, which the ancient Brahmans used to wear along with Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, who all sacrificed and learnt the Veda. Thus national degeneracy has converted significant rites into meaningless forms, all tending to the enforced ignorance of the people, and to the exclusive privileges of priests.

Return from school.—The student, after he had finished his education, returned to his home, and if he had no ancestral house to go to, had to build a house. This, too, was accompanied by a ceremony and by the utterance of the hymns of the Rig Veda (VII, 54, 55) to Vastospati, the lord of dwelling-houses, as well as to other divinities. Then followed marriage, and the setting up of fires,—the Agnyadhana—which is a Srauta rite, and which has been described in Chapter VIII. of the last Book. The student is now changed into a householder, and has other and graver duties to perform.

Such were the most important Domestic ceremonies in which the ancient Hindus rejoiced. We will now give a brief account of the Grihya rites.

The most important of the Grihya rites was the *Sraddha* or monthly offering to the departed fathers, and the feeding of Brahmans. "Brahmans who are endowed with learning, moral character, and correct conduct," were invited, and sat down "as representatives of the fathers" to whom the oblations were offered. The sacrificer then offered the Arghya water to the fathers with the words, "Father, this is thy Arghya; Grandfather, this is thy Arghya; Great-grandfather, this is thy Arghya." Gifts of perfumes, garlands, incense, lights, and clothes were then offered to the Brahmans. With the permission of the Brahmans, food of the *Sthalipaka* prepared for the *Pindapitriyajna* was smeared with ghee and sacrificed in the fire, or in the hands of the Brahmans, together with other food. And when the sacrificer saw that the

Brahmans were satiated, he recited the verse (Rig Veda, I, 82, 2), "They have eaten, they have enjoyed themselves" (*Asvalayana*).

Parvana.—This was the rite observed on the new and full moon days, and consisted in fasting as well as in offering cooked oblations to the deities of those days, with appropriate mantras. Orthodox Hindus still make it a point to fast on these days.

Sravani.—This was a rite observed on the full moon day of the month of Sravana in the rainy season, and the idea was to propitiate serpents, which multiply in India in the rains. The words uttered were sufficiently grotesque.

The propitiation of serpents as such has nearly disappeared from the upper classes of the people of India, and they will have some difficulty in recognising the rite performed at the *Raki Purnima* as a survival of the *Sravani* rite of the Rationalistic Period. The *Raki* string bracelet which friends distribute to friends, and sisters affectionately send to their brothers, is a bracelet which is intended to save them from any harm or evil proceeding from serpents.*

Asvayugi.—This was a rite performed on the full moon day of Asvayuga or Asvina month.

"1. On the full moon day of Asvayuga a milk-rice oblation to Indra.

"2. Having sacrificed Ajya with the words, 'To the two Asvins, svaha! To the two Asvayuga, svaha! To the full moon of Asvayuga, svaha! To the autumn, svaha! To Prajapati, svaha! To the tawny one, svaha!'

"3. He shall sacrifice a mixture of curds and butter with this hymn, 'The cows come hither' (Rig Veda, VI, 28), verse by verse.

* A new and aboriginal goddess, the *Manasa*, is now worshipped in Bengal to save men from snake-bite, and the story of her admission into the Hindu Pantheon is dimly seen in the popular tale of *Manasar Bhasan*.

"4. That night they let the calves join their mothers.

"5. Then feeding of the Brahmans."

This is all the account which Sankhayana gives of this rite, and it is impossible not to suspect from the above account that the rite is essentially agricultural. This suspicion is confirmed when Paraskara tells us that the above rite was to be followed by a sacrifice to Sita, *the goddess of the field furrow.*

"In whose substance dwells the prosperity of all Vedic and worldly works, *Indra's wife Sita*, I invoke. May she not abandon me in whatever work I do. Svaha!

"Her, who, rich in horses, rich in cows, rich in delight, indefatigably supports living beings, *Urvara (the fertile), who is wreathed with threshing floors*, I invoke at this sacrifice, the firm one. May she not abandon me. Svaha!" (II, 17, 9).

The worship of Sita or the furrow goddess, following the Asvajugi rite, her description as the wife of Indra the rain-giver, and as Urvara or the fertile, wreathed with threshing floors, all suggest that the Asvajugi rite was an agricultural rite of thanksgiving on the reaping of the crop which was harvested in Asvina. And if this rite of agricultural thanksgiving was already somewhat obscure in the Rationalistic Period, how has that rite been further obscured in the *Kojagara Lakshmi Puja* of modern India.

Lakshmi is a young goddess who was unknown in the Rationalistic Period, but is now the most cherished deity in the Hindu Pantheon. Sita is now remembered only as the heroine of the Ramayana, and as a pattern of female virtue and female self-abnegation, but Lakshmi has taken her place as the goddess of crops and of rice.

We have seen that the Kojagara Lakshmi Puja is the modern form of the ancient Asvajugi rite. Still more recent than the Lakshmi Puja is the worship of Durga, which has in Bengal assumed wonderful dimensions within recent times, owing no doubt to the gladness of

the harvest season. How has the petty harvest festival, —the milk-rice oblation to Indra and his consort Sita,— developed in modern times!

Agrahayani.—This rite was performed on the full moon day of Agrahayana month. This particular night was considered to be the consort of the year, or the image of the year, and adoration was offered to the year, to Samvatsara, Parivatsara, Idavatsara, Idvatsara, and to Vatsara, which terms designate the different years of the quinquennial period of Yuga (*Paraskara*, III, 2, 2).

Ashtaka.—So called because they were rites which were performed on the *eighth* day of the three or four successive dark fortnights after the full moon of Agrahayana. Oblations were made with vegetables, flesh, and cakes respectively. Gobhila quotes different opinions as to the object of these oblations, and says they may be for the gratification of Agni, or of the Fathers, or of Prajapati, or of the Season gods, or of all the gods (*Gobhila*, III, 2, 3). The intelligent reader will hardly fail to perceive, however, that the rites were suggested by the winter season, which is an enjoyable season in India, when the Aman rice is harvested and wheat and barley thrive, and when cakes and flesh and vegetables are not only acceptable to the "season gods," but are also highly gratifying to men! And the Hindu reader will, no doubt, at once perceive that a survival of this ancient rite still exists in Bengal in the *Pausha Parvana*, when, after the Aman has been harvested, our ladies delight in the preparation of delicious cakes of various kinds, to the infinite joy of the young and old alike!

Chaitri, the last rite in the year, was performed on the full moon day of Chaitra. Indra and Agni and Rudra and the Nakshatras or constellations were propitiated.

Such were the Domestic ceremonies and Grihya rites in which Hindu ladies delighted in ancient times. And if some of these rites have since lost their original significance, and have even been replaced by modern forms,

we can nevertheless trace most of them in the rites that we practise to this day, after a lapse of two thousand years and more. The conservative spirit of the Hindus and their loyalty to the past are pre-eminently conspicuous in their adherence to ancient ceremonies, which were generally conceived in a pure and healthy spirit. And the healthy joyousness which attended ancient Hindu celebrations has certainly lost nothing in the course of many centuries of foreign subjection and national decline.

CHAPTER VII.

GEOMETRY AND GRAMMAR.

We have seen before that it was in the Rationalistic Age that all the religious rules and laws of the previous ages received a philosophical treatment, and were condensed, arranged, and codified. It was in this period that the contents of the verbose and somewhat chaotic Brahmanas were brought into order, that civil and criminal laws and the law of inheritance were codified, that the caste rules and social laws were rigidly fixed, and the duties of men, both as citizens and as members of a family, defined. And it can well be imagined, therefore, that science and philosophy received a high degree of development in this age, and some departments of inquiry and thought received their last development in India in this period.

We do not know what progress was made in this period in Astronomy. No Sutra work on Astronomy has come down to us, and there can be little doubt that the astronomical works of the Rationalistic Period have long since been replaced by the later and completer works of the Puranic Period,—by the works of Aryabhatta and Varahamihira, of Brahmagupta and Bhaskaracharya. But there is one branch of mathematics which was carried to a high degree of excellence in the Rationalistic Period. Dr. Thibaut has deserved the thanks of all Oriental scholars by publishing the fact that Geometry, as a science, was first studied in India. The Greeks of a later age cultivated the science with greater success, but

it should never be forgotten that the world owes its first lessons in Geometry not to Greece, but to India.

Geometry, like Astronomy, owes its origin in India to religion, and Grammar and Philosophy too were similarly inspired by religion. As Dr. Thibaut remarks: "The want of some rule by which to fix the right time for the sacrifices gave the first impulse to astronomical observations; urged by this want, the priest remained watching night after night the advance of the moon through the circle of the Nakshatras, and day after day the alternate progress of the sun towards the north and the south. The laws of phonetics were investigated, because the wrath of the gods followed the wrong pronunciation of a single letter of the sacrificial formulas; grammar and etymology had the task of securing the right understanding of the holy texts. The close connection of philosophy and theology,—so close that it is often impossible to decide where the one ends and the other begins,—is too well known to require any comment." And the learned Doctor then lays down the principle, which should never be overlooked by Indian historians, that whatever science "is closely connected with the Ancient Indian Religion must be considered as having sprung up among the Indians themselves," and not borrowed from other nations."*

Geometry was developed in India from the rules for the construction of altars. The Black Yajur Veda (V, 4, 11) enumerates the different shapes in which altars could be constructed, and Baudhayana and Apastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of these *chitis* and the bricks which had to be employed for their construction. (1) The Chaturasra Syena is a falcon-shaped altar built of square bricks, and is the most ancient. (2) The Syena Vakrapakshavyastapuchchha is an altar of the shape of a falcon with curved wings and outspread tail. (3) The Kankachit is a heron-shaped altar with two feet, and (4) the Alajachit is very similar

* Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1875, p. 227.

to it. (5) The Praugachit is of the shape of the forepart of the poles of a chariot, an equilateral triangle, and (6) the Ubhayatah Praugachit is of the form of two such triangles joined with their bases. Then, follow (7) the Ratha Chakrachit and (8) the Sararatha Chakrachit of the shape of wheels, without and with spokes. (9) the Chaturasradronachit and (10) the Parimandaladronachit are of the shape of a drona or vessel, square or circular. (11) The Parichayyachit is also of a wheel-shape, and (12) the Samuhyachit has likewise a circular shape. (13) The Smasanachit is a sloping quadrilateral altar wider at one base than at the other, and higher at the wider end. The last chiti mentioned is the Kurma or tortoise, which may be either (14) Vakranga, curved, or (15) angular, or (16) Parimandala, circular.

The area of the earliest Chaturasra Syena was to be $7\frac{1}{2}$ square purushas, which means $7\frac{1}{2}$ squares, the side of each square being equal to a purusha, *i.e.*, the height of a man with uplifted arms. When any other shape of altar was required, *the size or area did not change*, so that a wheel, an equilateral triangle, or a tortoise had to be constructed,—all of the area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ purushas. Then again at the second construction of the altar one square purusha had to be added to the area, and at the third construction two square purushas had to be added, *without changing the shape or the relative proportions of the figure.* All this could not be done without a considerable knowledge of Geometry, and the science of Geometry was thus invented. As Dr. Thibaut says, "squares had to be found which would be equal to two or more given squares; or equal to the difference of two given squares; oblongs had to be turned into squares and squares into oblongs; triangles had to be constructed equal to given squares or oblongs; and so on. The last task, and not the least, was that of finding a circle, the area of which might equal as closely as possible that of a given square."

The result of these operations was the compilation of

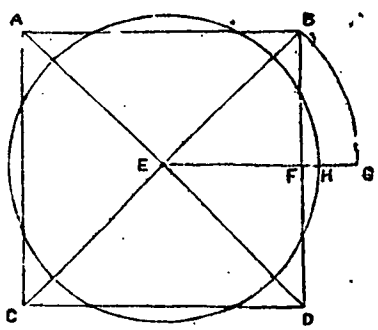
a series of geometrical rules which are contained in the Sulva Sutras, which form a portion of the Kalpa Sutras, as we have stated before. These Sulva Sutras date from the eighth century before Christ. The geometrical theorem that the square of the hypotenuse is equal to the squares of the other two sides of a rectangular triangle is ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras; but it was known in India at least two centuries before, and Pythagoras undoubtedly learnt this rule from India. The proposition referred to above is contained in two rules, *viz.*, (1) The square of the diagonal of a square is twice as large as that square, and (2) The square of the diagonal of an oblong is equal to the square of both its sides.

Our limits forbid us to follow Dr. Thibaut's remarks contained in his most valuable and instructive paper, and all we can do is to briefly mention a few of the most important results achieved in the Sulva Sutras. One remarkable result was to find the value of a diagonal in number in relation to the side of the square. The rule laid down is, "Increase the measure by its third part, and this third by its own fourth, less the thirty-fourth part of that fourth." In other words, if 1 represents the side, the diagonal will be $1+\frac{1}{3}+\frac{1}{3\times4}-\frac{1}{3\times4\times34}=1.4142156$. The real value of the diagonal is, we know, $\sqrt{2}=1.414213\ldots$ and we see, therefore, that the rule given in the Sulva Sutras is correct up to five places of the decimal.

Rules were framed for the formation of squares of three, four, five, or any times the area of a given square; for combining two squares of different sizes; for deducting one square from another; for turning an oblong into a square or a square into an oblong; for turning a square into a circle or a circle into a square. As an example, we will quote the rule of describing a circle equal to a given square.

The rule is this: "If you wish to turn a squ[illegible] a circle, draw half of the cord stretched in the di[illegible] from the centre towards the Prachi line (*i.e.*, the due east); describe the circle, together with the t[illegible] part of that piece of the cord which will lie outside square."

The rule may be thus illustrated :—



E B is half of the cord of the square A B C D stretched in the diagonal C B. Keep the point E fixed, and draw the cord towards the Prachi or eastern line E F. A part of the cord, *i.e.*, F G, will lie outside the square. Take a third part of it; F H, together with the part inside, E F, and describe a circle with the radius E H.

It is needless to add that the result is only approximately correct.

Similarly : "If you wish to turn a circle into a square, divide the diameter into eight parts, and again one of these eight parts into twenty-nine parts ; of these twenty-nine parts remove twenty-eight, and moreover the sixth part (of the one left part) less the eighth part (of the sixth part)."

The meaning of the rule is this :—

$\frac{7}{8} + \frac{1}{8\times29} - \frac{1}{8\times29\times6} + \frac{1}{8\times29\times6\times8}$ of the diameter of a circle is the side of a square, the area of which is equal to the area of the circle.

Geometry is a lost science in India ; for as soon as it was found that geometrical truths could be represented

[redacted]ora and arithmetic, Geometry gradually fell out [redacted]e. And the practical necessity for geometrical [redacted]dies no longer existed in India when the Hindus began [redacted] worship images in the Puranic Age, and the setting up of sacred fires in the worshipper's house was discontinued, and the construction of altars was forgotten.

While the Greeks soon left the Hindus far behind in Geometry, they could never rival their Asiatic brethren in the science of Numbers. The world owes the Decimal Notation to the Hindus, and Arithmetic as a practical science would have been impossible without the Decimal Notation. The Arabs first learnt that notation from the Hindus and introduced it into Europe. The ancient Greeks and Romans were ignorant of it, and consequently never made much progress in the numercial science.

There is yet another science in which the Hindus were the first in the field, and achieved results in the Rationalistic Period which have never since been surpassed in the world. Professor Max Müller says that the Hindus and the Greeks are the only nations who developed the science of Grammar; but the achievements of the Greeks in Grammar are poor indeed compared with the marvellous work of Panini,—the greatest Grammarian that the world has ever seen. We will not enter into the controversy on the age of Panini. Professor Max Müller calls him the contemporary of Katyayana, and gives the fourth century before Christ as his probable date, while Dr. Goldstücker maintains that the Grammarian lived in the ninth or tenth century before Christ. Our own opinion is that he lived long before Katyayana, and before the rise of Buddhism, and that the eighth century before Christ is not an improbable date. He undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period, the period when every department of learning received a philosophical treatment. But being born in the extreme west of India, he may not have been acquainted with, or may not have recognised, the Brahmanas and

Upanishads, which, as we have seen before, were mostly produced among the nations of the Gangetic valley, who were widely separated by their learning, their customs, and even their form of religion from the Punjab Hindús.

It would be foreign to our purpose to attempt even a brief review of Panini's system of Grammar. The great discovery has been made in Europe in the present century that the tens of thousands of words in a language can be resolved to a small number of roots. This discovery was made in India three thousand years ago, before the time of Panini, and the great Grammarian resolves the Sanscrit language of his time to its simple roots.

It was the knowledge of Sanscrit which enabled European scholars in the present century to discover the Science of Language; and Bopp and Grimm, and a host of other learned scholars, have resolved the Aryan languages to their original roots, as Panini resolved the Sanscrit language to its roos in the dawn of Aryan history, when Athens and Rome were unknown !

CHAPTER VIII.

SANKHYA AND YOGA.

But the glory of the Rationalistic Period consists in the philosophy of Kapila and the religion of Buddha. Kapila and Buddha worked to some extent on the same lines. They both started with the great object of affording humanity a relief from the suffering which is the lot of all living beings. They both rejected with evident scorn the remedies which the Vedic rites pretended to offer, and called those rites impure, because connected with the slaughter of living beings. They both declared knowledge and meditation to be the means of salvation (see Sankhya Karika, 1 and 2). They both adopted the doctrine of transmigration from the Upanishads (Sankhya Karika 45), and declared that pious acts lead to higher states of life. And lastly, they both aimed at Nirvana (Sankhya Karika, 67), and the creed of the philosopher as well as of the reformer is agnostic.

But here the parallel ends. Kapila, who probably lived a century before Buddha, started the system of philosophy, but meant it only as philosophy. He addressed himself to high thinkers and to speculative scholars. His philosophy knows nothing of sympathy with mankind in general, he did not go to the masses, he founded no society or class. Buddha came after him, and was probably born in the very town sanctified by the memory of the great philosopher.* Certain it is that

* Buddha was born in Kapilavastu, which, according to the Pali Datha Vansa, was built by the sons of Ikshvaku, by the permission of the sage Kapila.

he was well versed in the philosophy of Kapila, and obtained his principal tenets from that source. But he possessed, what his predecessor did not possess, a living, all-embracing sympathy, a feeling for the poor, a tear for the bereaved and the sufferer. This was the secret of Buddha's great success. For philosophy is barren if it is not true to its name, if it does not seek earnestly, and in a loving spirit, the good of fellow-creatures, if it does not look with equal eye on the rich and the poor, on the Brahman and the Sudra. And the Sudra and the poor came to Buddha one by one for his loving sympathy and meek beneficence. Good men admired his high-souled piety, just men yielded to his theory of the equality of men, and all the world admired his pure system of morality. The tide of the new religion rolled onwards, and swept away in its course the inequality of laws and the inequality of castes. Three centuries after his death, the Emperor of Pataliputra, who ruled over the whole of Northern India, accepted the poor man's religion, and proclaimed it as the religion of all India. And a living nation accepted the faith of the equality of men, such as the Hindus have never done again since they have ceased to be a living nation.

These matters, however, will be treated in future chapters, and we return therefore to the philosophy of Kapila,—"the first recorded system of philosophy" in the world, "the earliest attempt on record to give an answer from reason alone, to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful mind about the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man and his future destiny."*

The *Sankhya Pravachana* or *Sankhya Sutra* is ascribed to Kapila himself, but has probably been compiled or recast at a more recent age. An excellent edition of the work, with commentaries and translation, has been published by Dr. Ballantyne. The *Sankhya Sara* is composed by

* Davies's *Hindu Philosophy*.

Vijnana Bhikshu, the commentator of Sankhya Pravachana. And lastly, the *Sankhya Karika* is an ancient and concise treatise on the subject in only seventy-two distichs, composed by Isvara Krishna, and commented on by Guadapada and Vachaspati. This small but excellent treatise has been translated into Latin by Lassen, into German by Windischmann and Lorinser, into French by Pantier and St. Hilaire, and into English by Colebrooke and Wilson, and recently by Davies. This small treatise will be our guide, specially as we have Mr. Davies's valuable notes to help us. We have only to add that it is impossible to give our readers the barest skeleton of Sankhya Philosophy in a few pages, and that all we can do here is to notice a few essential principles of the system.

To relieve mankind from the three kinds of pain, *viz.*, (1) bodily and mental, (2) natural and extrinsic, (3) divine or supernatural, is the object of Kapila's philosophy. Vedic rites are inefficacious, because they are impure, and are tainted with the slaughter of living beings ; the complete and final emancipation of the soul is secured by knowledge alone.

Nature and Soul are eternal and self-existent. From nature (*Prakriti*) is produced the *intellect*, the *consciousness*, the five *subtle elements*, the five *grosser elements*, the five *senses of perception*, the five *organs of action*, and the *mind*. Soul (*Purusha*) produces nothing, but is only linked with Nature, with the corporeal body, until its final emancipation. Kapila does not accept the orthodox opinion of the Upanishads that all Souls are portions of the Universal Soul. He asserts that each Soul is separate, and has a separate existence after its emancipation from the bonds of Nature.

It will be seen that according to Kapila everything except *Purusha*, or soul, is derived from *Prakriti*, or primordial matter, and is therefore material. Not only the elements and the senses and the organs of action, but the mind, the consciousness, and the intellect are results

of matter, of "mind stuff," as European philosophers call it. Kapila only differs from modern materialistic philosophers in asserting that there is a soul, independent of matter and eternal, though for a time linked with matter.

It is necessary to clearly understand the distinctions between the senses, the organs, the mind, the consciousness, the intellect, the elements, and the soul, in order to grasp the mental philosophy of Kapila.

The five senses simply observe, *i.e.*, receive impressions; the five organs of action, the voice, hands, feet, &c., act according to their functions (S. K. 28). The mind *(manas)* is not what is implied by the English word, but is only a sense organ (S. K. 27); it is the *sensorium commune*, it simply arranges the impressions and presents them to consciousness. Consciousness (S. K. 24) individualises those impressions as "mine." And the intellect distinguishes and discriminates (S. K. 23), and forms them into ideas. It will thus be seen that the distinctions made between the senses, the *manas*, the consciousness, and the intellect are real distinctions in the functions of the mind. In the language of European philosophy, *manas* receives the sensations and makes them actual perceptions; consciousness individualises them as "mine," and intellect turns individualised perceptions into "concepts or judgments," in the language of Sir W. Hamilton.

Hindu commentators love to describe this mental operation in a poetic garb. "As the headmen of the village," says Vachaspati, "collect the taxes from the villagers and pay them to the governor of the district, as the local governor pays the amount to the minister, and the minister receives it for the use of the king, so the *manas*, having received ideas from the external organs, transfers them to consciousness, and consciousness delivers them to the intellect, the general superintendent, who takes charge of them for the use of the sovereign, Soul." Such metaphorical descriptions should not disguise from us the strictly scientific nature of the distinctions made,—

distinctions which are recognised by European philosophers as well as by Hindu thinkers. "Sensation proper," says Morell in his Elements of Psychology, "is not purely a passive state, but implies a certain amount of mental activity." A clock, for instance, may strike within our hearing, and yet we may be perfectly unconscious of the fact if we are absent-minded, *i.e.*, if our mind is not sufficiently active to catch the sensation; and this mental activity, which has no special name in European philosophy, is the *manas* of Kapila.

It shows no ordinary philosophic acumen in Kapila to have declared, at a time when the functions of the brain were still imperfectly understood, that the *manas*, the consciousness or *ahankara*, and even the intellect or *buddhi*, were material in their origin. More than this, Kapila declares that the elements proceed from consciousness. Kapila herein seems to anticipate the philosophy of Berkeley and Hume, that objects are but permanent possibilities of sensations; and he agrees with Kant that we have no knowledge of an external world except as by the actions of our faculties it is represented to the soul, and take as granted the objective reality of our sense perceptions.

It will be observed that Kapila is not content with enumerating the five gross elements, ether, air, earth, fire, and water, but adds the five subtler principles, sound, tangibleness, odour, visibility, and taste. What are we to understand by the statement that these subtle principles have an independent existence? "The doctrine of Kapila seems to be, that in hearing, the ear has a relation not only to the ether, but to the subtler principle which underlies it, a dim apprehension of the truth that hearing depends not only on some channel of communication between the ear and the source of sound, but on some modification of the material element through which the sound is conducted."*

* Davies, p. 72.

Kapila recognises only three kinds of evidence, *viz.*, Perception, Inference, and Testimony (S. K. 4). The Nyaya or Logical school recognises four,—dividing Kapila's Perception into *Anumana* or perception, and *Upamana* or analogy. The Vedantic school adds a fifth, which is called *Arthapatti*, an informal kind of presumption: "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat; it is presumed, therefore, that he eats by night."

Kapila will admit nothing which cannot be known by his three kinds of evidence. He rejects all inner ideas. And as neither Perception, nor Inference, nor reliable Testimony, presents to him the idea of an external Author of all things, the Supreme Deity is not admitted by him as knowable by his philosophy.

Kapila, however, believes in causation; *sat—karyam—asat—akaranat*; what exists must have been caused, as there can be no existence without cause (S. K. 9). He also appeals to the observation of mankind that cause and effect imply each other, and ends by stating that an effect is identical with cause.

The three *gunas*, or constituent elements of nature, *sattva* (goodness), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (darkness), form an important part of all Hindu philosophy, and find a place in Kapila's (S. K. 11). The *gunas* are only a hypothesis which accounts for the manifest differences in the conditions of all formal existences.

Kapila argues the production of all formal existences from *Prakriti* or Nature on five different grounds (S. K. 15). Firstly, specific objects are finite in their nature and must have cause. Secondly, different things have common properties and must be different species of the same primary genus. Thirdly, all things are in a constant state of progression, and show an active energy of evolution which must have been derived from a primary source. Fourthly, the existing world is an effect, and there must be a primary cause. And fifthly, there is an undividedness, a real unity in the whole universe, which argues a common

origin. On these grounds Kapila argues that all formal existences have been produced from *Prakriti* or primordial matter.

All except *Purusha* or Soul. And his reasons for the separate existence of soul also deserve mention. The first is the celebrated argument of design, but Kapila uses it differently from modern theologians. Matter has been apparently collected and arranged with a design, but this proves, according to Kapila, not a Designer, but the existence of soul, for which the things must have been arranged (S. K. 17). As a bed, argues Gaudapada, which is an assemblage of bedding, props, cotton, coverlet, and pillows, is for another's use, not its own, even so this world, which is an assemblage of the five elements, is for the use of the soul. Secondly, Matter furnishes materials for pleasure and pain; hence sentient nature, which feels pleasure and pain, must be different from it. Thirdly, there must be a superintending force. Fourthly, there must be a nature that enjoys. And the fifth argument is Plato's argument that the yearning for a higher life points to the possibility of gaining it. These are Kapila's arguments for the existence of soul independent of matter, but he will not believe in one soul, but asserts and gives reasons for believing that the souls of different beings are different, not one (S. K. 18). Here he goes counter to the Upanishads and to the Vedantic school, which is based on the Upanishads.

The vital actions of living systems are ascribed to certain subtle forces, and are generally described in Hindu philosophy as the five vital "airs." It was these subtle forces which were supposed to cause respiration, exertion, digestion, the circulation of blood, and the sensibility of the skin.

We have already said that Kapila borrowed the doctrine of transmigration of souls from the Upanishads. And having borrowed this idea, he had to suit it to his own system of philosophy. The soul, according to

Kapila, is so passive that the individuality of a man is scarcely stamped on it. The intellect, the consciousness, and the *manas*, all belong to the material part of a man. Hence Kapila was constrained by his own rigid reasoning to assume that something more than the soul migrated, that a subtle body, consisting of the intellect, the consciousness, and the *manas* and the subtle principles, migrated with the soul (S. K. 39 and 40). And this idea of a subtle body, the *linga sarira*, runs through the whole of Hindu philosophy, and Manu says (XII, 16) that a subtle body envelops the souls of the wicked, that they may suffer the torments of hell. The religious systems of all nations furnish something analogous to this idea, and the notion of a *linga sarira* is accepted by the Hindus as the doctrine of the resurrection of the body is accepted by all Christian nations. This *linga sarira* forms the personality of an individual, and ascends to a higher reign or descends to a lower with the soul, according to the virtues or vices committed in this life (S. K. 44). The different regions are (1) that of Pisachas, (2) that of Rakshasas, (3) that of Yakshas, (4) that of Gandharvas, (5) that of Indra (sun), (6) that of Soma (moon), (7) that of the Prajapatis, the abode of the Fathers and Rishis, and (8) that of Brahma, the highest heaven. Besides these eight superior orders of beings, there are five inferior orders: (1) domestic quadrupeds, (2) wild quadrupeds, (3) birds, (4) reptiles, fishes, and insects, and (5) vegetables and inorganic bodies. Man stands alone between the eight superior orders and the five inferior orders (S. K. 53). The quality of *sattva* prevails in the superior orders, of *rajas* in man, and of *tamas* in the lower orders (S. K. 54). A man, according to his actions, may descend or ascend to a lower or higher order, or be born again as man of some caste or other. When the soul is finally rid of the *linga sarira*, it is finally emancipated.

It is the knowledge which the soul acquires through

its union with nature that leads to its final emancipation. "As a dancer having exhibited herself on the stage ceases to dance, so does nature cease when she has made herself manifest to soul" (S. K. 59).

Even after the soul has obtained complete knowledge, it resides for a time in the body, "as a potter's wheel continues to revolve from the force of the previous impulse." This is the *Nirvana* of Buddha, a state of quietude, when perfect knowledge has been gained, when all passions have been restrained, all desires have been checked, and the enlightened soul awaits its final emancipation. That separation of soul and matter comes at last. Nature ceases to act, as her purpose has been accomplished, and the soul obtains an abstraction from matter, and both continue to exist eternally isolated from each other, and independent (S. K. 68).

Such is the barest outline of Sankhya Philosophy. The latest German philosophy, the system of Schopenhauer (1819) and Von Hartmann (1869), is "a reproduction of the philosophic system of Kapila in its materialistic part, presented in a more elaborate form, but on the same fundamental lines. In this respect the human intellect has gone over the same ground that it occupied more than two thousand years ago; but on a more important question it has taken a step in retreat. Kapila recognised fully the existence of a soul in man, forming indeed his proper nature,—the absolute ego of Fichte, —distinct from matter and immortal; but our latest philosophy, both here and in Germany, can see in man only a highly developed physical organisation. 'All external things,' says Kapila, 'were formed that the soul might know itself and be free.' 'The study of psychology is vain,' says Schopenhauer, 'for there is no Psyche.' "*

The great want of Kapila's philosophy as a creed for the people was its agnosticism,—and the Yoga system of philosophy sought to remove this want. It is ascribed

* Davies, Preface to Hindu Philosophy.

to Patanjali, who, according to Dr. Goldstücker, lived in the second century before Christ. All that we know of the life and history of Patanjali is that his mother was called Gonika, as he himself tells us, and that he resided for a certain time in Kashmira, a circumstance which may have led to his great grammatical commentary having been preserved by the kings of that country. Patanjali calls himself Gonardiya, or a native of Gonarda, a place in the eastern part of India.

We have seen before that Katyayana attacked Panini's grammar about the fourth century B.C., and Patanjali's greatest work was his Mahabhasya or Great Commentary, in which he defended Panini, and left a monument of his profound erudition. The Yoga system of philosophy is also ascribed to him, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that the great defender of Panini also sought to popularise Kapila among his countrymen by adding to his cold and agnostic philosophy the doctrine of faith in a Supreme Deity, as well as some mystic practices and meditation by which final emancipation (it was believed) could be obtained.

The work ascribed to Patanjali—the *Yoga Sutra*—has been edited and translated into English by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra, who also gives a brief abstract of its contents in his preface. As a system of philosophy the Yoga has no value by the side of the Sankhya, and our account of it will therefore be brief. And the learned translator of the Yoga Sutra will be our guide in our brief account of the system.

The Yoga Sutra comprises 194 aphorisms, divided into four chapters. The first chapter is called *Samadhi Pada*, and contains 51 aphorisms treating of the nature of meditation. The second chapter consists of 55 aphorisms, and is called *Sadhana Pada*, and treats of the practices and exercises required in meditation. The third chapter is called *Vibhuti Pada*, and treats in 55 aphorisms of the occult powers which may be acquired. The

fourth chapter is called *Kaivalya Pada*, and treats in 33 aphorisms of the isolation and detachment of the soul from all worldly ties, which is the ultimate object of meditation.

In the first chapter *Yoga* is derived from *Yuj*, "to join" or "to meditate," and this meditation is possible only by the suppression of the functions of the mind. By constant exercise and by dispassion the functions of the mind may be suppressed, and Yoga, conscious or unconscious, may be attained. The latter form of Yoga is higher than the former, and is devoid even of deliberation or joy, egoism or the exercise of reason.

Devotion to God hastens the attainment of this coveted state of mind. The conception of God or Isvara is that of a Soul untouched by affliction, works, deserts, and desires. In Him "the seed of the Omniscient attains infinity," and He "is the instructor of even all early ones, for He is not limited by time" (*Yoga Sutra*, I, 25 and 26). The sacred syllable *om* indicates the Deity.

Disease, doubt, worldly-mindedness, &c., are obstacles to the attainment of Yoga, but these may be overcome by concentration of the mind, by benevolence, by indifference to happiness or misery, and even by the regulation of the breath. The chapter ends with a description of various kinds of Yoga.

The second chapter details the exercises necessary for the performance of the Yoga. Asceticism, the muttering of a mantra, and devotion to God, are the earliest exercises. These overcome all afflictions like ignorance, egoism, desire, and aversion or ardent desire to live. These are the motives to work, and works must bear their fruits in subsequent births. We shall see hereafter that this is the Buddhist theory of *Karma*, about which so much has been written. The object of Yoga is to devise means to abstain from works, and so preclude future births.

We have then the Sankhya definition of the soul and

the intellect; knowledge finally severs the connection between the two, and thenceforward the soul is free, and an end is put to future births and suffering. Knowledge passes through seven stages before it is perfect, and eight means (which remind one of the eight-fold path of the Buddhists) are prescribed, by which this perfect knowledge can be obtained. The first way is abstaining from evil actions, slaughter, falsehood, theft, incontinence, and avarice; and the second consists of an obligation to perform certain acts, purification, contentment, penance, study, and devotion to God. These two means are prescribed for all, householders and ascetics alike. Then come the duties special to Yogins. The third is assuming special postures for meditation; the fourth is regulation of the breath; the fifth is the abstraction of the organs from their natural functions; and the sixth, seventh and eighth are steadfastness (*Dharana*), contemplation (*Dhyana*), and meditation (*Samadhi*), which three are the essential constituents of Yoga itself. When these three are united, *Samyama* follows, and results in the acquisition of occult powers.

The occult powers, or *Siddhis*, described in the third chapter are indeed wonderful! One may know the past and the future, make himself invisible to men, observe the details of what is passing in distant regions or in the stars and planets, converse with spirits, travel in the air or through water, and acquire various superhuman powers! The noble philosophy of Kapila was trailed through dirt and mire as soon as it was blended with popular superstitions!

But these occult powers are not the final objects which a Yogin seeks. The ultimate isolation of the soul is the final object of the Yogin, and this is discussed in the fourth and last chapter. We come back now to the theory that all works, all sensations and impressions on the mind, bear their fruit in future births. A discussion ensues regarding the nature of sensations and perceptions,

of the intellect and the soul, and the distinctions are much the same as in Sankhya philosophy. Having explained these distinctions, Patanjali concludes by saying that perfect knowledge sweeps away all residue of former works (IV, 28-30), and the moment at last arrives when the three qualities become defunct, and the soul abides solely in its own essence. This emancipation of the soul is the object of Yoga (IV, 33), it is absolute and eternal, and the soul which has attained it remains free for evermore.

It will thus be seen that as a system of philosophy Yoga is valueless; all its fundamental maxims about the soul and intellect and sensations, about the transmigration of souls and their eternity and final emancipation by knowledge, are those of Sankhya Philosophy. In fact, Patanjali tried to blend the idea of a Supreme Deity with the philosophy of Kapila; but unfortunately he also mixed up with it much of the superstition and the mystic practices of the age! Or rather we are inclined to hold that the great Grammarian founded a pure theistic system of philosophy, which has since been mixed up with much of popular superstitions and mystic rites, and the result is the Yoga Sutra as we find it now. In still later times the philosophy of the Yoga system has been completely lost sight of, and the system has degenerated into cruel and indecent Tantrika rites, or into the impostures and superstitions of the so-called Yogins of the present day.

CHAPTER IX.

NYAYA AND VAISESIKA.

GAUTAMA* is the Aristotle of India, and his system of Nyaya is the Hindu Logic. His date is unknown, and he is said to have married Ahalya. He lived no doubt in the Rationalistic Period, but probably a century after Kapila. The *Nyaya Sutra*, which is ascribed to him, is divided into five books, each divided into two "days" or diurnal lessons, and these are again divided into articles, and each article consists of a number of Sutras. Nyaya is still a favourite study in India, and we have seen students from Kashmir and Rajputana and Northern India attending the celebrated Nyaya schools in Navadvipa in Bengal, living in the houses of their teachers, and pursuing their studies for years together, in the very same way in which students among the Magadhas and Angas and Kosalas and Videhas pursued their studies when Gautama, the logician, lived and taught! Everything else has changed in India, but ancient traditional learning is still handed down in *tóls* from generation to generation in the same ancient method. The spirit of the time, however, has told on these time-honoured institutions; the mass of students turn away from these secluded seats of learning to schools and universities; the founders of *tols* get scarcely enough to live upon, and travel from place to place to seek the bounty of well-

* One must be careful to distinguish Gautama the earliest Sutrakara from Gautama the Logician. And we have a third Gautama still,—the founder of Buddhism.

disposed men; and the number of students is getting fewer year by year. Nevertheless, with their wonderful loyalty to the past, Hindu pandits and Hindu students still adhere to this ancient system of teaching, of which we have given a brief account before from the Dharma Sutras; and it is to be hoped this relic of the past will yet survive modern changes and innovations.

The Nyaya system starts with the subjects to be discussed. These are (1) *Pramana*, proof, and (2) *Prameya*, or the thing to be proved. These are the principal subjects, while there are fourteen subsidiary subjects, *viz.*, (3) Doubt, (4) Motive, (5) Instance or Example, (6) Determined truth, (7) Argument or Syllogism, (8) Confutation, (9) Ascertainment, (10) Controversy, (11) Jangling, (12) Objection, (13) Fallacy, (14) Perversion, (15) Futility, and (16) Controversy.

Proof, as we have said before, is of four kinds: Perception, Inference, Analogy, and Verbal Testimony. Cause (*Karana*) is that which necessarily precedes an effect, which could not be without the cause; and effect (*Karya*) is that which necessarily ensues and otherwise could not be. For the relation of cause and effect, the connections might be twofold,—simple conjunction (*Sanjoga*), and constant relation (*Samavaya*). Hence cause may be of three kinds: (1) Immediate and direct, as the yarn is of cloth; (2) Mediate or indirect, as the weaving is of cloth; and (3) Instrumental, as the loom is of cloth.

The things to be proved, the objects of knowledge, are (1) Soul, (2) Body, (3) the Senses, (4) the Objects of Sense, (5) Intellect, (6) *Manas*, (7) Production, (8) Fault, (9) Transmigration, (10) Fruit or Retribution, (11) Pain, (12) Emancipation.

The soul is different in each person, and is separate from the body and the senses, and is the seat of knowledge. Each individual soul is infinite and eternal, and transmigrates according to the works performed in life.

So far we see an agreement with Kapila's philosophy. But the Nyaya adds that the Supreme Soul is one, the seat of eternal knowledge, and the maker or former of all things. The body is earthly, the five external senses are also material, and the *manas* is the organ of the senses. The reader will mark here how far the Nyaya system, and indeed every system of Hindu Philosophy, is indebted to Sankhya Philosophy, which may justly be called the basis of Hindu Philosophy.

Intellect is two-fold, including *memory* and *concept*. A concept is true if derived from clear proof, and is wrong if not derived from proof. Similarly, memory may be right or wrong. The objects of sense are odour, taste, colour, touch, and sound.

Production or action is the cause of virtue or vice, of merit or demerit; and the only motive to action, as we are told by European philosophers also, is the desire to attain pleasure or to avoid pain.

Transmigration is the passing of the soul to successive bodies. Pain is the primary evil, and there are twenty-one varieties of evil which are causes of pain. The soul attains its emancipation by knowledge and not by action.

The speciality of Nyaya is its development of inference by the construction of a true syllogism, and, as Mr. Davies states, "the right methods of reasoning have been discussed with as much subtlety as by any of the Western logicians." We quote below an instance of Hindu syllogism :—

1. The hill is fiery.
2. For it smokes.
3. Whatever smokes is fiery, as a kitchen.
4. The hill is smoking.
5. Therefore it is fiery.

The Hindu syllogism therefore consists of five parts, which are called (1) the proposition *(pratijna)*, (2) the reason *(hetu* or *apadesa)*, (3) the instance *(udaharana* or *nidarsana)*, (4) the application of the reason *(upanaya)*,

and (5) the conclusion (*nigamana*). If the first two or the last two parts be omitted, it becomes a perfect syllogism of Aristotle. The question therefore arises, Is this coincidence purely accidental, or did one nation get some hint from another? Comparing dates, we are disposed to say of this as of many other sciences, The Hindus invented logic, the Greeks perfected it.

Among the many technical terms in use in Hindu logic, *Vyapti* and *Upadhi* are the most important. *Vyapti* means invariable concomitance,—the connection in the major premiss of Aristotle's syllogism. "Whatever smokes is fiery,"—this invariable concomitance is *Vyapti*. As Sankara Misra argues, "It is not merely a relation of co-extension. Nor is it the relation of totality. For if you say that invariable concomitance is the connection of the middle term with the whole of the major term, such connection does not exist in the case of smoke (for smoke does not always exist where there is fire). We proceed then to state that invariable concomitance is a connection requiring no qualifying term or limitation. It is an extensiveness co-extensive with the predicate. In other words, invariable concomitance is invariable co-inherence of the predicate."*

On the other hand, the qualifying term or limitation is called *Upadhi*. Fire always underlies smoke, but smoke does not invariably accompany fire. The proposition, therefore, that smoke accompanies fire requires a qualifying condition,—a limitation,—an *Upadhi*, *viz.*, that there must be moist fuel.

Logic is a favourite study with learned Hindus, and neither the Ancient Greeks, nor the Mediæval Arabs, nor the European schoolmen of the Middle Ages displayed more acuteness and subtlety in reasoning, or more rigid and scientific strictness in their discussions, than is witnessed in the numerous works of the Hindus on Logic.

* Gough's Translation. Quoted in Monier Williams' *Indian Wisdom*, p. 73.

Kanada's atomic philosophy is supplementary to Gautama's logic, as the Yoga is supplementary to the Sankhya, and therefore need not detain us long. The cardinal principle of Kanada is that all material substances are aggregates of atoms. The atoms are eternal, the aggregates only are perishable by disintegration.

The mote which is visible in the sunbeam is the smallest perceptible object. But being a substance and an effect, it must be composed of what is less than itself;—the ultimate atom only is not a compound, but is simple.

The first compound is of two atoms; the next consists of three double atoms, and so on. The mote visible in the sunbeam is thus a compound of six atoms. In this way two earthly atoms acting under an unseen law, *adrishta*, (and not under the will of God, which is unknown in Kanada's philosophy), constitute a double atom of earth; three binary atoms constitute a tertiary atom; four tertiary atoms make a quarternary atom; and so on to gross, grosser, and grossest masses of earth. In this manner the great earth is produced, the great water is thus produced from aqueous atoms, great light from luminous atoms, and great air from aërial atoms.

Kanada recognises seven categories of objects *(padartha)*, *viz.*, (1) Substances, (2) Quality, (3) Action, (4) Community, (5) Particularity, (6) Coherence, and (7) Non-existence.

Under the first of these categories, the nine substances of Kanada are (1) Earth, (2) Water, (3) Light, and (4) Air, all eternal in atoms, but transient and perishable in aggregates. Next is (5) *Akasa* or Ether, which transmits sound, and which has no atoms, but is infinite, one, and eternal. (6) Time and (7) Space similarly are not material, and therefore are not compounded of atoms. They are infinite, one, and eternal. The last two in the category are (8) Soul, and (9) *Manas* or the Internal Organ. *Light and heat are considered as only different forms of*

the same essential substance. Akasa or ether conveys sound; and Manas or the internal organ is supposed to be extremely small, like an atom.

The second category, Quality, embraces seventeen varieties or qualities of the nine substances enumerated above. The qualities are colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, extension, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, intellections, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and volition.

The third category, Action, is divided into five kinds, upward and downward movement, contraction, dilation, and general motion.

The fourth category, Community, is the source of our notion of genus. It denotes qualities common to many objects, and also denotes species. These genera and species have a real and objective existence according to Kanada, but not according to the Bauddhas, who affirm that individuals only have existence, and that abstractions are unreal conceptions. "It is the quarrel revived in the Realist and Nominalist theories of the mediæval schoolmen."*

The fifth category, Particularity, denotes simple objects, devoid of community. They are soul, mind, time, place, the ethereal element, and atoms.

The sixth category, Coherence (the *samavaya* of Gautama's philosophy), is connection between things which must be connected so long as they exist, as yarn and cloth.

The seventh category, Non-existence, is either universal or mutual.

It will be seen from the above brief account that the Vaisesika system of Kanada, in so far as it is an original system, is physics more than philosophy. It was the first attempt made in India to inquire into the laws of matter and force, of combination and disintegration.

* Davies, p. 131.

In every system of Hindu Philosophy (except Vedantism) matter is supposed to be eternal, and distinct from soul. The Vedantists alone regard matter as the manifestation of the One Supreme Soul who comprises and is himself *all*. Of this system we will speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER X.

PURVA MIMANSA AND VEDANTA.

We now come to the last two systems of the philosophy of the Hindus, the Purva Mimansa of Jaimini and the Uttara Mimansa of Badarayana Vyasa. To the historian of India they are of the utmost importance and value. For the Mimansa schools represent the conservative phase of the Hindu mind at a time when philosophers and laymen were alike drifting towards agnostic and heterodox opinions. Sankhya philosophy led away hosts of thinking men from the teachings of the Upanishads on the Universal Soul; and the Buddhist religion was embraced by many of the lower classes as a relief from caste inequalities and elaborate Vedic rites. Against this general movement of the day the Mimansa schools made a stand. The Purva Mimansa insisted on those Vedic rites and practices which modern philosophers had come to regard as useless or even as unholy; and the Uttara Mimansa proclaimed the doctrine of the Universal Soul which the Upanishads had taught before, and which continues to be the cardinal doctrine of Hinduism to this day.

The controversy, or rather the division in opinion, went on for centuries, but orthodoxy prevailed in India in the end. The great Kumarila Bhatta, who lived in the seventh century after Christ, wrote his celebrated Vartika or commentary on the Purva Mimansa Sutras, and was the most redoubted champion of Hinduism, and the most uncompromising opponent of Buddhism. He not only

vindicated the ancient rites of the Vedas, he not only proclaimed against the heterodox opinions of the Buddhists, but he denied them any consideration even when they happened to agree with the Veda.

The Uttara Mimansa too had its champion,—and a greater man than Kumarila rose, two centuries later, in the celebrated Sankaracharya. Sankara's great commentary is known as the Sariraka Mimansa Bhasya. He was born in 788 A.D., and therefore wrote and preached in the first half of the ninth century.

Thus both Kumarila and Sankaracharya belong to the Puranic Period, but they finally secured the triumph of that orthodox philosophy which was based on the Brahmanas and Upanishads. The history of philosophy in India is the history of the Hindu mind; and an account of the systems of philosophy which took their rise in the Rationalistic Period would not be intelligible, unless we indicated, however briefly, the bearings of these systems on the later history of the nation.

The Sutras of the Purva Mimansa are ascribed to Jaimini, and are divided into twelve lectures and subdivided into sixty chapters. The Sutras have an old commentary by Sabara Svami Bhatta. Kumarila Bhatta came later on the stage, and his commentary, as we have stated before, marks a new epoch in the history of this school, and has been respected by a host of succeeding commentators.

Jaimini's Sutras, as stated before, are divided into twelve lectures. The first lecture treats of the authority of enjoined duty. The varieties of duty, supplemental duties, and the purpose of the performance of duties are treated in the second, third, and fourth chapters. The order of their performance is considered in the fifth, and the qualification for their performance is treated in the sixth. These completes the first half of the Sutras.

The subject of indirect precept is treated in chapters seven and eight. Inferable changes are discussed in

the ninth, and exceptions in the tenth chapter. Efficacy is considered in the eleventh chapter, and the work closes with a discussion of co-ordinate effect in the twelfth chapter.

These are the principal topics of the Purva Mimansa Sutras, but a great many other matters are introduced, which are very interesting.

In the very first lecture we are told that the Vedas are *eternal and revealed*. They had no human origin, because no human author is remembered. This eternal and superhuman Veda consists of two parts, *Mantra* and *Brahmana*. Mantras are distinguished under three designations, *viz.*, (1) those in metre are Rik, (2) those chanted are Saman, and (3) the rest are Yajush. Generally, a Mantra is a prayer or invocation; a Brahmana is a precept directing religious observances, and the Brahmanas include the Upanishads.

After the Veda, which is *Sruti*, comes the *Smriti*, or works *composed by holy personages*, and possessing authority is grounded on the Veda. *Smriti* includes the *Dharmasastras* (the Dharma Sutras of the Rationalistic Period), comprising the institutes of civil and religious law.

Besides the Dharma Sutras, we are told of the *Kalpa Sutras*, also composed by authors conversant with the Veda. The Kalpa Sutras are not a part of the Veda, and have no authority except as is derived from the Veda. The reader will mark the broad line of demarcation which ancient Hindus have drawn between the Brahmana literature, which is considered revealed and eternal, and the Sutra literature, which is ascribed to human authors, and has no independent authority. The priority of the Brahmana literature may fairly be inferred from this.

Sacrifice (*Yaga*) is the act of religion most inculcated in the Veda, and consequently most discussed in the Mimansa. Three ceremonies are mentioned as types of the rest: they are the setting up of the sacrificial

fire, the presenting of an oblation, and the preparation of the Soma. Various curious questions are raised and discussed and answered with regard to sacrifices. One very remarkable example will suffice.

At certain sacrifices the votary is told to bestow all his property on the officiating priests. The question is raised whether a king should give up all lands, including pasture lands, highways, and the sites of lakes and ponds. The answer is that *a king has not property in the land*, and cannot bestow it. His kingly power is for the government of the realm, but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and lands appertaining to his subjects. The lands of a kingdom cannot be given away by a king, but a house or field acquired by purchase, &c., may be given away.

Similarly, the question of self-immolation on fire, the question of performing sacrifices to injure others, and various similar questions are discussed with considerable acumen and closeness of reasoning. As Colebrook remarks, the logic of the Mimansa is the logic of the law. "Each case is examined and determined upon general principles, and from the cases decided the principles may be collected. A well-ordered arrangement of them would constitute the philosophy of the law; and this is in truth what has been attempted in the Mimansa."

To return to the subject of sacrifices, which is the all-pervading subject of the Purva Mimansa, we are told that the full complement of persons officiating at a great ceremony is seventeen, *viz.*, the sacrificer and sixteen priests. On occasions of less solemnity four priests only are engaged.

The number of victims varies according to the nature of the sacrifice. At an *Asvamehda* sacrifice there must be not fewer than 609 victims of all kinds, tame and wild, terrestrial and aquatic, walking, flying, swimming, and creeping things!

The cardinal idea of the Mimansa is to teach man his

Duty. Jaimini commences his Mimansa with the enunciation of Duty, the only topic he has to propound. "Now then," he begins, "the study of Duty is to be commenced. Duty is a purpose which is inculcated by a command. Its reason must be inquired." But his idea of Duty is extremely limited, it consists in the proper performance of Vedic rites and practices. Purva Mimansa Philosophy is therefore merely a philosophy of Vedic rites.

In his anxiety to insist on ancient Vedic rites and practices, Jaimini has forgotten to speak of Vedic faith and belief! As Dr. Banerjea says in his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy, Jaimini "urges the consideration of *Duty* without caring for any to whom it may be *due*." While insisting on the eternity of the Veda, as Sabda or the Word, he has made no mention "of any co-eternal Intelligence uttering or revealing it." While enjoining the performance of the sacrifices inculcated in the Brahmanas, he has nothing to say of the Universal Soul of the Upanishads. The philosophy of Jaimini has, therefore, although orthodox, been stigmatised as agnostic, and even Sankaracharya admits that God is not deducible from this philosophy.

A supplementary system of philosophy was therefore called for, and the Uttara Mimansa or Vedanta supplied this want. It is the Vedanta which tells us of the Supreme Being, the Universal Soul, the Pervading Breath, as the Purva Mimansa speaks of rights and sacrifices. The Vedanta is the direct outcome of the Upanishads, as the Purva Mimansa is the outcome of the Brahmanas. The very first aphorism of the Vedanta substitutes Brahman or God for Dharma or Duty. The two schools of Mimansa taken together represent orthodox Vedic Hinduism,—Hinduism in rites and observances, and Hinduism in its belief. The two schools taken together are an answer to Buddhist heretics who ignored Vedic rites and ignored a Supreme Being. The two schools together are an answer to the agnostic Sankhya system of philosophy, and to

other systems which proclaim matter eternal. The two schools together form the basis of true Hinduism.

The Sariraka Mimansa Sutra or Brahma Sutra is attributed to Badarayana Vyasa. It refers to the doctrines or Kapila, and the Yoga of Patanjali; and also to the Atomic theory of Kanada, which is itself a sequel to the Nyaya of Gautama. There is reference also to Jaimini, and to the sects of Jainas, Bauddhas, and Pasupatas; and altogether the Brahma Sutra is undoubtedly the latest of the six schools of philosophy, and could not have been compiled very long before the Christian Era.

The Vedanta adopts the syllogism of Nyaya, with the obvious improvement of reducing its five members into three, as in the syllogism of Aristotle. Colebrooke thinks this improvement was borrowed from the Greeks, which is very likely.

Badarayana's Brahma Sutra is divided into four lectures, and each lecture is subdivided into four chapters. Anything like a complete analysis of this work is impossible within our limits, and we must therefore glean a few leading tenets from Colebrooke's excellent analysis, to which we refer those of our readers who wish to have an adequate idea of the subject.

The Uttara Mimansa opens precisely as the Purva Mimansa, announcing its purport in the very same terms, only substituting Brahman or God for Dharma or Duty. The author then confutes the Sankhya doctrine of Nature being the material cause of the universe, and declares a Sentient Rational Being to be the first Cause. That Supreme Being is the material as well as the efficient cause of the universe. To Him meditation should be directed, and on Him the thoughts are to be fixed for obtaining final emancipation.

The second lecture continues the confutation of Kapila's Sankhya philosophy, as well as of Patanjali's Yoga philosophy and Kanada's Atomic theory. All the universe is rigidly assigned to Brahman, who is the Cause and the

Effect. The distinction between cause and effect, and between different effects, does not invalidate the unity of the whole. "The sea is one and not other than its waters; yet waves, foam, spray, drops, froth, and other modifications of it, differ from each other" (II, 1, 5). "As milk changes into curd, and water to ice, so is Brahman variously transformed" (II, 1, 8).

Then follows a confutation of the doctrines of the Sankhyas, the Vaisesikas, the Bauddhas, the Jainas, the Pasupatas, and the Pancharatras.

The soul is active, not passive as the Sankhyas maintain. Its activity is, however, adventitious. As the carpenter, having tools in hand, toils and suffers, and laying them aside, rests and is easy, so the soul in conjunction with the senses and organs is active, and quitting them, reposes (II, 3, 15). The soul is a portion of the Supreme Ruler, as a spark is of fire (II, 3, 17). As the sun's image reflected on water is tremulous, quaking with the undulations of the pool, without however affecting the images on other sheets of water, or the solar orb itself, so the sufferings of one individual affect not another, nor the Supreme Ruler. The corporeal organs and the vital actions are all modifications of Brahman.

The third lecture treats of transmigration of souls, of the attainment of knowledge, of final emancipation, and of the attributes of the Supreme Being. The soul transmigrates, invested with a subtle frame, passing from one state to another. Departing from one body, it experiences the recompense of its works, and returns to occupy a new body with the resulting influence of its former deeds. Evil-doers suffer in seven appointed regions of retribution.

The Supreme Being is impassable, unaffected by worldly modifications, as the clear crystal, seemingly coloured by the hibiscus flower, is really pellucid. He is pure Sense, Intellect, Thought.

"Like the sun and other luminaries, seemingly multiplied by reflection though really single, and like space

apparently subdivided in vessels containing it within limits, the Supreme Light is without difference or distinction." "There is none other but He" (III, 2). The reader will perceive that the Vedanta philosophy is a direct and legitimate result of the Upanishads, and the idea of Unity is carried to its extreme limit in the Vedanta as in the Upanishads.

The last half of this lecture relates to devout exercises And pious meditation, which are necessary for the reception of divine knowledge.

The fourth and last lecture relates to the fruit of pious meditations properly conducted, and the attainment of divine knowledge. So soon as that knowledge is attained, past sins are annulled and future sins are precluded. In like manner the effects of merit and virtue are also annulled. And "having annulled by fruition other works which had begun to have effect, having enjoyed the recompense and suffered the pains of good and bad actions, the possessor of divine knowledge, on the demise of the body, proceeds to a reunion with Brahman" (IV, 1, 14). This, as we know, is the Final Beatitude of the Upanishads.

There are two other less perfect forms of emancipation. One of them qualifies the soul for reception at Brahman's abode, but not for immediate reunion and identity with his being. The other is still less perfect, and is called *Jivanmukti*, which can be acquired in lifetime by Yogins, and enables them to perform supernatural acts, as evoking the shades of forefathers, assuming different bodies, going immediately to any place at pleasure, &c. This is only a repetition of superstition of the Yoga philosophy, described in a previous chapter.

The attributes of God, according to the Vedanta philosophy, have thus been recapitulated by Colebrooke: "God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuance, and dissolution of the universe. Creation is an act of His will. He is both efficient and material cause of the world, creator and nature,

framer and frame, doer and deed. At the consummation of all things, all are resolved into Him. . . . The Supreme Being is one, sole existent, secondless, entire, without parts, sempiternal, infinite, ineffable, invariable, ruler of all, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence, happiness."*

Such are the six systems of philosophy which were developed in India in the Rationalistic Period; such are the answers which Hindu philosophers have given to the questions which were started in the Upanishads, to questions which rise in the mind of every reflective man, but which it is not given to him to answer completely, —What is God, and What is man?

For the rest, the Rationalistic Period is rich in results of which every Hindu may be proud. It was probably in this period that the great Epics of India received their epic form. It was in this period that the infant sciences of Geometry and of Grammar were developed by the Hindus. It was in this period that the first recorded systems of Mental Philosophy and of Logic were conceived and perfected. It was in this period that Civil and Criminal Laws were codified and treated on a scientific basis. It was at the close of this period that the whole of Northern India was first brought under one great and able ruler, and that an excellent and enlightened system of administration was finally perfected. And, lastly, it was in this period that the great saint and reformer Gautama Buddha proclaimed that religion of equality and brotherhood of man which is at the present day the living faith of one-third of the human race. To the story of that great revolution we now turn.

* The Philosophy of the Hindus (*Vedanta*).

CHAPTER XI.

BUDDHIST SACRED LITERATURE.

In the sixth century before Christ, India witnessed the commencement of a great revolution. Her ancient religion, which the Hindu Aryans had practised and proclaimed for fourteen centuries, had degenerated into forms. The gods of the Rig Veda, whom the ancient Rishis had invoked and worshipped lovingly and fervently, had come to be regarded as so many names; and Indra and Ushas raised no distinct ideas and no grateful emotions. The simple libations of the Soma-juice, or offerings of milk, corn, or flesh, which the Rishis of old had offered with a fervent heart to their gods, had developed into cumbrous ceremonials, elaborate rites, unmeaning forms. The descendants or successors of those Rishis had now stepped forth as a powerful and hereditary caste, and claimed the right to perform elaborate religious rites and utter sacred prayers for the people. The people were taught to believe that they earned merit by having these rites performed and prayers uttered by hired priests. The religious instinct, the grateful emotions which had inspired the composers of the Vedic hymns, were dead; vast ceremonials, dead forms, remained.

A reaction had taken place. About the eleventh century before Christ, *i.e.*, five centuries before the time of which we are now speaking, earnest and thoughtful

Hindus had ventured to go beyond the wearisome rituals of the Brahmana literature, and had inquired into the mysteries of the soul and its Creator. The composers of the Upanishads had dared to conceive the bold idea that all animate and inanimate nature proceeded from One Universal Deity, and were portions of One Pervading Soul. Inquiries were made into the mysteries of death and the future world, conjectures were made about the transmigration of souls, and doctrines were started containing in a crude form the salient principles of later Hindu philosophy.

But few could devote their lives to these abstruse speculations, and the abstruse philosophy which they led to. The mass of the Aryan householders,—Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas,—contented themselves with performing the rites, unintelligible to them, which the Brahmanas had laid down and the Sutras had condensed. The rules of social and domestic life were similarly condensed for the people in the Sutras, and all the learning and science known to the age were also codified in the Sutra form.

Such was the state of things in India in the sixth century before Christ. Religion in its true sense had been replaced by forms. Excellent social and moral rules were disfigured by the unhealthy distinctions of caste, by exclusive privileges for Brahmans, by cruel laws for Sudras. Such exclusive caste privileges did not help to improve the Brahmans themselves. As a community they became grasping and covetous, ignorant and pretentious, until Brahman Sutrakaras themselves had to censure the abuse in the strongest terms. For the Sudras, who had come under the shelter of the Aryan religion, there was no religious instruction, no religious observance, no social respect. Despised and degraded in the community in which they lived, they sighed for a

change. And the invidious distinction became unbearable as they increased in number, pursued various useful industries, owned lands and villages, and gained in influence and power. Thus society was still held in the cast-iron mould which it had long outgrown; and the social, religious, and legal literature of the day still proclaimed and upheld the cruel injustice against the Sudra long after the Sudra had become civilised and industrious, and a worthy member of society.

To an earnest and inquisitive mind, to a sympathetic and benevolent soul, there was something anomalous in all this. Gautama of the Sakya race was versed in the Hindu learning and religion of the age, but he pondered and asked if what he had learnt could be efficacious or true. His righteous soul rebelled against the unrighteous distinctions between man and man; and his benevolent heart hankered for a means to help the humble, the oppressed, and the lowly. The dead ceremonials and rites which householders practised appeared as vain and fruitless to him as the penances and mortifications which hermits voluntarily underwent in forests. The beauty of a holy life, of a sinless benevolent career, flashed before his mind's eye as the perfection of human destiny, as the heaven on earth; and, with the earnest conviction of a prophet and a reformer, he proclaimed this as the essence of religion. His world-embracing sympathy led him to proclaim this methed of self-culture and holy living to suffering humanity, and he invited the poor and the lowly to end their sufferings by cultivating virtue, by eschewing passions and evil desires, and by spreading brotherly love and universal peace. The Brahman and the Sudra, the high and the low, were the same in his eyes,—all could equally effect their salvation by a holy life, and he invited all to embrace his catholic religion of love. Mankind responded to the touching appeal,

and Buddhism in the course of a few centuries became the prevailing faith, not of a sect or a country, but of the continent of Asia.*

Nevertheless, it would be historically wrong to suppose that Gautama Buddha consciously set himself up as the founder of a new religion. On the contrary, he believed to the last that he was proclaiming only the ancient and pure form of religion which had prevailed among the Hindus, among Brahmans, Sramans, and others, but which had been corrupted at a later day. As a matter of fact, Hinduism recognised wandering bodies of ascetics who renounced the world, performed no Vedic rites, and passed their days in contemplation (see *ante*, Chap. VI.). Such bodies were known as Bhikshus in the Hindu law-books, and were generally known as Sramans. Gautama founded only one sect of Sramans among many sects which then existed, and his sect was known as that of the Sakyaputriya Sramans, to distinguish them from others. He taught them relinquishment of the world, a holy life, and pious meditation, such as all sects of Sramans recommended and practised.

What then is the distinguishing feature in Buddha's life-work which has made his tenets a religion,—and the religion of a third of the human race?

Gautama's holy and pious life, his world-embracing

* The figures given below will show approximately the proportion of Buddhists to the world's population :—

Jews	7,000,000
Christians	328,000,000
Hindus	160,000,000
Musalmans	155,000,000
Buddhists	500,000,000
Not included in the above	100,000,000
Population of the world	1,250,000,000

Between the fifth and tenth centuries after Christ more than one-half of the human race were Buddhists.

sympathy, his unsurpassed moral precepts, his gentle and beautiful character, stamped themselves on his teachings, which were not altogether new, gathered round him the meek and the lowly, the gentlest and the best of the Aryans, struck kings on their thrones and peasants in their cottages, and united sects and castes together as in a communion of love! And the sacred recollections of his life and doings remained after he had passed away, and held together the community which cherished his teachings, and in course of time gave those teachings the character of a distinct and noble religion.

Inspired by his love of purity, and a holy, gentle life, Gautama eschewed the rites of the Vedas and the penances of ascetics alike; he insisted only on self-culture, on benevolence, on pious resignation. He knew of no caste-distinction among his Bhikshus; he recognised no meritorious ceremonials and no meritorious penances except the practice of virtue. This is what has made Buddhism a living and life-giving religion, when so many rival forms of asceticism have withered and died away.

It will be our endeavour to indicate the salient features of the Buddhist religion, and its far-reaching consequences on the history of India. Fortunately, we have no reason to complain of want of materials.

Indeed, so much has been written about Buddhism in recent years that it is almost difficult to imagine that Buddhist literature and religion were almost an unknown subject half a century ago. The distinguished missionary, Dr. Marshman, who lived and wrote in India for many years, could give no better account of Buddha in 1824 than that his worship was probably connected with the Egyptian Apis! And theories more wild and more imaginary were seriously recorded by other scholars.

Happily those days are past. Earnest inquirers and scholars have collected Oriental manuscripts and works in different Buddhist countries, have studied, published,

and translated many of them, and have thus formed a generally accurate idea of the religion as it was first preached by Gautama, and as it was subsequently modified in different times among different nations. It is not our purpose to record here a history of the researches into Buddhism during the last half-century, but a few facts are so interesting that they cannot be passed over.

Mr. Hodgson was the English resident of Nepal from 1833 to 1843, and he was the first to collect original manuscripts on which a sober account of the religion could be based. He sent 85 bundles to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 85 to the Royal Asiatic Society of London, 30 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and 174 to the Société Asiatique in Paris, or to M. Burnouf personally. Mr. Hodgson also gave some account of these works and of the Buddhist religion in his essays.

The genius of Eugene Burnouf breathed life into these dead manuscripts, and his "Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism," published in 1844, was the first rational, scientific, and comprehensive account of the Buddhist religion. The fame of the eminent scholar and the great ability and philosophical acumen with which he treated the subject attracted the attention of learned Europe to this wonderful religion, and the inquiry which Burnouf started has continued to the present day, and has been fruitful of great results.

What Hodgson did in Nepal, Alexander Csoma Korosi, a Hungarian scholar, did in Thibet. The annals of literary inquiry and research have few more wonderful stories to tell than that of the single-minded devotion of this simple Hungarian. He early made up his mind to devote himself to the study of Eastern languages, and he set forth from Bucharest in 1820, without friends or money, and travelled on foot or by water on a fraft till he came to Bagdad. He pushed on to Teheran, and thence started again with a caravan and came by

Khorasan to Bokhara. In 1822 he came to Kabul and thence to Lahore, and from Lahore he travelled through Kashmir to Ladak, where he finally settled. He sojourned and travelled long in these parts, and in 1831 he was at Simla "dressed in a coarse blue cloth loose gown, extending to his heels, and a small cloth cap of the same material. He wore a grizzly beard, shunned the society of Europeans, and passed his whole time in study."* In 1832 he came to Calcutta, where he was kindly received by Dr. Wilson and Mr. James Prinsep, and resided many years. In 1842 he left Calcutta again to go to Thibet, but died of fever on his way, at Darjeeling. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has raised a monument on his grave in Darjeeling. The present writer had the mournful satisfaction of paying a visit to this grave, not many months ago.

About his work on Thibetan Buddhist books, we find all necessary information in Vol. XX. of the Asiatic Researches. Since Csoma's time other scholars have laboured in the same field of Thibetan Buddhist literature, and have added to our knowledge of the subject.

To the Rev. Samuel Beal is due the credit of procuring a complete collection of Chinese works on Buddhism. A request was made to this effect to the Japanese ambassador who visited England, and the ambassador at once acceded to the request, and on his return to Tokio ordered the entire collection known as "The Sacred Teaching of the Three Treasures" to be sent to England. The collection contains over 2000 volumes, and represents the entire series of sacred books taken during successive centuries from India to China, as also works and commentaries of native Chinese priests.

Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures were carried to Ceylon in the reign of Asoka the Great, about 242 B.C., and the whole of the Buddhist scriptures, the "Three

* Quoted in Beal's *Buddhism in China*, from Ralston's *Thibetan Tales*.

Baskets," exist to this day in Ceylon, as we will see further on, in the Pali language, and in almost the identical shape in which they were taken there over two thousand years ago. A number of eminent scholars, Turnour, Fausböll, Oldenberg, Childers, Spence Hardy, Rhys Davids, Max Müller, Weber, and others, have worked on these materials, and much of the Pali scriptures has been published, and the most important portions of them have been translated.

Burma too has contributed to our knowledge of Buddhism, and a great deal of information on Burmese Buddhism is embodied in Bigandet's life of the Gautama, first published in 1868. All countries near and around India have furnished us with valuable records and contributions towards a scholarlike knowledge of this great religion. India alone,—the home of that religion,—the country where it flourished more or less for nearly fifteen centuries,—has kept no memorials worth the name of that noble faith! So complete has been the destruction of Buddhism, Buddhist monasteries, and Buddhist records in India!

Thanks to the researches of the scholars whom we have named above, the English-reading public have sufficient materials before them now for studying the developments of Buddhism in the different countries of the world,—in China, Japan, and Thibet, in Burma and Ceylon. English readers can thus study the progress of the religion in its various phases, at different ages, and among different conditions of life and civilisation.

The historian of India must, however, forego that pleasant and most interesting task. The developments which Buddhism received in China, and Thibet, and Burma, have no direct bearing on Indian history. It is his duty, therefore, to select from the materials before him those works only which illustrate the history of *Early Buddhism in India*. It is necessary for him to go to the fountain source of the information which is

available, and to place his reliance on those works specially which illustrate the rise of Buddhism in India in the Rationalistic Period.

The forms of Buddhism prevailing in Nepal and Thibet, China and Japan, are called Northern Buddhism, while the forms prevailing in Ceylon and Burma are called Southern Buddhism. The Northern Buddhists furnish us with scanty materials directly illustrating the religion in its earliest form in India. For the Northern nations embraced Buddhism some centuries after the Christian Era, and the works which they then obtained from India do not represent the earliest form of Indian Buddhism. The Lalita Vistara, a most important work of the Northern Buddhists, is only a gorgeous poem; it is no more a biography of Gautama than the Paradise Lost is a biography of Jesus. It was composed probably in Nepal in the second or third or fourth century after Christ, although it contains passages,—the Gathas,—which are of a very much older date. In China, Buddhism was introduced from the first century after Christ, but did not become the state religion until the fourth century, and the works on Buddhism which were then carried by Chinese pilgrims from India from century to century, and translated into the Chinese language, do not illustrate the earliest phase of Buddhism in India. Buddhism spread in Japan in the fifth century, and in Thibet in the seventh century after Christ. Thibet has drifted far away from primitive Buddhism in India, and has adopted forms and ceremonies which were unknown to Gautama and his followers.

On the other hand, the Southern Buddhists furnish us with the most valuable materials for our purpose. The sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are known by the inclusive name of the Three Pitakas; and there is evidence to show that these Pitakas, now extant in Ceylon, are substantially identical with the canon as settled in the Council of Patna about 242 B.C.

The date of Buddhau's death was for a long time believed to be 543 B.C.; but many facts ascertained within the last thirty years lead to the conclusion that the great reformer was born about 557 B.C., and died in 477 B.C. A Council of 500 monks was held in Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha, immediately after his death, and they chanted the sacred laws together to fix them on their memory. A hundred years later, *i.e.*, in 377 B.C., a second Council was held in Vesali, mainly for the discussion and settlement of ten questions on which difference of opinion had arisen. A hundred and thirty-five years after this, the great Asoka, king of the Magadhas, held a third Council in Patna about 242 B.C., to finally settle the religious works or Pitakas.

It is well known that Asoka was a most zealous Buddhist, and sent missionaries to foreign countries, and even to Syria, Macedon, and Egypt, to preach the religion. He sent his own son Mahinda to Tissa, the king of Ceylon, about 242 B.C., and Mahinda took with him a number of Buddhist monks, and thus conveyed to Ceylon the Pitakas as just settled in the Council of Patna.* It is needless to say that Tissa, the king of Ceylon, was glad to embrace the religion which Asoka recommended and his son preached, and thus Ceylon embraced Buddhism in the third century B.C. About a hundred and fifty years after this these Pitakas were formally reduced to writing, and thus we have the most authentic account of the earliest form of Buddhism in Magadha in the Pali Pitakas of Ceylon.

These facts will show that the Three Pitakas of the Southern Buddhists can claim a date anterior to 242 B.C. For no work which could not claim a respectable antiquity was included as canon by the Council of Patna. Indeed,

* Dipavansa, XII. According to this historical epic of Ceylon, Mahinda, was the son of Asoka (born when Asoka was a sub-king at Ujjayini under his father, who was king at Magadha), by the daughter of the Sethi or banker of Vidisa (*Dipavansa*, VI, 15 and 16.)

there is internal evidence in the Vinaya Pitaka to lead to the supposition that the main portions of that Pitaka were settled before the Vesali Council, *i.e.*, before 377 B.C. For in the main portions of the Vinaya Pitaka there is no mention of the discussion on the ten questions alluded to above,—questions which were "as important for the history of Buddhism as the Arian controversy for that of Christianity," and which agitated the whole of the Buddhist world to its very centre. The inference is irresistible that the main portion of the Vinaya Pitaka is anterior to the date of the Council, *i.e.*, anterior to 377 B.C.

We have thus found in the Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists reliable materials for the history of India for the centuries immediately after the time of Gautama Buddha. For the contents of the Three Pitakas were composed, settled, and arranged in India during the hundred or two hundred years after the death of Gautama, just as the four Christian Gospels were composed and settled within a century or two after the death of Jesus. Hence the Three Pitakas illustrate the manners and life of the Hindus and the history of Hindu kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. And, lastly, they give us a more consistent and a less exaggerated account of the life and work and teachings of Buddha himself than anything which the Northern Buddhists can supply us with. Both as an index to the Hindu civilisation of the period, and as an account of Gautama's life and work, the Three Pitakas will be our guide. It is to these Pali works that "we must go in preference to all other sources if we desire to know whether any information is obtainable regarding Buddha and his life."*

The Three Pitakas are known, as the Sutta Pitaka, the Vinaya Pitaka, and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The works comprised in the Sutta Pitaka profess to record the sayings and doings of Gautama Buddha himself. Gautama

* Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), p. 75.

himself is the actor and the speaker in the earliest works of this Pitaka, and his doctrines are conveyed in his own words. Occasionally one of his disciples is the instructor, and there are short introductions to indicate where and when Gautama or his disciple spoke. But all through the Sutta Pitaka, Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts are preserved, professedly in Gautama's own words.

The Vinaya Pitaka contain very minute rules, often on the most trivial subjects, for the conduct of monks and nuns,—the Bhikkhus and the Bhikkhunis who had embraced the holy order. Gautama respected the lay disciple (Upasaka), but he held that to embrace the Holy Order was a quicker path to salvation. As the number of Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis multiplied, it was necessary to fix elaborate rules, often on very minute subjects, for their proper conduct and behaviour in the Vihara or monastery. As Gautama lived for nearly half a century after he had proclaimed his religion, there can be no doubt that he himself settled many of these rules. At the same time, it is equally certain that many of the minute rules grew up after his death, but they are all attributed in the Vinaya Pitaka to the direct order of the Blessed One himself.

And lastly, the Abhidamma Pitaka contains disquisitions on various subjects, on the conditions of life in different worlds, on personal qualities, on the elements, on the causes of existence, &c. We now subjoin a list of works contained in the Three Pitakas :—

I. *Sutta Pitaka.*

1. Digha Nikaya or long treatises, being a collection of 34 Suttas.
2. Majjhima Nikaya or middling treatises, a collection of 152 Suttas of moderate size.
3. Samyutta Nikaya, or the connected treatises.

4. Anguttara Nikaya, treatises in divisions the length of which increases by one.

5. Khuddaka Nikaya or short treatises. It contains 15 works which should be mentioned in detail :*—

(1) Khuddaka Patha or short passages.

(2) Dhammapada, an excellent collection of Moral Precepts.

(3) Udana, 82 short lyrics supposed to have been uttered by Gautama at different periods under strong emotion.

(4) Itivuttika, 110 sayings of Buddha.

(5) Sutta Nipata, 70 didactic poems.

(6) Vimana Vatthu, stories of celestial mansions.

(7) Peta Vatthu on departed spirits.

(8) Thera Gatha, stanzas of monks.

(9) Theri Gatha, stanzas of nuns.

(10) Jataka, 550 stories of former births.

(11) Niddesa, explanations on the Sutta Nipata (No. 5) by Sariputta.

(12) Patisambhida, on intuitive insight.

(13) Apadana, legends about Arhats or Saints.

(14) Buddha Vansa. Lives of 24 preceding Buddhas, and of Gautama, the historical Buddha.

(15) Chariya Pitaka, Gautama's virtuous acts in former births.

II. *Vinaya Pitaka.*

1. Vibhanga. Doctors Oldenberg and Rhys Davids consider it as only an extended reading of the Patimokkha, *i.e.*, as the Patimokkha with notes and commentary included. The Patimokkha is a formular of sins and their punishments recited every new moon and full moon day, and the members of the order who have committed any such sin are supposed to confess it and are disburdened of it.

* The fifteen works composing the fifth Nikaya are by some classed in the Abhidhamma, and not in the Sutta Pitaka.

2. Khandakas, *i.e.*, the Mahavagga and the Chullavagga.

3. Parivara Patha, admittedly an appendix and a later résumé of the preceding portions of the Vinaya Pitaka.*

III. *Abhidamma Pitaka.*

1. Dhamma Sangani. Conditions of life in different worlds.

2. Vibhanga, 18 books of disquisitions.

3. Katha Vatthu, 1000 subjects for controversy.

4. Puggala Pannatti. On Personal Qualities.

5. Dhatu Katha. On the elements.

6. Yamaka, *i.e.*, pairs, *i.e.*, on apparent contradictions or contrasts.

7. Patthana. On the causes of existence.

Such are the contents of the Three Pitakas which have preserved to us the most reliable materials that are available for the history of Buddha's life and work, and the history of Buddhist India. Although writing was known when the Three Pitakas were settled and compiled, yet for hundreds of years they were preserved solely by memory, even as the Vedas in India were preserved by memory.

"The text of the Three Pitakas and the commentary too thereon,

"The wise Bhikkhus of former time had handed down by word of mouth."†

And it was in the first century before Christ, about 88 B.C., that the sacred works were at last recorded into writing, as we have seen before.

It is well known that Gautama, disregarding the precedent set by all classical writers and thinkers in India, preached his doctrine and morality to the people of India

* But compiled by the time of Asoka and carried to Ceylon by his son Mahinda according to the Dipavansa, VII, 42. The works learnt and carried to Ceylon by Mahinda are thus described:—The five Nikayas (Sutta Pitaka), the seven sections (Abhidhamma), the two Vibhangas, the Parivara, and the Khandaka (Vinaya).

† Dipavansa, XX, 20, 21.

in the language of the people, not in Sanscrit. It is said in the Chullavagga (V, 33, 1), that "There were two brothers, Bhikkhus, by name Yamelu and Tekula, Brahmans by birth, excelling in speech, excelling in pronunciation." And they went up to Gautama and said, "At the present time, Lord, Bhikkhus differing in name, differing in lineage, differing in birth, differing in family, have gone forth. These corrupt the word of the Buddhas by their own dialect. Let us, Lord, put the word of the Buddhas into Sanscrit verse (Chhandaso aropema)."

But Gautama would have none of this;—he worked for the humble and the lowly, his message was for the people, and he wished it to be conveyed to them in their own tongue. "You are not, O Bhikkhus, to put the word of the Buddhas into (Sanscrit) verse. . . . I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to learn the word of the Buddhas *each in his own dialect.*"

Generally we can apply to the Three Pitakas the remarks which Doctors Rhys Davids and Oldenberg make in respect of the Vinaya Pitaka. "The text, as it lies before us, stands so well against all proofs, whether we compare its different parts, one with another, or with the little that is yet known of its Northern counterparts, that we are justified in regarding these Pali books as in fact the authentic mirror of the old Magadhi text as fixed in the central schools of the most ancient Buddhist Church. That text in the dialect of Magadha may have been lost to us once for all; and we can scarcely hope, unless some isolaled sentences may hereafter be found, preserved here and there in inscriptions, that this loss will ever be even partially made good. But we may well be thankful that the faithful zeal and industry of these old monks has preserved for us a translation, in a dialect so nearly allied to the original, and in so perfect and trustworthy a state as the Pali version of the Vinaya still undoubtedly presents."*

* Vinaya Texts (translation), Part I., Introduction, xxxvi.

CHAPTER XII.

LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

In the sixth century before Christ, the kingdom of Magadha was rising to power and greatness. The kingdom, corresponding to modern South Behar, extended to the south of the Ganges, and on either side of the Son river. To the north of the Ganges it had a powerful rival in the haughty confederation of the Lichchavis. Rajagriha, to the south of the Ganges, was the capital of Bimbisara, king of the Magadhas; and Vaisali, to the north of the Ganges, was the capital of the Lichchavis. To the east lay the kingdom of Anga or East Behar, which is spoken of in connection with Magadha, and Champa was the capital of Anga. Far to the north-west lay the ancient kingdom of the Kosalas, and its capital had been removed from Ayodhya or Saketa further northwards to the flourishing town of Sravasti, where Prasenajit reigned at the time of which we are speaking. The equally ancient country of the Kasis, lying to the south, seemed to be at this time subject to the king of Sravasti, and a viceroy of Prasenajit ruled at Benares.

A little to the east of the Kosala kingdom, two kindred clans, the Sakyas and the Koliyans, lived on the opposite banks of the small stream Rohini, and enjoyed a sort of precarious independence, more through the jealousies of the rival kings of Magadha and Kosala than by their own power. Kapilvastu was the capital of the Sakyas, who were then living in peace with the Koliyans, and

Suddhodana, chief of the Sakyas, had married two daughters of the chief of the Koliyans.

Neither queen bore any child to Suddhodana for many years, and the hope of leaving an heir to the principality of the Sakyas was well-nigh abandoned. At last, however, the elder queen promised her husband an heir, and, according to ancient custom, left for her father's house in order to be confined. But before she reached the place she was confined, in the pleasant grove of Lumbini, of a son. The mother and the child were carried back to Kapilavastu, where the former died seven days after, leaving the child to be nursed by his step-mother and aunt, the younger queen.

The birth of Gautama is naturally the subject of many legends which have a most remarkable resemblance with the legends about the birth of Jesus Christ. One of them may be quoted here. The Rishi Asita saw the gods delighted, and

"Seeing the gods with pleased minds, delighted, and showing his respect, he said this on that occasion: 'Why is the assembly of the gods so exceedingly pleased, why do they take their clothes and wave them?' . . .

"The Bodhisatta, the excellent pearl, the incomparable, is born for the good and for a blessing in the world of men, in the town of the Sakyas in the country of Lumbini. Therefore, we are glad and exceedingly pleased."

Having obtained this reply, the Rishi went to Suddhodana's palace and asked, "Where is this prince? I wish to see him."

"Then the Sakyas showed to Asita the child, the prince, who was like shining gold, manufactured by a very skilful smith in the mouth of a forge, and beaming in glory and beautiful." And the Rishi foretold that the boy would reach the summit of enlightenment, and would establish righteousness, and that his religion would be widely spread" (*Nalaka Sutta*).

The boy was named Siddhartha, but Gautama was his

family name. He belonged to the Sakya tribe, and is therefore often called Sakya Sinha; and when he had proclaimed and preached a reformed religion, he was called Buddha, or the "awakened" or "enlightened."

Little is known of the early life of young Gautama, except that he was married to his cousin Subhadhra or Yasodhara, daughter of the chief of Koli, about the age of eighteen. It is said that Gautama neglected the manly exercises which all Kshatriyas of his age delighted in, and that his relations complained of this. A day was accordingly fixed for the trial of his skill, and the young prince of the Sakyas is said to have proved his superiority to his kinsmen.

Ten years after his marriage, Gautama resolved to quit his home and his wife for the study of philosophy and religion. The story which is told of the young prince abandoning his home and his position is well known. He must have for a long time pondered deeply and sorrowfully on the sins and sufferings of humanity, he must have been struck with the vanity of wealth and position. In the midst of his prosperity, position, and wealth, he felt a secret yearning after something higher, which neither wealth nor position could satisfy; and a strong, irresistible desire to seek for a remedy for the sufferings of men arose in his heart even in the midst of the luxuries and comforts of his palace-home. It is said that the sight of a decrepit old man, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit led him to form his resolution to quit his home. The story has little foundation in truth, and only represents in a concrete shape the thoughts that arose in his mind with regard to the woes of a worldly life, and the holy calm of a retired life.

At this time a son was born unto him. It is said that the news was announced to him in a garden on the riverside, and the pensive young man only exclaimed, "This is a new and strong tie I shall have to break." The news

gladdened the heart of the Sakyas, and Kapilavastu resounded with notes of joy at the birth of an heir to the throne. A perfect ovation awaited Gautama on his return to that town, and among the deafening cheers which arose, Gautama heard a young girl say, "Happy the father, happy the mother, happy the wife of such a son and husband." Gautama understood the word "happy" in the sense of "emancipated" from sins and new births, and he took off his necklace of pearls and sent it to the girl. The girl believed the young prince was enamoured of her, and little knew the thoughts which were struggling within him.

That night he repaired to the threshold of his wife's chamber, and there—by the light of the flickering lamp—he gazed on a scene of perfect bliss. His young wife lay surrounded by flowers, and with one hand on the infant's head. A yearning arose in his heart to take the babe in his arms for the last time before relinquishing all earthly bliss. But this he might not do. The mother might be awakened, and the importunities of the fond and loving soul might unnerve his heart and shake his resolution. Silently he tore himself away from that blissful sight—that nest of all his joy and love and affection. In that one eventful moment, in the silent darkness of that night, he renounced for ever his wealth and position and power, his proud rank and his princely fame, and more than all this, the affections of a happy home, the love of a young wife and of a tender infant now lying unconscious in sleep. He renounced all this, and rode away to become a poor student and a homeless wanderer. His faithful servant Channa asked to be allowed to stay with him and become an ascetic, but Gautama sent him back, and repaired alone to Rajagriha.

Rajagriha, as we have stated before, was the capital of Bimbisara, king of the Magadhas, and was situated in a valley surrounded by five hills. Some Brahman ascetics lived in the caves of these hills, sufficiently far from the

town for studies and contemplation, and yet sufficiently near to obtain supplies. Gautama attached himself first to one Alara, and then to another Udraka, and learnt from them all that Hindu philosophers had to teach.

Not satisfied with this learning, Gautama wished to see if penances would bring superhuman insight and power as they were reputed to do. He retired therefore into the jungles of Uruvela, near the site of the present temple of Buddha Gaya, and for six years, attended by five disciples, he gave himself up to the severest penances and self-mortification. His fame spread all round, for the ignorant and the superstitious always admire self-inflicted pain; but Gautama did not obtain what he sought. At last one day he fell down from sheer weakness, and his disciples thought he was dead. But he recovered, and despairing of deriving any profit from penance, he abandoned it. His disciples, who did not understand his object, lost all respect for him when he gave up his penances; they left him alone and went away to Benares.

Left alone in the world, Gautama wandered towards the banks of the Niranjara, received his morning meal from the hands of Sujata, a villager's daughter, and sat himself down under the famous Bo-tree or the tree of wisdom. Many are the legends told of Mara, the evil spirit, who tempted him on this occasion, legends which have a curious resemblance with the legends of the temptation of Jesus Christ. For a long time he sat in contemplation, and the scenes of his past life came thronging into his mind. The learning he had acquired had produced no results, the penances he had undergone were vain, his disciples had left him alone in the world. Would he now return to his happy home, to the arms of his loving, widowed wife, to his little child now a sweet boy of six years, to his affectionate father and his loyal people? This was possible; but where would be the satisfaction? What would become of the mission

to which he had devoted himself? Long he sat in contemplation and in doubt, until the doubts cleared away like mists in the morning, and the daylight of truth flashed before his eyes. What was this truth which learning did not teach and penances did not impart? He had made no new discovery, he had acquired no new knowledge, but his pious nature and his benevolent heart told him that a holy life and an all-embracing love were the panacea to all evils. Self-culture and universal love,—this was his discovery,—this is the essence of Buddhism.

The conflict in Gautama's mind, which thus subsided in calm, is described in Buddhist writings by marvellous incidents. Clouds and darkness prevailed, the earth and oceans quaked, rivers flowed back to their sources, and peaks of lofty mountains rolled down. Dr. Rhys Davids justly states that these legends have a deep meaning, and are "the first half-inarticulate efforts the Indian mind had made to describe the feelings of a strong man torn by contending passions."*

Gautama's old teacher Alara was dead, and he went therefore to Benares to proclaim the truth to his five former disciples. On the way he met a man of the name of Upaka, belonging to the Ajivaka sect of ascetics, who, looking at the composed and happy expression on Gautama's face, asked, "Your countenance, friend, is serene; your complexion is pure and bright. In whose name, friend, have you retired from the world? Who is your teacher? What doctrine do you profess?" To this Gautama replied that had no teacher, that he had obtained Nirvana by the extinction of all passions, and added, "I go to the city of the Kasis to beat the drum of the immortal in the darkness of the world." Upaka did not understand him, and replied after a little conversation,

* *Buddhism.*—Dr. Rhys Davids quotes a passage from Milton's Paradise Regained, describing a similar disturbance of the elements on the occasion of Christ's Temptation.

"It may be so, friend," shook his head, took another road, and went away (*Mahavagga*, I, 6).

At Benares Gautama entered the Deer Park (Migadaya) in the cool of the evening and met his former disciples. And he explained to them his new tenets.

"There are two extremes, O Bhikkhus, which the man who has given up the world ought not to follow,—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, and specially of sensuality, a low and pagan way, unworthy, unprofitable, and fit only for the worldly minded;—and the habitual practice, on the other hand, of asceticism, which is painful, unworthy, and unprofitable.

"There is a middle path, O Bhikkhus, avoiding these two extremes, discovered by the Tathagata (Buddha), a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to the higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana!"

And then he explained to them the four truths concerning suffering, the cause of suffering, the destruction of suffering, and the way which leads to such destruction of suffering. And the way was described to be eightfold, and consisted in correct beliefs, aims, speech and actions, in correct living and endeavour, mindfulness and meditation.* And this doctrine, Gautama rightly said, "was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down." "In Benares, in the hermitage of Migadaya, the Supreme Wheel of the Empire of Truth has been set rolling by the Blessed One,—that wheel which not by any Saman or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, can ever be turned back" (*Dhamma Chakka Ppavattana Sutta; Anguttara Nikaya*).

* We shall have to dwell hereafter on these four truths and the eight-fold path which are the cardinal principles of Buddhism. The above extracts will show that they were also the principles which Gautama proclaimed to the world at the very outset of his career.

It is needless to say that the five former disciples were soon converted, and were the first members of the Order.

Yasa, son of the rich Sethi (banker) of Benares, was his first lay disciple, and the story of the conversion of this young man, nurtured in the lap of luxury and wealth, is worth repeating. "He had three palaces, one for winter, one for summer, one for the rainy season." One night he awoke from sleep and found the female musicians still sleeping in the room with their dress and hair and musical instruments in disorder. The young man, who had apparently been satiated with a life of luxury, became disgusted with what he saw, and in a moment of deep thoughtfulness said: "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" And he left the house and went out.

It was dawn, and Gautama was walking up and down in the open air, and heard the perplexed and sorrowful young man exclaiming, "Alas! what distress; alas! what danger!" The sage replied, "Here is no distress, Yasa, here is no danger. Come here, Yasa, sit down; I will teach you the truth." And Yasa heard the truth from the lips of the saintly instructor.

Yasa's father and mother and wife missed him, and they all came to Gautama and listened to the holy truth. And they soon became lay disciples (*Mahavagga*, I, 7 and 8).

Within five months after his arrival at Benares Gautama had sixty followers. And now he called them together and dismissed them in different directions to preach the truth for the salvation of mankind. "Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men. *Let not two of you go the same way.* Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious in the end, in the spirit, and in the letter; proclaim a *consummate, perfect,*

and pure life of holiness" (*Mahavagga*, I, II, 1). No missionaries of later days have evinced a holier zeal to proclaim the truth to the ends of the earth than the followers of Gautama, acting on the sacred mandate quoted above. Gautama himself went to Uruvela, and Yasa remained in Benares.

At Uruvela, Gautama achieved distinguished success by converting three brothers named Kasyapa, who worshipped fire in the Vedic form, and had high reputation as hermits and philosophers. The eldest brother Uruvela Kasyapa and his pupils "flung their hair, their braids, their provisions, and the things for the *agnihotra* sacrifice into the river," and received the Pabbajja and Upasampada ordination from the Blessed One. His brothers, who lived by the Nadi (River Niranjara) and at Gaya, soon followed the example (*Mahavagga*, I, 15-20).

The conversion of the Kasyapas created a sensation, and Gautama with his new disciples and a thousand followers walked towards Rajagriha, the capital of Magadha. News of the new prophet soon reached the king, and Seniya Bimbisara, surrounded by members of Brahmans and Vaisyas, went to visit Gautama. Seeing the distinguished Uruvela Kasyapa there, the king could not make out if that great Brahman had converted Gautama, or if Gautama had converted the Brahman. Gautama understood the king's perplexity, and in order to enlighten him, asked Kasyapa, "What knowledge have you gained, O inhabitant of Uruvela, that has induced you, who were renowned for your penances, to forsake your sacred fire." Kasyapa replied that he had "seen the state of peace," and "took no more delight in sacrifices and offerings." The king was struck and pleased, and, with his numerous attendants, declared himself an adherent of Gautama, and invited him to take his meal with him the next day.

The solitary wanderer accordingly went, an honoured guest, to the palace of the king, and the entire population

of the capital of Magadha turned out to see the great preacher of the religion of love, who had suddenly appeared in the land. The king then assigned a bamboo grove (Veluvana) close by for the residence of Gautama and his followers, and there Gautama rested for some time. Shortly after Gautama obtained two renowned converts, Sariputra and Moggallana (*Mahavagga*, I, 22-24).

The daily life of Gautama has been well described by Dr. Oldenberg. "He, as well as his disciples, rises early, when the light of dawn appears in the sky, and spends the early moments in spiritual exercises or in converse with his disciples, and then he proceeds with his companions towards the town. In the days when his reputation stood at its highest point, and his name was named throughout India among the foremost names, one might day by day see that man before whom kings bowed themselves, alms-bowl in hand, through streets and alleys, from house to house, and without uttering any request, with downcast look, stand silently waiting until a morsel of food was thrown into his bowl."

Such was the manner in which the greatest man of his age begged his food, day by day, from house to house, and preached his religion of love to men and to women. For women were Gautama's listeners as well as men. "The seclusion of women from the outer world, which later custom has enjoined, was quite unheard of in ancient India; women took their share in the intellectual life of the people, and the most delicate and tenderest of the epic poems of the Indians show us how well they could understand and appreciate true womanhood."*

The fame of Gautama had now travelled to his native town, and his old father expressed a desire to see him once before he died. Gautama accordingly went to Kapilavastu, but, according to custom, remained in the grove outside the town. His father and relations came to see him there; and the next day Gautama himself

* Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), pp. 149 and 164.

went into the town, begging alms from the people who once adored him as their beloved prince and master! The story goes on to say that the king rebuked Gautama for this act, but Gautama replied, it was the custom of his race. "But," retorted the king, "we are descended from an illustrious race of warriors, and not one of them has ever begged his bread." "You and your family," answered Gautama, "may claim descent from kings, my descent is from the prophets (Buddhas) of old."

The king took his son into the palace, where all the members of the family came to greet him except his wife. The deserted Yasodhara, with a wife's grief and a wife's pride, exclaimed, "If I am of any value in his eyes, he will himself come; I can welcome him better here." Gautama understood this and went to her, with only two disciples with him. And when Yasodhara saw her lord and prince enter,—a recluse with shaven head and yellow robes,—her heart failed her, she flung herself to the ground, held his feet, and burst into tears. Then, remembering the impassable gulf between them, she rose and stood aside. She listened to his new doctrines, and when, subsequently, Gautama was induced to establish an order of female mendicants,—Bhikkhunis,—Yasodhara became one of the first Buddhist nuns. At the time of which we are now speaking, Yasodhara remained in her house, but Rahula, Gautama's son, was converted.

Gautama's father was much aggrieved at this, and asked Gautama to establish a rule that no one should be admitted to the Order without his parents' consent. Gautama consented to this, and made a rule accordingly (*Jataka*, 87-90; *Mahavagga*, I, 54).

On his way back to Rajagriha, Gautama stopped for some time at Anupiya, "a town belonging to the Mallas." And while he was stopping here, he made many converts both from the Koliyan and from the Sakya tribe, some of whom deserve special mention. Anuruddha, the Sakya, went to his mother and asked to be allowed to

go into the houseless state. His mother did not know how to stop him, and so told him, "If, beloved Anuruddha, Bhaddiya, the Sakya Raja, will renounce the world, thou also mayest go forth into the houseless state."

Anuruddha accordingly went to Bhaddiya, and it was decided that they would embrace the Order in seven days. "So Bhaddiya the Sakya Raja, and Anuruddha and Ananda and Bhagu and Kimbila and Devadatta, just as they had so often previously gone out to the pleasure ground with fourfold array, even so did they now go out with fourfold array, and Upali the barber went with them, making seven in all.

"And when they had gone some distance, they sent their retinue back and crossed over to the neighbouring district, and took off their fine things, and wrapped them in their robes and made a bundle of them, and said to Upali the barber, 'Do you now, Upali, turn back. These things will be sufficient for you to live upon.'" But Upali was of a different mind, and so all the seven went to Gautama and became converts. And when Bhaddiya had retired into solitude he exclaimed over and over, "O happiness! O happiness!" and on being asked the cause said—

"Formerly, Lord, when I was a king, I had a guard completely provided both within and without my private apartments, both within and without the town, and within the borders of my country. Yet though, Lord, I was thus guarded and protected I was fearful, anxious, distrustful, and alarmed. But now, Lord, even when in the forest, at the foot of a tree, in solitude, I am without fear or anxiety, trustful, and not alarmed; I dwell at ease, subdued, secure, with mind as peaceful as an antelope" (*Chullavagga*, VII, 1).

We have narrated the above story because some of the converts, spoken of here, rose to distinction. Ananda became the most intimate friend of Gautama, and after his death led a band of 500 monks in chanting the

Dharma in the Council of Rajagriha. Upali, though a barber by birth, became an eminent member of the Holy Order, and was recognised as an authority in matters connected with Vinaya. It is a striking proof how completely the caste-system was ignored in the Holy Order established by Gautama. Anuruddha lived to become the greatest master of Abhidamma or metaphysics. Devadatta became subsequently the rival and opponent of Gautama, and is even said to have advised Ajatasatru, the prince of Magadha, to kill his father Bimbisara, and then attempted to kill Gautama himself (*Chullavagga*, VII, 2-4). All these charges, however, which are heaped on Devadatta, who was a rival of Gautama, should not be accepted.

After spending his second *vassa* or rainy season in Rajagriha, Gautama repaired to Sravasti, the capital of the Kosalas, where, as we have seen before, Prasenajit reigned as king. A wood called Jetavana was presented to the Buddhists, and Gautama often repaired and preached there. Gautama's instructions were always delivered orally, and preserved in the memory of the people, like all the ancient books of India, although writing was known in his time.*

The third *vassa* was also passed in Rajagriha, and in the fourth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed Gautama crossed the Ganges, went to Vaisali, and stopped in the Mahavana grove. Thence he is said to have made a miraculous journey to settle a dispute between the Sakyas and the Koliyans about the water of the boundary river Rohini. In the following year he again repaired to Kapilavastu, and was present at the death of his father, then ninety-seven years old.

His widowed step-mother Prajapati Gautami, and his

* "Brief written communications, brief written notifications, appear to have been common in India even at that time (*i.e.*, Gautama Buddha's time): books were not written, but learnt by rote and taught from memory."—Oldenberg's *Buddha* (translation), p. 177.

no less widowed wife Yasodhara, had now no ties to bind them to the world, and insisted on joining the Order established by Gautama. The sage had not yet admitted women to the Order, and was reluctant to do so. But his mother was inexorable and followed him to Vaisali, and begged to be admitted.

Ananda pleaded her cause, but Gautama still replied, "Enough, Ananda! Let it not please thee that women should be allowed to do so." But Ananda persisted, and asked—

"Are women, Lord, capable—when they have gone forth from the household life and entered the homeless state, under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Blessed One,—are they capable of realising the fruit of conversion or of the second path, or of Arhatship?"

There could be only one reply to this. Honour to women has ever been a part of religion in India, and salvation and heaven are not barred to the female sex by the Hindu religion. "They are capable, Ananda," replied the sage. And Prajapati and the other ladies were admitted to the Order as Bhikkhunis under some rules making them strictly subordinate to the Bhikkhus (*Chullavagga*, X, 1). After this Gautama retired to Kosambi near Prayaga.

In the sixth year, after spending the rains at Kosambi, Gautama returned to Rajagriha, and Kshema, the queen of Bimbisara, was admitted to the Order. In the same year Gautama is said to have performed some miracles at Sravasti, and went to heaven to teach Dharma to his mother, who had died seven days after his birth.

In the eleventh year Gautama converted the Brahman Bharadvaja by the parable of the sower, which deserves to be quoted.

Kasi Bharadvaja's five hundred ploughs were tied in the sowing season. He went to the place where his men were distributing food to the poor, and he saw Gautama standing there to get alms. On this he said:—

"I, O Saman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat; thou also, O Saman, shouldst plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, thou shouldst eat."

"I also, O Brahman, both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat." So said Bhagavat.

"Yet we do not see the yoke or the plough, or the ploughshare, or the goad, or the oxen of the venerable Gautama."

Bhagavat answered,—"Faith is the seed, penance the rain, understanding my yoke and plough, modesty the pole of the plough, mind the tie, thoughtfulness my ploughshare and goad. . . .

"Exertion is my beast of burden; carrying me to Nibbana, he goes without turning back to the place where, having gone, one does not grieve."

The Brahman was abashed, and after further instructions joined the order (*Sutta Nipata; Kasi Bharadvaja Sutta*).

In the next year he undertook the longest journey he had ever made, and went to Mantala and returned by Benares, and then preached the famous Maha Rahula Sutta to his son Rahula, then eighteen years old. Two years after, Rahula, being twenty, was formally admitted in the Order, and the Rahula Sutta was preached.

In the following year, *i.e.*, in the fifteenth year from the date of his proclaiming his creed, he visited Kapilavastu again, and addressed a discourse to his cousin Mahanama, who had succeeded Bhadraka, the successor of Suddhodana, as the king of the Sakyas. Gautama's father-in-law, Suprabuddha, king of Kóli, publicly abused Gautama for deserting Yasodhara, but is said to have been swallowed up by the earth shortly after.

In the seventeenth year he delivered a discourse on the death of Srimati, a courtesan; in the next year he comforted a weaver who had accidentally killed his daughter; in the following year he released a deer caught

in a snare and converted the angry hunter who had wanted to shoot him; and in the twentieth year he similarly converted the famous robber Angulimala of the Chaliya forest.

For twenty-five years more Gautama wandered through the Gangetic valley, preached benevolence and a holy life to the poor and the lowly, made converts among the high and the low, the rich and the poor, and proclaimed his law through the length and breadth of the land. His pure life of benevolence and his pure religion of love were widely known and universally respected by his followers and the orthodox Hindus alike; nations and their kings honoured the doctrines of the saintly reformer whose acts were those of kindness and benevolence; and when Gautama died at the advanced age of eighty, Buddhism was already a power in the land, which "not by any Saman or Brahman, not by any god, not by any Brahma or Mara, not by any one in the universe, could ever be turned back."

Gautama lived forty-five years from the date of his proclaiming his new religion; and accepting the year 477 B.C. as the year of his death, the main facts of his life may be thus arranged:—

Born near Kapilavastu	557 B.C.
His marriage with Yasodhara	538 ,,
He left his home, wife, and infant	528 ,,
He became enlightened at Buddha Gaya, and proclaimed his religion at Benares	522 ,,
He revisited his home	521 ,,
His father Suddhodana died, and his step-mother and wife joined the Order	517 ,,
His son Rahula joined the Order	508 ,,
Yasodhara's father died	507 ,,
Gautama died	477 ,,

Happily we have a fairly complete account of the events immediately before his death in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* in the *Digha Nikaya*, and to these facts we now turn.

Gautama was now eighty years of age, and the generation among whom he had worked in his youth had passed away. Most of those men whom he had known in his early days were dead, and the aged saint preached to sons and grandsons the same holy law which he had proclaimed to their sires and grandsires before. Many of his intimate friends were dead, but the faithful Ananda still accompanied him like his shadow, and ministered to his wants. The old king of Rajagriha was no more; his warlike and ambitious son Ajatasatru had ascended the throne of Magadha,—it is said by murdering his father,—and was now maturing schemes of conquest. It was no part of Ajatasatru's policy to offend so popular and widely respected a person as Gautama, and, outwardly at least, Ajatasatru honoured the reformer.

The powerful Vajjian clans who occupied the plains on the northern shore of the Ganges, opposite to Magadha, first attracted Ajatasatru's attention. They were a Turanian tribe who had entered into India through the northern mountains, and had established a republican form of government in the very centre of Hindu civilisation, and were threatening the conquest of all Magadha. They were probably the same Yu-Chi tribe* who conquered Kashmira and Western India four or five centuries later, and became, under Kanishka, the most powerful supporters of Buddhism.

Ajatasatru Videhiputra† said to himself, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be. I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin."

Gautama was then residing in the Vulture's Peak

* See Beal's *Buddhism in China*, p. 43.

† This appellation shows that the king's mother was a lady of the ancient Videha tribe. Persons were frequently called in those days by their mother's name; and Upatissa, the distinguished disciple of Gautama, was always better known as Sariputra.

(Gridhrakuta), a cave on the side of the loftiest of the five hills overlooking the beautiful valley of Rajagriha. Ajatasatru, who was not without some kind of superstitious faith in prophecies, sent his prime minister Vassakara to Gautama to inquire how his expedition against the Vajjians would end. Gautama was no respecter of kings, and replied that so long as the Vajjians remained united in their adherence to their ancient customs "we expect them not to decline, but to prosper."

From the Vulture's Peak Gautama wandered to neighbouring places,—to Ambalathika, to Nalanda, and to Pataligrama, the site of the future capital of Magadha, Pataliputra. At the time of Gautama it was an insignificant grama or village, but Sunidha and Vassakara, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pataligrama to repel the Vajjians. Such was the origin of the town which became the capital of Chandragupta and Asoka, and was the metropolis of India for nearly a thousand years, and which is still one of the largest cities in India. Gautama is said to have prophesied the greatness of the place and said to Ananda: "And among famous places of residence and haunts of busy men, this will become the chief, the city of Pataliputra, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares."

Vassakara and Sunidha, the ministers of Ajatasatru, invited Gautama there and fed him with sweet dishes of boiled rice and cakes, and after this Gautama left the place, and is said to have crossed the Ganges, which was then brimful and overflowing, by a miracle,—passing over the water without a boat or a raft.

He then went to Kotigrama, and then to Nadika, where he rested in the "brickhall," which was a resting-place for travellers. There Gautama taught Ananda the pregnant lesson that each disciple could ascertain for himself if he had attained salvation. If he was conscious, if he felt within himself, that he had faith in the Buddha, that he had faith in Dharma, that he had faith in the

Order; then he was saved. Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha became the Trinity or the Buddhists.

From Nadika, Gautama came to Vaisali, the capital of the powerful confederacy of the Lichchavis to the north of the Ganges. Ambapali, a courtesan, heard that the saint was stopping in her mango grove and came and invited him to a meal, and Gautama accepted the invitation.

"Now the Lichchavis of Vaisali heard that the Blessed One had arrived at Vaisali and was staying at Ambapali's grove. And ordering a number of magnificent carriages to be made ready, they mounted one of them and proceeded with their train to Vaisali. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments; some of them were fair, fair in colour and wearing light clothes and ornaments; some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments; some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

"And Ambapali drove against the young Lichchavis, axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke; and the Lichchavis said to Ambapali the courtesan, How is it, Ambapali, that thou drivest up against us thus?

"My Lords, I have just invited the Blessed One and his brethren for their morrow's meal, said she.

"Ambapali, give us this meal for a hundred thousand, said they.

"My Lords, were you to offer all Vaisali with its subject territory, I would not give up so honourable a feast.

"Then the Lichchavis cast up their hands exclaiming, 'We are outdone by this mango-girl,* we are outreached by this mango-girl,' and they went on to Ambapalika's grove."

There they saw Gautama and invited him to a meal on the morrow, but Gautama replied, "O Lichchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapali the

* *Ambapalika* means the grower of mangoes.

courtesan." And Ambapali fed Gautama and his brethren with sweet rice and cakes, and "waited upon them till they refused any more." And then she was edified and instructed, and said, "Lord, I present this mansion to the Order of mendicants, of which Buddha is the chief," and the gift was accepted.*

From Ambapali's grove, Gautama went to Beluva. He felt his end approaching, and said to the faithful Ananda, "I am now grown old and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached the sum of my days, I am turning eighty years of age. . . . Therefore, O Ananda! be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth."

In Chapala Chetiya, Gautama delivered a discourse in which he enumerated four classes of men, *viz.*, the Nobles, the Brahmans, the Householders, and the Samans;—and four classes of angels, *viz.*, the Angels, the Great Thirty-three,† Mara,‡ and Brahma.§

At Kutagara, Gautama once more proclaimed to his followers the substance and essence of his religion, and enjoined upon them to practise it, to meditate upon it, and to spread it abroad, "in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes."

Having paid his last visit to Vaisali, Gautama then

* Bishop Bigandet says: "In recording the conversion of a courtesan like Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Buddha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions,—one is almost reminded of the conversion of 'a woman that was a sinner,' mentioned in the Gospels."—*Life or Legend of Gaudama.*

† Vedic gods reduced to the position of beneficent spirits.

‡ The tempter or evil spirit. "Mara est le demon de l'amour, du péché, et de la mort; ce la tentateur et l'ennemi de Buddha."—*Burnouf.*

§ The Universal Being of the Upanishads reduced to the position of a beneficent spirit.

wandered through villages, Bhandagrama, Hastigrama, Ambagrama, Jambugrama, and Bhoganagara, and then went to Pava. There, Chunda, a goldsmith and ironsmith, invited him to a meal, and gave him sweet rice and cakes and a quantity of dried boar's flesh. Gautama never refused the poor man's offering, but the boar's flesh did not agree with him. "Now when the Blessed One had eaten the food prepared by Chunda, the worker in metal, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him even unto death. But the Blessed One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint."

On his way from Pava to Kusinagara, Gautama converted a low-caste man Pukkusa. At Kusinagara, eighty miles due east from Kapilavastu, Gautama felt that his death was nigh. With that loving anxiety which had characterised all his life, he tried on the eve of his death to impress on his followers that Chunda was not to blame for the food he had supplied, but that the humble smith's act, kindly meant, would redound to length of life, to good birth, and to good fortune.

It is said that just before his death the trees were in bloom out of season, and sprinkled flowers on him; that heavenly flowers and sandalwood powder descended on him, and that music and heavenly songs were wafted from the sky. But the great apostle of holy life said, "It is not thus, Ananda, that the Tathagata (Buddha) is rightly honoured, reverenced, venerated, held sacred, or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to precepts,—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathagata with the worthiest homage." Who is not reminded by these noble precepts of the holy precept in the Bible so happily rendered into verse by a Christian poet?—

"But Thou hast said, the flesh of goat,
The blood of ram, I would not prize,
A contrite heart, an humble thought,
Are My accepted sacrifice."

On the night of Gautama's death, Subhadra, a Brahman philosopher of Kusinagara, came to ask some questions, but Ananda, fearing that this might be wearisome to the dying sage, would not admit him. Gautama, however, had overheard their conversation, and he would not turn back a man who had come for instruction. He ordered the Brahman to be admitted, and with his dying breath explained to him the principles of his religion. Subhadra was the last disciple whom Gautama converted, and shortly after, at the last watch of the night, the great sage departed this life,—with the exhortation to his brother men still on his lips,—"Decay is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence."

The body of Gautama was cremated by the Mallas of Kusinagara who surrounded his bones "in their council-hall with a lattice-work of spears and with a rampart of bows; and there, for seven days, they paid honour and reverence and respect and homage to them with dance and song and music, and with garlands and perfumes."

It is said that the remains of Gautama were divided into eight portions. Ajatasatru of Magadha obtained one portion, and erected a mound over it at Rajagriha. The Lichchavis of Vaisali obtained another portion, and erected a mound at that town. Similarly the Sakyas of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Ramagrama, the Mallas of Pava, the Mallas of Kusinagara, and a Brahman Vethadipaka obtained portions of the relics and erected mounds over them. The Moriyans of Pipphalivana made a mound over the embers, and the Brahman Dona made a mound over the vessel in which the body had been burnt.

CHAPTER XIII.

DOCTRINES OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

It is not possible that we should, within the limits of a single chapter, give our readers anything like a complete summary of the doctrines of a religion which now forms the subject of so much elaborate and learned inquiry by so many distinguished and able scholars. Our attempt will rather be to give here the substance of the great lessons of ideas which Gautama preached and inculcated to his countrymen.

Buddhism is, in its essence, a system of self-culture and self-restraint. Doctrines and beliefs are of secondary importance in this system; the effort to end human suffering by living a holy life, free from passions and desires, is the cardinal idea with which Gautama was impressed on the day on which he was "enlightened" under the Bo-tree in Buddha Gaya, and it was the central idea which he preached to the last day of his life.

When he went from Buddha Gaya to Benares, and first preached his religion to his five old disciples, he explained to them the Four Truths and the Eightfold Path, which form the essence of Buddhism.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of Suffering.* Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering, not to obtain what we desire is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence (*i.e.*, clinging to the five elements) is suffering.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cause*

of Suffering. Thirst, that leads to re-birth accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), *viz.*, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering.* It ceases with the complete cessation of thirst,—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

"This, O Bhikkhus, is the *Noble Truth of the Path* which leads to the cessation of suffering. That holy Eightfold Path, *viz.*—

Right Belief,
Right Aspiration,
Right Speech,
Right Conduct,
Right Means of Livelihood,
Right Exertion,
Right Mindfulness,
Right Meditation" (*Mahavagga*, I, 6).

The substance of this teaching is that life is suffering, the thirst for life and its pleasures is the cause of suffering, the extinction of that thirst is the cessation of suffering, and that such extinction can be brought about by a holy life. It is impossible to convey in a few words all that is implied by the eight maxims into which a holy life has been analysed, but to Buddhists, trained in the traditions of their religion, these maxims speak volumes. Correct views and beliefs must be learnt and entertained; high aims and aspirations must always remain present before the mind's eye; truthfulness and gentleness must characterise every word that is uttered; uprightness and absolute integrity must mark the conduct. A livelihood must be sought and adhered to which does no harm to living and sentient things; there must be a lifelong perseverance in doing good, in acts of kindness, gentleness,

and beneficence; the mind, the intellect must be active and watchful; a calm and tranquil meditation shall fill the life with peace. This is the Eightfold Path for conquering desires and passions and thirst for life. A more beautiful picture of life was never conceived by poet or visionary; and a more perfect system of self-culture was never proclaimed by philosopher or saint.

The idea of self-culture was no doubt developed during the long course of meditation and practical good work in which Gautama passed his life. On the eve of his death he called together his brethren, and appears to have recapitulated the entire system of self-culture under seven heads, and these are known as the Seven Jewels of the Buddhist Law.

"Which, then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you; which when you have mastered, it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

"They are these:—

The four earnest meditations,
The fourfold great struggle against sin,
The four roads to saintship,
The five moral powers,
The five organs of spiritual sense,
The seven kinds of wisdom, and
The Noble Eightfold Path" (*Mahaparinibbana Sutta*, III, 65).

Here, again, it is impossible to convey in a few words any adequate conception of all that is implied by these rules of discipline; a volume could be written on this most edifying subject.

The four earnest meditations alluded to are the meditations on the body, the sensations, the ideas, and the

reason. The fourfold struggle against sin is the struggle to prevent sinfulness, the struggle to put away sinful states which have arisen, the struggle to produce goodness, and the struggle to increase goodness. The fourfold struggle comprehends in fact a life-long, earnest, unceasing endeavour on the part of the sinner towards more and more of goodness and virtue. The fourfold roads to saintship are the four means,—the will, the exertion, the preparation, the investigation,—by which Iddhi is acquired. In later Buddhism, Iddhi means supernatural powers, but what Gautama meant was probably the influence and power which the mind by long training and exercise can acquire over the body. The five moral powers, and the five organs of spiritual sense, are Faith, Energy, Thought, Contemplation, and Wisdom; and the seven kinds of wisdom are Energy, Thought, Contemplation, Investigation, Joy, Repose, Serenity. The Eightfold Path has already been described.

It is by such prolonged self-culture, by the breaking of the ten fetters, doubt, sensuality, &c., that one can at last obtain NIRVANA.

"There is no suffering for him who has finished his journey and abandoned grief, who has freed himself on all sides, and thrown off all fetters.

"They depart with their thoughts well collected, they are not happy within abode; like swans who have left their lake, they leave their house and home.

"Tranquil is his thought, tranquil are his word and deed, who has been freed by true knowledge, who has become a tranquil man" (*Dhammapada*, 90, 91, 96).

It was generally believed that "Nirvana" implied final extinction or death; and Professor Max Müller was the first to point out, what most scholars have now accepted, that Nirvana does not mean death, but only the extinction of that sinful condition of the mind, that thirst for life and its pleasures, which brings on new births. What Gautama meant by Nirvana is attainable in life; it is what he

attained in life; it is the sinless calm state of mind, the freedom from desires and passions, the perfect peace, goodness and wisdom, which continuous self-culture can procure for man. As Rhys Davids puts it, "the Buddhist heaven is not death, and it is not on death, but on a virtuous life here and now, that the Pitakas lavish those terms of ecstatic description which they apply to Arhat-ship, the goal of the excellent way, and to Nirvana as one aspect of it."

But is there no future bliss, no future heaven beyond "the virtuous life here and now" for those who have attained Nirvana? This was a question which often puzzled Buddhists, and they often pressed their great Master for a categorical answer.

On this point Gautama's replies are uncertain; nor does he ever appear to have inspired in his followers any hopes of heaven, beyond Nirvana, which is the Buddhist's heaven and salvation.

Malukyaputta pressed this question on Gautama, and desired to know definitely if the perfect Buddha did or did not live beyond the death. Gautama inquired, "Have I said, Come, Malukyaputta, and be my disciple; I shall teach thee whether the world is everlasting or not everlasting?' "That thou hast not said, sire," replied Malukyaputta. "Then," said Gautama, "do not press the inquiry." If a man, struck by a poisoned arrow, says to his physician, "I shall not allow my wound to be treated until I know who the man is by whom I have been wounded, whether he is a Kshatriya, a Brahman, a Vaisya, or a Sudra,"—what would be the end of him? He would die of his wound. And so would the man perish who did not strive after enlightenment and a holy life, because he did know what lay beyond. "Therefore, Malukyaputta, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed, and what has been revealed, let it be revealed" (*Chula-Malukya-Ovada, Majjhima Nikaya*).

In the same manner we are told that King Prasenajit

of Kosala, during a journey between his two chief towns, Saketa and Sravasti, fell in with the nun Khema, renowned for her wisdom. The king paid his respects to her, and asked: "Venerable lady, does the Perfect One exist after death?" She replied: "The Exalted One, O great King, has not declared that the Perfect One exists after death." "Then does the Perfect One not exist after death, Venerable lady?" inquired the king. But Khema still replied: "This also, O great King, the Exalted One has not declared, that the Perfect One does not exist after death." (*Samyutta Nikaya*).

These extracts will show that Gautama's religion does not look beyond the Nirvana.* Gautama's aim was clear and well-defined; he invited all men, by a strict self-culture, to end their sufferings, to avoid future states of suffering, to attain in this world to a state of holy bliss and perfect sinlessness, which is Nirvana.

If a man does not attain to this state of Nirvana in life, he is liable to future births. Gautama did not believe in the existence of a soul; but, nevertheless, the theory of transmigration of souls was too deeply implanted in the Hindu mind to be eradicated, and Gautama therefore adhered to the theory of transmigration without accepting the theory of soul. But if there is no soul, what is it that undergoes transmigration? The reply is given in the Buddhist doctrine of KARMA.

The doctrine is, that "Karma," or the "doing" of a man cannot die, but must necessarily lead to its legitimate result. And when a living being dies, a new being is produced according to the Karma of the being that is dead. Thus, though the pious Buddhist does not believe in a soul, he believes that his state of life is determined by his Karma in a previous birth. And Buddhist writers

* See the question fully and elaborately discussed by Dr. Oldenberg in his work on *Buddha, his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*. The learned scholar has based his opinion on a careful examination of the entire body of the Buddhist canon.

are fond of comparing the relation of one life to the next, as that of the flame of a lamp to the flame of another lighted by it. And if the innocent man suffers in this world, he argues, "It is the result of my own work, why should I complain?" But wherein is the identity of the man who suffers with the man who is dead, if there is no soul? The Buddhist answers: "In that which alone remains when a man dies and is dissolved into atoms—in his action, thought and speech, in his Karma, which cannot die."

The reasoning seems to us like arguing in a circle, but nevertheless there is one aspect of the theory the correctness of which will be admitted by modern social philosophers. The Buddhist believes, as well as the modern philosopher, that each generation is the heir to the consequences of the virtues and sins of the preceding generation, and that, in this sense, a nation reaps as it sows. "The Buddhist saint does not mar the purity of his self-denial by lusting after positive happiness which he himself shall enjoy hereafter. *His* consciousness will cease to feel, but his virtue will live and work out its full effect in the decrease of the sum of the misery of sentient beings."*

But the theory of transmigration was not the only doctrine which Gautama accepted from ancient Hinduism and adopted in a modified form into his own religion. The whole of the Hindu Pantheon of the day was similarly accepted, and similarly modified to suit his cardinal idea, the supreme efficacy of a holy life. The thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda were recognised, but they were not supreme. Brahma, the Supreme Deity of the Upanishads, was recognised, but was not supreme. For they too were struggling through repeated births, to attain to that holy life, that Nirvana, which alone was supreme. Never was there such a daring attempt made by man to elevate holiness and purity above the super-

* Rhys David's *Buddhism*, p. 104.

natural and the celestial; to raise goodness,—attainable by man,—above the gods and the unknown powers of the universe!

It is necessary, however, to remark that it is doubtful whether Gautama himself recognised the Hindu Pantheon. It is not impossible that the Devas and Gandharvas and Brahma lingered in the traditional language of the people who had adopted Buddhism.

With regard to the Caste-system, Gautama respected a Brahman as he respected a Buddhist Sraman, but he respected him for his virtue and learning, not for his caste, which he in his soul ignored. When two Brahman youths, Vasishtha and Bharadvaja, began to quarrel on the question, "How does one become a Brahman?" and came to Gautama for his opinion, Gautama delivered to them a discourse in which he emphatically ignored caste, and held that a man's distinguishing mark was his work, not his birth. "The grass and the trees," he said, "the worms, moths, and ants, the quadrupeds, snakes, fishes, and birds are all divided into species which are known by their distinguishing marks. Man, too, has his distinguishing mark, and that is his profession.

"For whoever amongst men lives by cow-keeping, know this, O Vasishtha, he is a husbandman, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by different mechanical arts . . . is an artisan, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by trade . . . is a merchant, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by serving others . . . is a servant, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by theft . . . is a thief, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by archery . . . is a soldier, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men lives by performing household ceremonials . . . is a sacrificer, not a Brahman.

"And whoever amongst men possesses villages . . . is a king, not a Brahman.

"And I do not call one a Brahman on account of his birth, or of his origin from a particular mother,—he may be called Bhupati, and he may be wealthy,—but the one who is possessed of nothing and seizes upon nothing, him I call a Brahman. . . .

"The man who is free from anger, endowed with holy works, virtuous, without desire, subdued, and wearing his last body, him I call a Brahman.

"The man who like water on a lotus leaf, or a mustard seed on the point of a needle, does not cling to sensual pleasures, him I call a Brahman" (*Vasettha Sutta*).

Similarly in the Assalayana Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya we are told that a distinguished Brahman scholar, Assalayana, came to controvert Gautama's opinion that all castes were equally pure. Gautama, who could meet a logician with his own weapons, asked if the wives of Brahmans were not subject to all the disabilities of child-birth like other women. "Yes," replied Assalayana. "Were there not differences in colour among the people of adjacent countries like Bactria and Afghanistan," asked Gautama, "and yet could not slaves become masters, and masters slaves, in those countries?" "Yes," replied Assalayana. "Then," asked Gautama, "if a Brahman is a murderer, a thief, a libertine, a liar, a slanderer, violent or frivolous in speech, covetous, malevolent, given to false doctrine, will he not after death be born to misery and woe, like any other caste?" "Yes," said Assalayana, and he also admitted that good works would lead to heaven irrespective of caste. Gautama proceeded further to argue that when a mare was united with an ass; the offspring was a mule, but the offspring of a Kshatriya united to a Brahman resembled its parents, and the obvious conclusion, therefore, was that there was really no difference between a Brahman and a Kshatriya! By such arguments Gautama drove the truth home to the

young logician's mind, and he "sat there silent, awkward, distressed, looking downwards, reflecting, not able to answer,"—and then became a disciple of Gautama.

At another time Gautama explained to his followers, "As the great streams, O disciples, however many they may be,—the Ganga, Yamuna, Asiravati, Sarabhu, and Mahi,—when they reach the great ocean lose their old name and their old descent, and bear only one name,—the great ocean,"—so also do Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras lose their distinctions when they join the Order. And we know that this theory was consistently carried out in practice, and Upali, a barber, as we have seen before, joined the Order and became one of the most revered and learned of Buddhist monks. A touching story is also told in the *Theragatha*, which enables us to comprehend how Buddhism came like a salvation to the humble and the lowly in India, and how they eagerly embraced it as a refuge from caste-injustice. Sunita the thera or elder says, "I have come of a humble family, I was poor and needy. The work which I performed was lowly,—sweeping the withered flowers. I was despised of men, looked down upon and lightly esteemed. With submissive mien I showed respect to many. Then I beheld Buddha with his band of monks as he passed, the great hero, into the most important town of Magadha. Then I cast away my burden and ran to bow myself in reverence before him. From pity for me he halted, that highest among men. Then I bowed myself at the master's feet, stepped up to him and begged him, the highest among all beings, to accept me as a monk. Then said unto me the gracious master, 'Come hither, O monk'—that was the initiation I received." And the passage concludes with the lesson which Gautama had so often preached, "By holy zeal and chaste living, by restraint and self-repression, thereby a man becomes a Brahman: that is the highest Brahmanhood."

Who can read this touching story of humble Sunita's

conversion without realising the loving spirit of equality which was the soul of early Buddhism, and which ensured its success? The great teacher who regarded nor wealth, nor rank, nor caste, came to the poor and the despised as well as to the rich and the noble, and welcomed them to effect their own salvation by a pure life and unstained conduct. A virtuous life opened the path to the highest honour to the low-born and the high-born alike,—no distinction was known or recognised in the Holy Order. Thousands of men and women responded to this loving and rational appeal, and merged their caste inequalities in a common love for their teacher and a common emulation of his virtues. And within three centuries from the date when Gautama proclaimed his message of equality and of love in Benares, the religion of equality and of love was the state religion of India. Caste was unknown within the Holy Order, and lost its sting among laymen outside the Order; for it was open to the lowest born among them to embrace the Order and thus win the highest honour.

"393. A man does not become a Brahman by his platted hair, by his family, or by birth; in whom there is truth and righteousness, he is blessed, he is a Brahman.

"394. What is the use of platted hair, O fool! What of the raiment of goat skins? Within thee there is ravening, but the outside thou makest clean.*

"422. Him I call, indeed, a Brahman, the manly, the noble, the hero, the great sage, the conqueror, the impassible, the accomplished, the awakened.

"141. Not nakedness, not platted hair, not dirt, not fasting or lying on earth, nor rubbing with dust, nor sitting motionless, can purify a mortal who has not overcome desires"† (*Dhammapada*).

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* Compare Matthew xxiii. 27, Luke xi. 39.

† Professor Max Müller has the following interesting note to the above verse:—

"Walking naked and the other things mentioned in our verse,

It is a mistake to suppose that Gautama positively enjoined on all to retire from the world and to embrace the Holy Order. To conquer the yearning for life and its pleasures was the cardinal aim of the reformer, and he assigned no peculiar virtue to an outward act of renouncement of the world. But, nevertheless, as it is difficult to conquer that thirst so long as one is actually living in the midst of his family and enjoying the pleasures of life, Gautama recommended the life of a Bhikkhu as the more efficacious means for securing the great end. And so thousands retired from the world and became Bhikkhus, and thus the Buddhist Monastic system was formed; probably the first organised Monastic system in the world.

It is not necessary to narrate here the rules of the Buddhist Monastic system, as they do not come in among the essential doctrines of the religion. We will only quote here a beautiful Sutra, giving a supposed conversation between Gautama and a herdsman relating to the comparative virtues of worldly life and a religious life :—

1. "I have boiled my rice, I have milked my cows,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Mahi river. My house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

"2. I am free from anger, free from stubbornness,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I am abiding for one night near the

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are outward signs of saintly life, and these Buddha rejects because they do not calm the passions. Nakedness he seems to have rejected on other grounds, if we may judge from Sumagadha Avadana. A number of naked friars were assembled in the house of the daughter of Anatha Pindika. She called her daughter-in-law Sumagadha, and said, 'Go and see those highly respectable persons.' Sumagadha, expecting to see some of the saints like Sariputra, Maudgalayana, and others, ran out full of joy. But when she saw these friars, with their hair like pigeon-wings covered by nothing but dirt, offensive, and looking like demons, she became sad. 'Why are you sad?' said her mother-in-law. Sumagadha replied, 'O mother, if these are saints, what must sinners be like?'"

banks of the Mahi river. My house is uncovered, the fire (of passions) is extinguished : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

3. "Gadflies are not to be found with me,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure the rain when it comes : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

4. "By me is made a well-constructed raft,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have passed over (to Nirvana). I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passions) ; there is no further use for a raft : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

5. "My wife is obedient, not wanton,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"for a long time she has been living together with me. She is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

6. "My mind is obedient and freed,"—so said Bhagavat,—"it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well subdued. There is no longer anything wicked in me : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

7. "I support myself by my own earnings,"—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"and my children are about me healthy. I hear nothing wicked of them : thererore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

8. "I am no one's servant,"—so said Bhagavat,—"with what I have gained, I wander about in all the world. There is no need for me to serve : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

9. "I have cows, I have calves,"—so said Dhaniya,—"I have cows in calf and heifers. And I have also a bull as lord over the cows; therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

10. "I have no cows; I have no calves,"—so said Bhagavat,—"I have no cows in calf and no heifers. And I have no bull as a lord over the cows : therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky !"

11. "The stakes are driven in, and cannot be shaken,"

—so said the herdsman Dhaniya,—"the ropes are made of munga grass, new and well made, the cows will not be able to break them: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

12. "Having, like a bull, rent the bonds; having, like an elephant, broken through the galuchchhi creeper, I shall not again enter into a womb: therefore, if thou like, rain, O Sky!"

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus:—

13. "No small gain indeed to us, since we have seen Bhagavat. We take refuge in thee, O thou endowed with the eye of wisdom! Be thou our master, O great Muni!" (*Dhaniyasutta*).*

These are the leading doctrines of Gautama's religion, and a brief recapitulation of them will probably be useful to our readers. We have explained that Buddhism is in its essence a system of self-culture,—an effort towards a holy life on this earth, and nothing more. We have seen that Gautama preached the *Four truths* that life was suffering, the thirst after life was the cause of suffering, the conquering of that thirst was the cessation of suffering, and the path of self-culture was the means of conquering the thirst after life. Placing a holy life and sinless peace as the ideal of his religion and as the highest aim of human destiny, Gautama carefully elaborated a system of self-culture, a method of self-restraint in thought, word, and speech, which he called the *Noble Eightfold Path*, or which is known as the *Seven Jewels of the Law*.

And that holy peace, that sinless, tranquil life which is the object of so much self-restraint and self-culture, is attainable in this earth; it is the Buddhist's heaven, it is *Nirvana*. Gautama's religion offers no glowing rewards in a world to come; virtue is its own reward;

* Compare the parable in St. Luke xii. 16.

a virtuous life is the Buddhist's final aim; a virtuous peace on earth is the Buddhist's Nirvana.

We have seen that Gautama nevertheless adopted the Hindu idea of transmigration in a modified form into his own religion. If Nirvana is not attained in life, the *Karma* or actions of a living being lead to their legitimate results in re-births, until the discipline is complete and Nirvana is attained.

In the same manner Gautama adopted or permitted the adoption of the popular belief in the *Hindu Pantheon*,—the thirty-three gods of the Rig Veda, and Brahma, and the Gandharvas. All these beings, all leaving creatures in the universe, are struggling through repeated births in various spheres to attain that Nirvana which is the supreme aim and destiny and salvation of all.

But there were doctrines and customs of Hinduism which he could not accept. The caste-system he eschewed, asceticism and penances he disapproved, the Vedic rites he declared to be fruitless. In place of such rites, he enjoined a benevolent life and the conquest of all passions and desires; and he recommended a retirement from the world as the most efficacious means for securing this end. The recommendation was followed, and led to the *Buddhist Monastic system.*

The great distinguishing feature of Buddhism, then, is that it is a training towards a virtuous and holy life on this earth, and takes little thought of rewards and punishments. It appeals to the most disinterested feelings in man's nature, sets before him virtue as its own reward, and enjoins a life-long endeavour towards its attainment. It knows of no higher aim among gods or men than the attainment of a tranquil, sinless life; it speaks of no other salvation than virtuous peace, it knows of no other heaven than holiness. "It swept away from the field of its vision the whole of the great soul-theory which had hitherto so completely filled and

dominated the minds of the superstitious and of the thoughtful alike. For the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself, and by himself, in this world, during this life, without any, the least, reference to God or to gods, either great or small."*

On the other hand, this very feature of Buddhism is the subject of charges frequently brought against the religion. It is urged that it is an agnostic religion, that it knows of no God, no soul, no future world for those who have attained salvation. Dr. Rhys Davids points out, however, that agnostic philosophy has come, not once or twice, but repeatedly to the forefront when theology has failed to offer satisfactory replies to inquiries after the unknown, and men have sought for new solutions to old questions. "It is their place in the progress of thought that helps us to understand how it is that there is so much in common between the agnostic philosophers of India, the stoics of Greece and Rome, and some of the newest schools in France, in Germany, and among ourselves." †

* Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lectures, 1881.

† Buddhist Suttas, p. 145.

CHAPTER XIV.

MORAL PRECEPTS OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

A RELIGION, the great aim of which is the teaching of holy living in this world, must necessarily be rich in moral precepts, and such precepts are the peculiar beauty of Buddhism, for which the religion is held in honour all over the civilised world. It will be our pleasant task in this chapter to glean some of these graceful precepts, which will give our readers some idea of the essence of Gautama's moral teachings.

Gautama prescribed for lay disciples five prohibitory rules or Commandments, which were, no doubt, suggested by the five *Mahapatakas* or heinous crimes of the Hindu law books, referred to before.

"18. A householder's work, I will also tell you, how a Savaka is to act to be a good one; for that complete Bhikkhu Dhamma cannot be carried out by one who is taken up by worldly occupations.

"19. Let him not kill or cause to be killed any living being, nor let him approve of others killing, after having refrained from hurting all creatures, both those that are strong and those that tremble in the world.

"20. Then let the Savaka abstain from taking anything in any place that has not been given to him, knowing it to belong to another; let him not cause any one to take, nor approve of those that take. Let him avoid all theft.

"21. Let the wise man avoid an unchaste life as a burning heap of coals; not being able to live a life of chastity, let him not transgress with another man's wife.

"22. Let no one speak falsely to another in the hall of justice, or in the hall of the assembly; let him not cause any one to speak falsely, nor approve of those that speak falsely. Let him avoid all untruth.

"23. Let the householder, who approves of this Dhamma, not give himself to intoxicating drinks; let him not cause others to drink, nor approve of those that drink, knowing it to end in madness."—*Dhammika Sutta, Sutta Nipata.*

These five precepts, which are known as the Five Commandments, or the five rules of conduct (Pancha Sila), are binding on all Buddhists, laymen, and Bhikkhus. They are recapitulated thus :—

"25. Let not one kill any living being.
Let not one take what is not given to him.
Let not one speak falsely.
Let not one drink intoxicating drinks.
Let not one have unchaste sexual intercourse."
(*Ibid.*)

Three other rules are laid down which are not considered obligatory, but which are recommended to austere and pious lay disciples. They are—

"25, 26. Let him not at night eat untimely food.
Let him not wear wreaths or use perfumes.
Let him lie on a bed spread on the earth."
(*Ibid*)

The austere and pious householder is recommended to take a vow of all these eight precepts, which are known as the Eight Commandments, or the eight rules of conduct (Ashtanga Sila).

To these eight rules two more are added, and they are : To abstain from dancing, music, singing, and stage plays; and, To abstain from the use of gold and silver. These Ten Commandments (Dasa Sila) are binding on Bhikkhus, as the Five Commandments are binding on all laymen.

To honour one's father and mother, and to follow an

honourable trade, though not included in the Commandments, are duties enjoined in the same Sutta on all householders.

"Let him dutifully maintain his parents, and practise an honourable trade. The householders who observes this strenuously goes to the gods Sayampabhas (*Sanscrit* Svayambhu)."

A more exhaustive category of the duties of the householder is given in the well-known *Sigalovada Sutta*, common both to the Northern and the Southern Buddhists, and which has been more than once translated into European languages. The enumeration of the duties gives us so clear an insight into the state of Hindu society and into the ideal of Hindu social life, that we feel no hesitation in quoting it:—

1. *Parents and Children.*

Parents should—

1. Restrain their children from vice.
2. Train them in virtue.
3. Have them taught in arts or sciences.
4. Provide them with suitable wives or husbands.
5. Give them their inheritance.

The child should say—

1. I will support them who supported me.
2. I will perform family duties incumbent on them.
3. I will guard their property.
4. I will make myself worthy to be their heir.
5. When they are gone, I will honour their memory.

2. *Pupils and Teachers.*

The pupil should honour his teachers—

1. By rising in their presence.
2. By ministering to them.
3. By obeying them.
4. By supplying their wants.
5. By attention to instruction.

The teacher should show his affection to his pupils—

1. By training them in all that is good.
2. By teaching them to hold knowledge fast.
3. By instruction in science and lore.
4. By speaking well of them to their friends and companions.
5. By guarding them from danger.

3. *Husband and Wife.*

The husband should cherish his wife—

1. By treating her with respect.
2. By treating her with kindness.
3. By being faithful to her.
4. By causing her to be honoured by others.
5. By giving her suitable ornaments and clothes.

The wife should show her affection for her husband—

1. She orders her household aright.
2. She is hospitable to kinsmen and friends.
3. She is a chaste wife.
4. She is a thrifty housekeeper.
5. She shows skill and diligence in all she has to do.

4. *Friends and Companions.*

The honourable man should minister to his friends—

1. By giving presents.
2. By courteous speech.
3. By promoting their interest.
4. By treating them as his equals.
5. By sharing with them his prosperity.

They should show their attention to him—

1. By watching over him when he is off his guard.
2. By guarding his property when he is careless.
3. By offering him a refuge in danger.
4. By adhering to him in misfortune.
5. By showing kindness to his family.

5. *Masters and Servants.*

The master should provide for the welfare of his dependents—

1. By apportioning work to them according to their strength.
2. By supplying suitable food and wages.
3. By tending them in sickness.
4. By sharing with them unusual delicacies.
5. By now and then granting them holidays.

They should show their attachment to him as follows:—

1. They rise before him.
2. They retire later to rest.
3. They are content with what is given them.
4. They work cheerfully and thoroughly.
5. They speak well of him.

6. *Laymen and those devoted to religion.*

The honourable man ministers to Bhikkhus and Brahmans—

1. By affection in act.
2. By affection in words.
3. By affection on thoughts.
4. By giving them a ready welcome.
5. By supplying their temporal wants.

They should show their affection to him—

1. By dissuading him from vice.
2. By exhorting him to virtue.
3. By feeling kindly towards him.
4. By instructing him in religion.
5. By clearing up his doubts and pointing the way to heaven.

What glimpses of pure Hindu life, of pleasant domestic and social feelings and duties, do we obtain from the above categories! The anxious care of parents to give

children education and moral teaching and earthly comforts; the dutiful desire of children to support and respect their parents and honour their memory when dead; the respectful behaviour of the pupil towards the teacher, and the teacher's anxious care and affection for the pupil; the respect, the kindness, the honourable and affectionate treatment which the Hindu religion has ever enjoined on husbands towards their wives, and the faithfulness and scrupulous attention to domestic duties for which Hindu wives have always been known; the kindly relations between friends and friends, between masters and servants, between laymen and spiritual instructors: these are among the noblest lessons that the Hindu religion has taught, and these are among the noblest traditions which Hindu literature has handed down for thousands of years. Buddhism accepted this noble heritage from the ancient Hindus, and embalmed it in its sacred literature.

We turn now from Gautama's categories of duties to those precepts and benevolent maxims to which Buddhism mainly owes its deserved fame in the modern world. Gautama's religion was a religion of benevolence and love; and five centuries before Jesus Christ was born, the Hindu teacher had declared—

"5. Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time, hatred ceases by love: this is its nature."

"197. Let us live happily, not hating those who hate us. Among men who hate us, let us live free from hatred."

"223. Let one overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good. Let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth" (*Dhammapada*).

Parables were told to impress this great lesson on the followers of the gentle and pure-souled Gautama, and we will here narrate one of these parables as briefly as we can. Trying to heal contentions and differences among his followers, Gautama said:—

"In former times, O Bhikkhus, there lived at Benares a king of the Kasis, Brahmadatta by name, wealthy, rich in treasures, rich in revenues, and rich in troops and vehicles, the lord over a great realm, with full treasuries and storehouses. And there was also a king of the Kosalas, Dighiti by name, not wealthy, poor in treasures, poor in revenues, poor in troops and vehicles, the lord over a small realm, with empty treasuries and storehouses."

As often happens, the rich king robbed the weak one of his realm and treasures, and Dighiti with his queen fled to Benares, and dwelt there in a potter's house in the guise of an ascetic. There the exiled queen gave birth to a child who was called Dighavu, and in course of time the boy reached his years of discretion. . . . .

In the mean time King Brahmadatta heard that his former rival was living in the town in disguise with his wife, and he ordered them to be brought before him, and had them cruelly executed.

Their son Dighavu was then living outside Benares, but happened to come to the town at the time of his father's execution. The dying king looked at his son, and with more than human forgiveness left his last injuctions on his son. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, hatred is appeased.*"

And young Dighavu, O Bhikkhus! went to the forest; there he cried and wept to his heart's content. He then returned to the town, after having formed his resolutions, and took employment under an elephant trainer in the royal stables.

Early in the dawn he arose and sang in a beautiful voice and played upon the lute. And the voice was so beautiful that the king inquired who it was that had risen so early and had sung in the elephant stables in so beautiful a voice. And the young boy was taken to the king, pleased him, and was employed as his attendant.

And it so happened that on one occasion the king went out to hunt, taking young Dighavu with him. Dighavu's

secret resentment was burning within him, and he so drove the royal chariot, that the hosts went one way, and the king's chariot went another way.

At last the king felt tired and lay down, laying his head on the lap of young Dighavu, and as he was tired, he fell asleep in a moment.

"And young Dighavu thought, O Bhikkhus, 'This king Brahmadatta, of Kasi, has done much harm to us. By him we have been robbed of our troops and vehicles, our realm, our treasuries, and storehouses. And he has killed my father and mother. Now the time has come to me to satisfy my hatred,'—and he unsheathed his sword."

But with the recollection of his father, the last words of his dying parent came to the recollection of the vengeful prince. "*Not by hatred, my dear Dighavu, is hatred appeased. By love, my dear Dighavu, hatred is appeased.*" It would not become me to transgress my father's word, said the prince, and he put up his sword.

The king dreamt a frightful dream, and arose terrified and alarmed. Dighavu told him the whole truth. The king was astonished, and exclaimed, "Grant me my life, my dear Dighavu! Grant me my life, my dear Dighavu!" The noble young prince forgave his father's murder in carrying out his father's injunction, and granted Brahmadatta his life. And Brahmadatta gave him back his father's troops and vehicles, his realm, his treasures and storehouses, and he gave him his daughter.

"Now, O Bhikkhus, if such is the forbearance and mildness of kings who wield the sceptre and bear the sword, so much more, O Bhikkhus, must you so let your light shine before the world, that you, having embraced the religious life according to so well-taught a doctrine and a discipline, are seen to be forbearing and mild" (*Mahavagga*, X, 2).

But not only forbearance and mildness, but the virtue of good acts is repeatedly and impressively enjoined by Gautama on his followers.

"51. Like a beautiful flower, full of colour, but without

scent, are the fine and fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly."

"183. Not to commit sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, this is the teaching of the Buddhas."

"200. In like manner his good works receive him who has done good and who has gone from this world to the other,—as kinsmen receive a friend on his return."

"260. A man is not an elder, because his head is grey. His age may be ripe, but he is called old in vain."

"261. He in whom there is truth, virtue, love, restraint, moderation, he who is free from impurity and is wise, he is called an elder" (*Dhammapada*).

And Gautama told the parable of Matanga, the Chandala, who reached the highest fame, mounted the vehicle of gods, and went to the Brahma world by good deeds. Therefore,

"Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brahman. By deeds one becomes an outcast; by deeds one becomes a Brahman" (*Vasala Sutta*, *Sutta Nipata*, 27).

And again in the *Amagandha Sutta* of the *Sutta Nipata*, Gautama explains to a Brahman, Kasyapa by name, that destroying life, killing, cutting, binding, stealing, lying, fraud, and adultery; backbiting, treachery, and cruelty; intoxication, deceit, and pride and a bad mind and wicked deeds are what defile a man. Neither abstinence from fish or flesh, nor nakedness, nor tonsure, nor matted hair, nor dirt, nor rough garment, nor sacrifices to the fire, nor penances, nor hymns, nor oblations, nor sacrifices can purify him.

The whole of the *Dhammapada* is a string of 423 moral precepts which for their beauty and moral worth are unsurpassed by any similar collection of precepts made in any age or country. And a good-sized volume might be compiled from the legends and maxims, the parables and precepts which are interspersed throughout the Buddhist Sacred Scriptures. We will close this chapter with only a few more extracts:—

"129. All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill, nor cause slaughter."

"130. All men tremble at punishment, all men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not kill nor cause slaughter."

"252. The fault of others is easily perceived, but that of oneself is difficult to perceive; a man winnows his neighbour's faults like chaff, but his own fault he hides, as a cheat hides the bad die from the gambler" (*Dhammapada*).

"This is called progress in the discipline of the Noble One, if one sees his sin in its sinfulness, and duly makes amends for it, and refrains from it in future" (*Mahavagga*, IX, I, 9).

"Thus he lives as a binder together of those who are divided, an encourager of those who are friends, a peacemaker, a lover of peace, impassioned for peace, a speaker of works that make for peace" (*Tevijja Sutta*, II, 5).

Who is not struck by the remarkable coincidence of these noble precepts with those preached five hundred years after in Palestine by the gentle and pure-souled Jesus Christ? But the relations between Buddhist and Christian ethics and moral precepts will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

HISTORY OF BUDDHISM.

WE are told in the *Chullavagga*, XI, that, on the death of Gautama, the venerable Mahakasyapa proposed, "Let us chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." The proposal was accepted, and 499 Arhats were selected for the purpose; and Ananda, the faithful friend and follower of Gautama, completed the number 500.

"And so the Thera Bhikkhus went up to Rajagriha to chant together the Dhamma and the Vinaya." Upali, who was a barber before, was questioned as the great authority on Vinaya, and Ananda, the friend of Gautama, was questioned as the authority on Dhamma (Sutta).

This was the Council of Rajagriha held in the year of Gautama's death, 477 B.C., to settle the sacred text and fix it on the memory by chanting it together.

A century after the death of Gautama the Bhikkhus of Vaisali (Vajjians), promulgated at Vaisali ten theses, which permitted among other things the use of unfermented toddy, and the receipt of gold and silver by Bhikkhus or monks.

Yasa, the son of Kakandaka, a venerable Bhikkhu, protested against these licenses, and invited venerable teachers to a great Buddhist Council at Vaisali. He "sent messengers to the Bhikkhus of the western country, and of Avanti, and of the southern country, saying, 'Let your reverences come! We must take in charge this legal question before what is not Dhamma is

spread abroad and what is Dhamma is put aside; before what is not Vinaya is spread abroad and what is Vinaya is put aside.'"

In the meantime the Bhikkhus of Vaisali heard that Yasa was obtaining support from the Bhikkhus of the Western Provinces, and they too sought for support from the East. Indeed the difference was between the Eastern Buddhists of Vaisali, and the Western Buddhists of the provinces along the higher course of the Ganges, and also of Malwa and the Deccan. The Eastern opinions were started by the Vajjians of Vaisali, and if the Vajjians be the same as the Turanian Yu-Chi tribe, as has been supposed by Beal, the dispute was mainly between Turanian Buddhists and Hindu Buddhists. We shall see further on that the Eastern opinions were subsequently upheld by the Buddhists of the Northern school, and that the Turanian nations of the world, the Chinese, the Japanese and the Thibetans belong to this Northern school.

The proceedings in the Council are interesting. The Sangha met at Vaisali, and after much talk—

"The venerable Revata laid a resolution before the Sangha: 'Let the venerable Sangha hear me. Whilst we are discussing this legal question, there is both much pointless talking, and no sense is clear in any single speech. If it seem meet to the Sangha, let the Sangha settle this question by referring it to a jury.'"

And he proposed four Bhikkhus from the East and four Bhikkhus from the West to form the jury. The resolution was put to the vote and carried unanimously that these eight should form a jury.

The ten questions were then put one by one to the jury, and the jury disallowed all the ten licenses for which the Vaisali Bhikkhus had contended, except only the sixth license, which, it was declared, was allowable in certain cases, and not in other cases.

At this rehearsal, seven hundred Bhikkhus took part,

and this was called the Council of Vaisali, and was held in 377 B.C.

It must not be supposed, however, this settlement of the ten questions was finally accepted by all parties. The older and more influential members of the order decided the questions, but the majority was against them, and they seceded in large numbers from the bosom of the orthodox church. And the Northern Buddhists are the successors of these seceders. Hence the stream of Buddhism flows in two different channels, known as the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, and China, and the Southern Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam.

It has been well observed that new religious systems, however noble in their intrinsic worth, depend much on external circumstances for their acceptance by mankind. The Christian religion, which made little progress during the first few centuries, was then embraced by Constantine when Roman sway and Roman culture were predominant in Europe, and thus made an easy and rapid progress in the western world. The religion of Muhammad was proclaimed when the Arabians had no rivals to oppose them in the world, when the Roman power had declined, and the Feudal power had not been developed in Europe. In India the ancient Hindu religion had spread with the conquests of the Aryans issuing from the Punjab and subjugating the whole of India. In the same way the religion of Buddha, which made no distinction between the Brahman and the low-born, found acceptance in the non-Aryan kingdom of Magadha more than in older Aryan provinces. And when Magadha became the supreme power in India in the third century before Christ, Buddhism was accepted as a state religion for India.

The Sisunaga dynasty, to which Bimbisara and Ajatasatru belonged, came to an end about 37c B.C., and Nanda, born of a Sudra woman, ascended the throne,

and he and his eight sons ruled for about fifty years. A defeated rebel under the last of the Nandas escaped from Magadha about 325 B. C., and met Alexander the Great on the banks of the Sutlej. After Alexander's departure, Chandragupta gathered round him the hardy warriors of the west, and, about 320 B.C., succeeded in having the last Nanda killed, and ascended the throne of Magadha.

Neither Chandragupta nor his son Bindusara was a Buddhist. But Bindusara's successor, who ascended the throne about 260 B.C., embraced the popular religion, and became its most powerful promulgator all over India, and beyond India. Asoka's name is honoured from the Volga to Japan, and from Siberia to Ceylon, and "if a man's fame can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Asoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar." * Asoka extended his empire all over Northern India, and his inscriptions have been found at Delhi and Allahabad, near Peshawar and in Gujrat, in Orissa, and even in Mysore.

He held the third Council at Patna about the eighteenth year of his reign, *i. e.*, about 242 B. C. One thousand elders attended the Council which lasted for nine months, under the presidency of Tissa son of Moggali. And the sacred texts were once more chanted and settled.

After the close of the Council, Asoka sent missionaries, as we are told in the *Dipavansa* and the *Mahavansa*, to Kashmir and Gandhara, to Mahisa (near modern Mysore), to Vanavaso (probably Rajputana), to Aparantaka (West Punjab), to Maharattha, to Yonaloka (Bactria and Greek kingdoms), to Himavanta (central Himalayas), to Suvannabhumi (probably Burma), and to Lanka (Ceylon). The edicts of Asoka also inform us that his orders were carried out in Chola (Madras country), Pandya (Madura),

*Kopen, quoted in Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, p. 222.

Satyapura (Satpura range), Kerala (Travancore), Ceylon, and the land of the Greek king Antiochus of Syria. And in another edict he tells us that he sent embassies to five Greek kingdoms, *viz.*, Syria, Egypt, Macedon, Epiros, and Cyrene.

We have seen before that Asoka sent his own son to Ceylon, and Mahinda soon converted the king and spread Buddhism in Ceylon. The scenes of Mahinda's labours are still visible in Ceylon. Eight miles from the ruined city of Anuradhapura is the hill of Mihintale, where the Ceylonese king built a monastery for the Indian monks. "Here on the precipitous western side of the hill, under a large mass of granite rock, at a spot which, completely shut out from the world, affords a magnificent view of the plains below, he (Mahinda) had his study hollowed out and steps cut in the rock, over which alone it could be reached. There also the stone couch which was carved out of the solid rock still exists, with holes, either for curtain rods, or for a protecting balustrade beside it. The great rock effectually protects the cave from the heat of the sun, in whose warm light the broad valley below lies basking. Not a sound reaches it from the plain, now one far-reaching forest, then full of busy homesteads. . . I shall not easily forget the day when I first entered that lonely, cool, and quiet chamber, so simple and yet so beautiful, where more than 2000 years ago the Great Teacher of Ceylon had sat and thought and worked through the long years of his peaceful and useful life." *

After the death of King Tissa, and of Mahinda, Ceylon was twice overrun and conquered by Dravidian conquerors, who were finally expelled by Watta Gamini about 88 B.C. And it was then that the Three Pitakas, which had been so long preserved by word of mouth, are said to have been reduced to writing, "seeing the destruction of men," as the Dipavansa has it.

* Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 230, 231.

Buddhagosha was the great commentator of Buddhist sacred works, the Sayanacharya of Buddhism. He was a Brahman of Magadha, and went to Ceylon and wrote the great commentaries for which he is known. He then went to Burma about 450 A.D., and introduced Buddhism into that country.

Buddhism was introduced in Siam in 638 A.D. Java seems to have received Buddhist missionaries about the same time, and Buddhism seems to have spread thence to Sumatra. All these countries belonged to the Southern Buddhist school.

With regard to Northern Buddhism, we know that it was the prevailing faith in the north-west of India before the commencement of the Christian Era. Pushpa Mitra, king of Kashmir, persecuted the Buddhists early in the second century B.C., and Pushpa Mitra's son Agni Mitra met the Greeks on the banks of the Ganges. The Greeks under Menander were victorious, and about 150 B.C. extended their conquests as far as the Ganges. But the victory of the Greeks was no loss to Buddhism, and Nagasena, a renowned Buddhist teacher of the time, had religious controversies with the Greek king, which have been preserved to us in a most interesting Pali work.

In the first century after Christ the Yu-Chis under Kanishka conquered Kashmir. Kanishka's vast empire extended over Kabul, over Yarkand and Khokan, over Kashmir and Rajputana, and over the whole of the Punjab to Gujrat and Sind in the south, and to Agra in the east. He was a zealous Buddhist of the Northern school, and held a Council of 500 monks. If this Council had settled the text as the Council of Asoka at Patna had done, we should now have had in our possession the settled scriptures of Northern Buddhism as we have the Three Pitakas of the South. But Kanishka's Council satisfied itself with writing three commentaries only, and Northern Buddhism therefore has drifted more and more from the

original religion, and assumed different forms in different countries. It is necessary to add that Kanishka's Council is unknown to the Southern Buddhists, as Asoka's Council is unknown to the Northern Buddhists. Asvaghosa, who has written a life of Buddha for the Northern Buddhists, lived in Kanishka's court. It is supposed that the Christian apostle St. Thomas visited Western India about this time, and died a martyr. The king Gondophares of the Christian legend is supposed to be Kanishka of Kandahar.

As early as the second century B.C., Buddhist books were taken to the Emperor of China, probably from Kashmir. Another emperor, in 62 A.D., procured more Buddhist works, and Buddhism spread rapidly from that date until it became the state religion in the fourth century.

From China Buddhism spread to Korea in 372 A.D., and thence to Japan in 552 A.D. Kochin-China, Formosa, Mongolia, and other places received Buddhism from China in the fourth and fifth centuries; while from Kabul the religion travelled to Yashkand, Balk, Bokhara, and other places.

Buddhism must have penetrated into Nepal early, but the kingdom became Buddhist in the sixth century, and the first Buddhist king of Thibet sent for scriptures from India in 632 A.D.

We have now narrated the history of the spread of Buddhism in the Southern countries, as well as among the nations of the North and East. And it remains for us only to ascertain the result of the missions which Asoka sent to the West, *i.e.*, to Egypt and Palestine. And this brings us face to face with one of the most interesting questions in the history of modern civilisation and religion.

The remarkable resemblance between the legends, traditions, forms, institutions, and moral precepts of Christianity and those of Buddhism has struck every candid inquirer. A few instances only are cited below

The myths connected with the birth of Buddha are strangely similar to those relating to the birth of Jesus. In both the cases there was a divine annunciation, both to the father and to the mother of the child, and both the children were miraculously born, or virgin-born. "By the consent of the king," says the Lalita Vistara, "the queen was permitted to lead the life of a maiden, and not of a wife, for the space of thirty-two months." We are not aware, however, that this myth is to be found in the older Pali records of the southern Buddhists.

As in the case of Jesus, a star presided at the birth of Gautama, and the star was Pushya, identified by Colebrooke with δ of cancer. Asita, the Simeon of Buddhist story, came to Gautama's father and wished to see the divine child. The child was shown, and the saint foretold that the boy would establish righteousness, and his religion would be widely spread (*Nalaka Sutta*.)

We do not attach much importance to the good omens which are said to have hailed the auspicious event in the one case as in the other. At Buddha's birth "the blind received their sight as if from very longing to behold his glory; the deaf heard the noise; the dumb spake one with another; the crooked became straight; the lame walked; all prisoners were freed from bonds and chains."* Such happy events are narrated by the followers of all religions as attending on the birth of their great Masters.

We have commented before on the close and remarkable resemblance between the temptation of Gautama and the temptation of Jesus. The story of the temptation is told in a poetic garb in the Lalita Vistara, but even as told in the southern records, it has a curious resemblance with the Biblical story.

Like Jesus, Gautama had twelve disciples. "Only in my religion," said he shortly before his death, "can be found the twelve great disciples who practise the highest virtues, and excite the world to free itself from its

* Rhys Davids' *Birth Stories*, p. 64.

torments."* And the same missionary spirit impelled the preacher of Kapilavastu and the preacher of Bethlehem. "Let not two of you go the same way," said Gautama. "Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious" (*Mahavagga*, I, 11, 1).

Baptism is common to Buddhism and to Christianity, and indeed John the Baptist adopted the rite of baptism from the Essenes, who admittedly represented the Buddhist movement in Palestine, before the birth of Christ, as we shall see later on. When Jesus was a young preacher in Galilee, the fame of John the Baptist reached him. Jesus went to John and lived with him, and no doubt learnt from John many of the precepts and teachings of the Essenes, and adopted the rite of baptism which John had practised so long. Baptism has since been accepted as a fundamental rite in Christendom. A Christian acknowledges the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost at baptism, as a Buddhist, after *abhisheka*, acknowledges Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

We pass by the subject of miracles, which are said to have been performed both by Gautama and by Jesus. And we also pass by Gautama's parables, of which we have said something in a previous chapter, and which have such a remarkable resemblance with Christian parables. Renan, who is so unwilling to admit Buddhist influence on the development of the Christian faith, nevertheless states that there was nothing in Judaism which could have furnished Jesus with a model for the parable style. On the other hand, "we find in the Buddhist books parables of exactly the same tone and the same character as the Gospel parables." †

It is when we turn to monastic forms, rites, and ceremonies, that we are struck with the most remarkable resemblance, a resemblance about which Dr. Rhys Davids states, "If all this be chance, it is a most

* Bigandet, p. 301.
† Life of Jesus (translation), p. 136.

stupendous miracle of coincidence ; it is in fact ten thousand miracles." *

A Roman Catholic missionary, Abbe Huc, was much struck by what he saw in Thibet. "The crosier, the mitre the dalmatic, the cope or pluvial, which the grand llamas wear on a journey, or when they perform some ceremony outside the temple, the service with a double choir, psalmody, exorcisms, the censer swinging on five chains and contrived to be opened or shut at will, benediction by the llamas with the right hand extended over the heads of the faithful, the chaplet, sacerdotal celibacy, lenten retirements from the world, the worship of saints, fasts, processions, litanies, holy water, these are the points of contact between the Buddhists and ourselves." Mr. Arthur Lillie, from whose book the above passage is quoted, remarks, "The good Abbe has by no means exhausted the list, and might have added confessions, tonsure, relic worship, the use of flowers, lights and images before shrines and altars, the sign of the cross, the Trinity in Unity, the worship of the Queen of Heaven, the use of religious books in a tongue unknown to the bulk of the worshippers, the aureole or nimbus, the crown of saints and Buddhas, wings to angels, penance, flagellations, the flabellum or fan, popes, cardinals, bishops, abbots, presbyters, deacons, the various architectural details of the Christian temple." †

It is not possible for us to go into the details of all these rites and ceremonies, or to point out how the whole fabric and structure of the Roman Catholic system seems like a copy of the Buddhist system. So strong is the resemblance, that the first Christian missionaries who travelled in Thibet believed and recorded their impression that the Buddhist Church had borrowed their rites and forms from the Roman Catholic Church. It is well known, however, that the Buddhists excavated many

* Hibbert Lectures, 1881, p. 93.
† Buddhism in Christendom, p. 202.

of their great church edifices in India before Jesus Christ was born; that a vast monastery, a wealthy church, and a learned university flourished in Nalanda near Patna, before similar church edifices and monasteries were seen in Europe; and that as Buddhism declined in India, gorgeous Buddhist rites, ceremonials, and institutions were copied from Nalanda and other places by the Buddhists of Nepal and Thibet, before Europe had yet recovered from the invasions of barbarous races, or had developed her Feudal civilisation or Feudal church system. It is clear, therefore, that the entire structure of church government and church institutions—in so far as there is resemblance between the two systems—was borrowed from the East by the West, not from the West by the East.

But we are not concerned here with the later forms and institutions of the Buddhist Church. The glory of Buddhism consists not in the pompous ceremonials which were witnessed in Nalanda and Thibet, and which were reproduced after several centuries in Rome, but in the moral precepts of surpassing beauty which were preached in Benares and Rajagriha by Gautama himself, and were repeated after five centuries in Jerusalem. "Never has any one," says M. Renan, "so much as He (Jesus) made the interests of humanity predominate in His life over the littlenesses of self-love. . . . There never was a man, Sakya Muni, perhaps, excepted, who has to this degree trampled under foot family, the joys of this world, and all temporal care." To do good unto those who smite you, to love those who hate and persecute you, and to relinquish the world for righteousness,—these were the cardinal teachings of Gautama and of Jesus. Was this similarity in precepts merely accidental?

In order to enable our readers to form an opinion on this great question, we will refer them to a few historic facts. We know from the edicts of Asoka that he sent Buddhist missionaries to work in Egypt and in Syria, and these missionaries settled in those countries and

formed large and influential Buddhist communities. The Therapeuts of Alexandria and the Essenes of Palestine who were so well known to the Greek world were in fact communities of Buddhist Bhikkhus, practising Buddhist rites, preaching Buddhist doctrines and precepts, and spreading the teachings of Gautama Buddha in the West. Christian thinkers like Dean Mansel and Dean Milman, and philosophers like Schelling and Schopenhauer alike admit that the Therapeuts and the Essenes sprang from the Buddhist missionaries who came from India.

The communities lived and continued their work. Three centuries after the time of Asoka,—and at the time when Jesus Christ lived and preached,—the Essenes were so well known, and so influential, that the celebrated Pliny wrote of them.

Pliny flourished between 23 and 79 A.D., and thus describes the Essenes :—"On the western shore (of the Dead Sea), but distant from the sea far enough to escape its noxious breezes, dwelt the Essenes. They are an hermit clan, one marvellous beyond all others in the whole world, without any women, with sexual intercourse entirely given up, without money; and the associates of palm-trees. Daily is the throng of those who crowd about them renewed, men resorting to them in numbers, driven through weariness of existence and the surges of ill fortune in their manner of life. Thus it is that through thousands of ages, incredible to relate, their society, in which no one is born, lives on perennial" (*Hist. Nat.*, V, 17).

This is a most remarkable piece of evidence. It is the evidence of an impartial and cultured Roman, describing the progress which Eastern ideas and institutions had made in Palestine at the time of Jesus Christ. We see in the passage given above the result which Buddhist missionaries had achieved in Palestine in three centuries from the time of Asoka. They had founded a sect there answering to the Buddhists of India, and the sect

followed the same practices, engaged themselves in the same speculations, and lived the same abstemious and celibate life as the Indian Buddhists. The heritage of Gautama's moral precepts was not lost on them; they revered it and repeated it, and spread it among the pious and thoughtful among the Jews.

We are content to leave the matter here. We have shown that Buddhism was preached in Syria in the third century B.C. We have shown that Buddhism was received in Palestine, and that Buddhists under different names lived in Palestine when Christ was born, and were preaching Gautama's doctrines and moral precepts in Palestine. We have shown that Christ came in contact with their rites and teachings through John, as well as through various other channels probably. And, lastly, we have shown the remarkable resemblance between Christian moral precepts and Buddhist precepts in sentiment and in language, between Christian resignation of the world and Buddhist resignation, between Christian and Buddhist rites and legends and forms. Is this coincidence fortuitous? Let each reader form his own opinion on the subject.

Some writers go so far as to maintain that early Christianity was Essenism, *i.e.*, Buddhism as it prevailed in Palestine. We do not agree in this opinion. Christianity in doctrinal matters is little indebted to Buddhism,—Christ having adopted the national Monotheistic faith of the Jews, as Gautama had adopted the national beliefs of the Hindus in Transmigration and Final Beatitude. Christianity as an ethical and moral advance on the religions of antiquity is indebted to Buddhism, as preached in Palestine by the Essenes when Jesus was born.

CHAPTER XVI.

HISTORY OF JAINAISM.

THE Jaina religion has long been considered as an offshoot from the religion proclaimed by Gautama Buddha. Houen Tsang, who travelled in India in the seventh century after Christ, viewed it in this light; and all that we have hitherto known of the tenets of Jainaism justified this supposition.

Both Lassen and Weber denied, and with very good reasons, the independent origin of the Jaina religion, and both the scholars maintained that the Jainas were seceders from Buddhism, and had branched off from the Buddhists, and formed a sect of their own. The scriptures of the Jainas were not reduced to writing till the fifth century A.D., and Barth held very plausibly that the traditions of the Jainas as to the origin of their religion were formed of vague recollections of the Buddhist tradition. Jaina architecture in India, too, is of comparatively recent date, and, as we shall see in a subsequent chapter, may be said to have commenced centuries after Buddhist architecture had declined and disappeared in India.

Doctors Buhler and Jacobi, however, have recently discovered facts on the basis of which they contend that Jainaism had its commencement at about the same time as the religion of Gautama, and that the two religions flowed in parallel streams for long centuries, until Buddhism declined, while Jainaism still continues to be a living religion in some parts of India. We will

place before our readers the facts and traditions on which this opinion is based.

The Jainas, both Svetambaras (with white clothing), and Digambaras (without clothing), allege that Mahavira, the founder of the religion, was the son of Siddhartha of Kundagrama, and belonged to the clan of Jnatrika Kshatriyas. We know that Gautama Buddha, when travelling in Kotigrama, was visited by the courtesan Ambapali and the Lichchavis. This Kotigrama is identified with Kundagrama of the Jainas, and the Natikas spoken of in the Buddhist Scriptures are identified with the Jnatrika Kshatriyas. Further, Mahavira's mother Trisaa is said to have been the sister of Kataka, king of Vaisali, whose daughter was married to the renowned *Bimbisara, king of Magadha.*

Mahavira, at first called Vardhamana or Jnatriputra, was like his father a Kasyapa. At the age of twenty-eight he entered into the Holy Order, and after twelve years of self-mortification, became a Kevalin or Jina, Tirthakara or Mahavira, *i.e.*, a saint and prophet. During the last thirty years of his life he organised his Order of ascetics. He was thus a rival of Gautama Buddha, and is mentioned in Buddhist writings under the name of Nataputra as the head of the Niganthas (Nirgranthas, without clothing), already a numerous sect in Vaisali. Mahavira died at Papa.

The Jaina tradition goes on to say that in the second century after Mahavira's death there was a famine in Magadha. The renowned Chandragupta was then the sovereign of Magadha. Bhadrabahu, with a portion of his Jaina followers, left Magadha under pressure of the famine and went to Karnata. During his absence, the Jainas of Magadha settled their scriptures, consisting of the eleven Angas and the fourteen Puvvas, which latter are sometimes called the twelfth Anga. On the return of peace and plenty, the exiled Jainas returned to Magadha; but within these years a difference in custom

had arisen between those who had stayed in Magadha, and those who had gone to Karnata. The former had assumed a white dress, and the latter adhered to the old rule of absolute nakedness. The former were thus called Svetambaras, the latter were called Digambaras. The scriptures which had been settled by the former were not accepted by the latter, and for the Digambaras therefore there are no Angas. The final division between the two sects is said to have taken place in 79 or 82 A.D.

In course of time the scriptures of the Svetambaras fell into disorder, and were in danger of becoming extinct. It was necessary to record them into writing, and this was done at the Council of Vallabhi (in Gujrat) in 454 or 467 A.D. The operations of the Council resulted in the redaction of the Jaina canon, in the form in which we find it at the present day.*

Besides these facts and traditions, inscriptions have been discovered on the pedestals of Jaina statues at Mathura which, according to Dr. Buhler (who first discovered this evidence), proves that the Svetambara sect existed in the first century A.D. The inscriptions are dated according to the era of Kanishka, king of Kashmir, *i.e.*, the Saka Era, 78 A.D. One of the inscriptions, dated 9 of the Era (and therefore corresponding to 87 A.D.), states that the statue was erected by a Jaina lay-woman Vikata.

Such is the substance of the evidence on which it is contended that the Jaina religion is coeval with Buddhism, and not an offshoot from that religion. From the mention of "Nataputra" and of the "Nirgranthas" in the Buddhist Scriptures, it is reasonable to suppose that the Jaina sect of unclad ascetics had its origin too about the same time. Indeed, we have repeatedly stated before that various sects of ascetics lived in India at the time when Gautama Buddha lived and taught and

* Dr. Hœrnle's Introduction to his translation of the Uvasagadasao.

led *his* sect of ascetics. What we find it difficult to accept is that the Jaina religion, as we have it now, was professed by the Nirgranthas of the sixth century B.C. The story that the Jaina canon was settled in a Council in Magadha at the time of Chandragupta is probably a pure myth; and even if that story was true, the canon settled in the third century B.C. would be very different from the canon recorded in the fifth century A.D. For there can be little doubt that the early tenets of the first Nirgranthas have long since been modified, and completely transformed; and that the more cultured section of that body, who adopted a white garment, continuously borrowed their maxims and precepts, their rules and customs, their legends and traditions from Buddhism, which was the prevailing religion of India after the third century B.C. Thus the Jainas drifted more and more towards Buddhism for long centuries, until they had adopted the substance of the Buddhist religion as their own, and very little of the early tenets of the unclad Nirgranthas was left. It was then,—in the fifth century A.D.,—that their scriptures were recorded, and it is no wonder that those scriptures appear like a copy of the Buddhist Scriptures recorded *six centuries before*. Admitting, then, the independent origin of the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B.C., we hardly think Houen Tsang was very far wrong, when he described the Jaina religion, as he saw it in the seventh century (and as we see it in the present day), to be an offshoot from Buddhism.

Among the other sects of ascetics which flourished side by side with the Buddhists and the Nirgranthas in the sixth century B. C., the Ajivakas founded by Gosala were the best known in their day. Asoka names them in his inscriptions, along with the Brahmans and Nirgranthas. Gosala was therefore a rival of Buddha and Mahavira; but his sect has now ceased to exist.

It follows from what has been stated before, that the religious tenets of the Jainas differ but slightly from that

of the Buddhists. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas have their Monastic Order, and they refrain from killing animals, and praise retirement from the world. In some respects they even go further than the Buddhists, and maintain that not only animals and plants, but the smallest particles of the elements, fire, air, earth, and water, are endowed with life or jiva. For the rest, the Jainas, like the Buddhists, reject the Veda, they accept the tenets of *Karma* and of *Nirvana*, and believe in the transmigration of souls. They also believe in 25 Tirthakaras, as the early Buddhists believed in 24 Buddhas who had risen before Gautama Buddha.

The sacred books or Agamas of the Jainas consist of seven divisions, among which the Angas form the first and most important division. The Angas are eleven in number, of which the Acharanga Sutra, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina monks, has been translated by Dr. Jacobi, and the Upasakadasah, setting forth the rules of conduct of Jaina laymen, has been translated by Dr. Hœrnle.

We will now present our readers with some extracts relating to the life of Mahavira from the Acharanga Sutra. Hermann Jacobi, the learned translator of the work, assigns to it the third or fourth century B. C., but from the verbose and artificial language of the work, many readers will be inclined to assign to it a date as many centuries after Christ. The entire work reads like a very distant and very perverted imitation of the simple Buddhist accounts of the life of Gautama.

"When the Kshatriyani Trisala, having seen these fourteen illustrious great dreams, awoke, she was glad, pleased and joyful, ... rose from her couch and descended from the footstool. Neither hasty nor trembling, with a quick and even gait like that of a royal swan, she went to the couch of the Kshatriya Siddhartha. There she awakened the Kshatriya Siddhartha, addressing him with kind, pleasing, amiable, tender, illustrious, beautiful, lucky,

blest, auspicious, fortunate, heart-going, heart-easing, well-measured, sweet and soft words . . . . 'O beloved of the gods, I was just now on my couch . . . . and awoke after having seen the fourteen dreams, to wit, an elephant, &c. What, to be sure, O my Lord, will be the happy result portended by these fourteen illustrious great dreams?' . . . . He grasped the meaning of those dreams with his own innate intelligence and intuition, which were preceded by reflection, and addressing the Kshatriyani Trisala with kind, pleasing, &c., words, spoke thus: 'O beloved of the gods, you have seen illustrious dreams, &c. . . . . you will give birth to a lovely, handsome boy, who will be the ensign of our family, the lamp of our family, the crown of our family, the frontal ornament of our family, the maker of our family's glory, the sun of our family, the stay of our family, the maker of our family's joy and fame, the tree of our family, the exalter of our family.' . . . . .

"Surrounded by many chieftains, satraps, kings, princes knights, sheriffs, heads of families, ministers, chief ministers, astrologers, counsellors, servants, dancing masters, citizens, traders, merchants, foremen of guilds, generals, leaders of caravans, messengers, and frontier-guards, he—the lord and chief of men, a bull and a lion among men, shining with excellent lustre and glory, lovely to behold, like the moon emerging from a great white cloud in the midst of the flock of the planets and of brilliant stars and asterisms—left the bathing-house, entered the exterior hall of audience, and sat down on his throne with the face towards the east . . . . 'Quickly, O beloved of the gods, call the interpreters of dreams who well know the science of prognostics with its eight branches, and are well-versed in many sciences besides!' . . . . When the interpreters of dreams had heard and perceived this news from the Kshatriya Siddhartha, they—glad, pleased, and joyful, &c. —fixed the dreams in their minds, entered upon considering them, and conversed together. . . . .

"In that night in which the venerable ascetic Mahavira

was born, there was a divine lustre originated by many descending and ascending gods and goddesses, and in the universe, resplendent with one light, the conflux of gods occasioned great confusion and noise. . . . Before the venerable ascetic Mahavira had adopted the life of a householder (*i. e.* before his marriage), he possessed supreme, unlimited, unimpeded knowledge and intuition. The venerable ascetic Mahavira perceived with this his supreme unlimited knowledge and intuition that the time for his Renunciation had come. He left his silver, he left his gold, he left his riches, corn, majesty, and kingdom, his army, grain, treasure, storehouse, town, seraglio, and subjects; he quitted and rejected his real, valuable property, such as riches, gold, precious stones, jewels, pearls, conches, stones, corals, rubies, &c.; he distributed presents through proper persons. He distributed presents among indigent persons. . . . The venerable ascetic Mahavira for a year and a month wore clothes; after that time he walked about naked, and accepted the alms in the hollow of his hand. For more than twelve years the venerable ascetic Mahavira neglected his body and abandoned the care of it; he with equanimity bore, underwent, and suffered all pleasant or unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men, or animals. . . . During the thirteenth year, in the second month of summer, in the fourth fortnight, the light (fortnight) of Vaisakha, on its tenth day, when the shadow had turned towards the east and the first wake was over, on the day called Suvrata, in the Muhurta called Vijaya, outside of the town Jrimbhikagrama on the bank of the river Rijupalika, not far from an old temple, in the field of the householder Samaga, under a sal tree, when the moon was in conjunction with the asterism Uttaraphalguni (the Venerable One) in a squatting position with joined heels exposing himself to the heat of the sun, after fasting two and a half days without drinking water, being engaged in deep meditation, reached the highest knowledge and intuition, called

Kevala, which is infinite, supreme, unobstructed, unimpeded, complete, and full. . . . . .

"In that period, in that age, the venerable ascetic Mahavira stayed the first rainy season in Asthikagrama, three rainy seasons in Champa and Prishtichampa, twelve in Vaisali and Vanijagrama, fourteen in Rajagriha and the suburb of Nalanda, six in Mithila, two in Bhadrika, one in Alabhika, one in Panitabhumi, one in Sravasti, one in the town of Papa, in king Hastipala's office of the writers: that was his very last rainy season. In the fourth month of that rainy season, in the seventh fortnight, in the dark (fortnight) of Kartika, on its fifteenth day, in the last night, in the town of Papa, in king Hastipala's office of the writers, the venerable ascetic Mahavira died, went off, quitted the world, cut asunder the ties of birth, old age, and death; became a Siddha, a Buddha, a Mukta, a maker of the end (to all misery), finally liberated, freed from all pains."

The Upasakadasah, as its name indicates, details the duties of Jaina laymen in ten lectures. The first lecture details the vows and observances that must regulate a layman's conduct; the next four lectures detail various kinds of temptations arising from external persecutions; the sixth lecture treats of temptations from internal doubts, and specially from the antagonism of other religions, like that of the Ajivakas founded by Gosala; the seventh shows the superiority of the Jaina religion; the eighth dwells on the temptations to sensual enjoyments; and the ninth and tenth give examples of a quiet and peaceful career of a faithful Jaina layman.

We are unable to make room for extracts from Dr. Hœrnle's translation of this work, but we will glean some facts from the portion which treats of Ananda's conversion, which will be interesting, as detailing many articles of luxury in which a Hindu householder indulged in the olden times. Ananda does not become a monk, but only becomes a Jaina layman, and he therefore takes

the five lesser vows, *anu-vratani*, in contrast with the *maha-vratani* of monks, as also the disciplinary vows.

Ananda renounces all gross ill-usage of living beings, all gross lying, and all gross theft. He contents himself with one wife, saying, "excepting with one woman Sivananda my wife, I renounce every other kind of sexual intercourse." He limits himself to the possession of a *treasure* of four kror measures of gold deposited in a safe place, of a *capital* of four kror measures of gold put out on interest, and of a well-stocked *estate* of the value of four kror measures of gold. Similarly he limits himself to the possession of four herds, each consisting of ten thousand head of cattle; to the possession of 500 ploughs and land at the rate of 100 *nivartanas* for each plough; to the possession of five hundred carts for foreign traffic, and five hundred carts for home traffic; and lastly, to the possession of four boats for foreign traffic and four boats for home use. The above enumeration gives us a very fair idea of a Hindu capitalist, land-owner, money-lender, and merchant of olden days,—a Seth, such as Jains have always been in India. We now turn to the articles of household use and luxury.

Ananda limits himself to one kind of red-tinted bathing towel, to one kind of green stick for tooth-cleaning, to one kind of fruit, the milky pulp of Amalaka, to two kinds of oil as unguents, to one kind of scented powder, to eight *gharas* of washing water, to one kind of clothes, viz., "a pair of cotton clothes;" to perfumes made of aloes, saffron, sandal, and similar substances, to one kind of flower, the white lotus, to two kinds of ornaments, viz., ear-pendants and a finger-ring engraved with his name, and to certain kinds of incense.

With regard to food, he limits himself in his use of beverages to a decoction of pulses or rice, and in the use of pastry to such as are fried in clarified butter or turned in sugar. He confines himself to boiled rice of the cultivated varieties, to *dal* made of *kalai*, *mug*, or *mas*, to

clarified butter produced from cows' milk in autumn, to certain kinds of curry, to one kind of liquor made from *palaṅga*, to plain relishes or sauces, to rain water as drinking water, and lastly, to betel with its five spices. Many of our readers will be inclined to think that our friend Ananda with his broad acres and large trade, and with the articles of use and luxury left to him, was not so badly off after all.

END OF VOL. I.

VOLUME II.

PREFACE.

It is with mingled feelings of pleasure and unfeigned diffidence that I now place this completed work before the public. The great task of compiling for the first time a connected and clear history of the Ancient Hindus requires greater leisure and more extensive reading than I can lay claim to. Years of study, often interrupted, enabled me, however, to grasp the leading facts, and during the last three years I have worked continuously in moments spared from official duties to arrange these facts in their present shape. The first chapters on the Vedic Age were commenced in April 1887, the last chapters on the Puranic Age have been revised in March 1890. The work, such as it is, is now placed in the hands of my indulgent countrymen, for whom it has been written.

The reception which my countrymen have given to the first volume has surpassed my most sanguine expectations. The entire edition of a thousand copies has been nearly exhausted before the last volume is out, and a second edition has been called for, and will be shortly taken in hand. More gratifying to me were the requests which were made, and which have been gladly acceded to, for permission to translate the work into the

vernaculars of Bombay, Madras, and the North-Western Provinces. And equally encouraging to me were the numerous inquiries, congratulations, and expressions of sympathy which I have received from all parts of India, testifying to the interest which has been taken in this somewhat novel venture. I am too keenly aware of the imperfections of my rude attempt to ascribe the success of the work to its merits; and I can only suppose, therefore, that the demand for a readable handbook of this nature was so great among my countrymen, that they have consented to accept the article even from such a clumsy workman as myself.

I take this opportunity also to thankfully acknowledge the valued opinions, notices, and reviews with which many scholars in this country and in Europe have honoured this work. A popular work of this nature can scarcely be acceptable to scholars who have devoted their lifetime to all the minutiæ of Indian antiquities, and I feel therefore all the more grateful for the cordial and favourable acceptance which it has received at their hands. My sincere acknowledgments are due to Doctors Roth, Weber, and Max Muller, and several other scholars.

Of greater value to me than these favourable notices are the criticisms of some of these scholars on certain portions of my work, and it is due to my readers that I should indicate the main points on which my views have not always received assent. It is necessary to do this, if only to guard my readers form accepting my conclusions in all cases, and to induce them to form their own judgments on the facts.

Scholars belonging to the orthodox section of my

countrymen have not always accepted my account of Vedic civilisation. Life in the Vedic Age, they hold, was more "spiritual" more pious, and contemplative in its tone and character, and they are scarcely prepared to accept my account of the rude self-assertion and boisterous greed for conquests of the Vedic warriors. On the other hand, some European scholars think that I have represented Vedic civilisation in too favourable a light. M. Barth, who did me the honour of favourably noticing in Paris my chapters on the Vedic Period when they first appeared in the *Calcutta Review*, expressed his opinion that my account should be accepted with some degree of caution. And Dr. Kern, who has published a favourable review of the first volume of the present work in a Dutch journal, states that opinion is divided as to the character of the Vedic civilisation. Some scholars delight in describing all that was robust and manly and straightforward in the character of the Vedic Hindus, while others portray their coarseness and imperfections. Dr. Kern is of opinion that I have adhered to the first school of opinion, but that the truth lies midway.

I am not aware that I have tried to keep back the robust rudeness—coarseness if you like—of the civilisation of the Vedic Age. But I confess that, like most modern Hindus, subject to all the drawbacks of a later and more artificial civilisation, I feel a warm appreciation for the manly freedom of ancient Hindu civilisation and life. I have sought to portrary this prominently in my account of the Vedic Period; and in my description of later ages I have not hesitated to point out emphatically and repeatedly how much we lack in all that was

healthy and free, unrestricted and life-giving in the ancient Hindu institutions and social rules. It is a truth which we Hindus need bear in mind.

Coming now to the Epic Age, scholars are generally agreed that the caste system of India first took its rise in this period. But here again we should ever remember that caste rules, with all their potential evils, served in this early period as a sort of moral code for the Aryan Hindus, and tended to unite them by classing them in three great sections, with sanction for inter-caste marriage and religious instruction for all. The caste system of the Epic Period was no more like the system of to-day than the Feudal institutions of the Middle Ages, which had their object and their use, were like the baronial oppression of the eighteenth century in France. As it was neither possible nor desirable under changed circumstances to restore the old institution of the Middle Ages, the living nations of Europe swept away its debased and oppressive substitute which flourished down to the last century.

The account of Buddhism has necessarily taken up a good deal of space in my narrative of the Rationalistic Period. My appreciation of Buddhism has been criticised, and many friendly critics have reminded me that Buddhist precepts, literally obeyed, would not hold the world together, but would lead nations to subjection, to inaction, and to beggary. This is not the place to enter into a controversy on the subject, but I may be permitted to point out that a religion cannot be criticised on this spirit, and that the teachings of the pure-souled Jesus have not been thus criticised. He too recommended a

the discriminating and friendly pen of Houen Tsang. And the impression which is left on the mind of the civilisation of the age is pleasing. A great storm then swept through India in the dark ages, and when the Rajputs became masters of India at the close of the tenth century, the Modern Age begins. We have a picture of this age from the pen of Alberuni, and the impression which Alberuni's account leaves on the mind of the Hindu is a sad one. I have not sought to suppress this sad portion of our national story; rather have I tried to tell it fully and impressively, so that we may now learn to turn to a brighter page of our national existence. If the present work contributes in any degree towards this result, if it helps us to sink our social disunion, to cast asunder hurtful restrictions, and to turn towards that unpolluted stream of religion, morality, and knowledge which are our birthright, my labours, humble and unworthy as they are, have not been altogether in vain.

R. C. DUTT.

MYMENSING DISTRICT, BENGAL,
March 14, 1890.

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CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT INDIA

BOOK IV.

BUDDHIST PERIOD, B.C. 320 TO A.D. 500.

CHAPTER I.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA THE GREAT.

THE death of Alexander the Great marks an epoch in the history of the ancient world. In India, too, a new epoch begins at this time. The great political fact of this new epoch is that the whole of Northern India was for the first time united into one great empire by the genius of Chandragupta. The great religious fact of this new epoch is that the religion of Gautama Buddha, which was making progress among the humble and the lowly, was embraced by Chandragupta's grandson, the renowned Asoka the Great, and was preached and proclaimed all over India, and beyond the limits of India.

Of Chandragupta himself we have said enough elsewhere. His rule extended over the whole of Northern India from Behar to the Punjab. He drove out the Greeks from the Punjab, conquered from them a tract of country beyond the Indus, and at last concluded peace with Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great in Western Asia. Seleucus ceded the provinces which had been already conquered by Chandragupta, and also gave his daughter in marriage with the great Hindu emperor.

We have also seen that Chandragupta had a standing army of 600,000 foot and 30,000 horse; that his civil officers carefully supervised the administration of towns as well as of villages; that trade, and commerce, and agriculture were protected; that irrigation was carefully attended to, and forests were preserved. A Greek ambassador, who lived in the court of Chandragupta, has recorded with admiration that as most part of the country was under irrigation, famine was unknown in the land; and that wars were waged and battles were fought within view of cultivated lands, and neither the cultivator nor his cultivation was molested by the contending parties. The picture of the power and greatness of the Hindu empire under Chandragupta, of the security to life and property which was afforded under his rule, and of the prosperous condition of irrigation and agriculture in that ancient age,—is one which every modern Hindu will cherish with legitimate pride.

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara about 290 B.C., and he was succeeded, in 260 B.C., by the renowned Asoka the Great.

No greater prince had ever reigned in India since the Aryans first colonised this country, and no succeeding monarch excelled his glory. But the claims of Asoka to greatness rest less on the extent of his empire and of his prowess, than on the liberal and catholic spirit which inspired his internal administration and his foreign policy, and the fervent love of truth, and the desire to spread the truth, which have made his name a household word from Siberia to Ceylon. No monarch of India, not even Vikramaditya, has such a world-wide reputation, and none has exerted such influence on the history of the world by his zeal for righteousness and virtue.

It is said that during the reign of his father, young Asoka was sent to be Viceroy of Ujjayini. If we may rely on the writer of the *Asoka Avadana*,* Asoka was

*Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, p. 38.

born of a Brahmani queen, named Subhadrangi. The same authority tells us that Asoka was turbulent in his younger days, and had to be sent to the western frontier to quell a mutiny which had broken out in Takshasila, which he did with eminent success. After the death of Bindusara, Asoka ascended the throne, and the date of his coronation is generally believed to be about 260 B.C.

The works both of the Northern and the Southern Buddhists contain little that is authentic about Asoka's reign. The Ceylonese accounts have it that Asoka put to death ninety-nine of his brothers (only six according to Taranatha) before ascending the throne; while the *Asoka Avadana* states that the emperor killed his officers and their wives, and subjected crowds of innocent people to the most refined cruelties before his conversion to Buddhism. These stories are absolutely unfounded, and were invented to heighten the merit of the Buddhist religion by blackening the character of Asoka before his conversion to that creed.

Fortunately for us, the great emperor has left us his Edicts, not in the garbled stories of later poets and chroniclers, but in inscriptions cut on ROCKS, CAVES, and PILLARS, by his own order, in his own time, and in the language and the alphabet of the time. The historical information conveyed in these inscriptions has been recently pieced together with great learning and ingenuity by the illustrious French scholar Senart, and we will glean some facts from his learned work, *Les Inscription de Piyadasi*, in two volumes.

The Fourteen Edicts on Rocks appear to have been inscribed in the 13th and 14th years from Asoka's coronation, while the Eight Edicts on Pillars were inscribed in the 27th and 28th years. The last of the Pillar Edicts is the last expression of the great emperor's ideas and wishes that is available to us. The Edicts in Caves were intermediate in point of time between those on Rocks and those on Pillars.

The Dipavansa and the Mahavansa maintain that Asoka was converted to Buddhism in the fourth year after his anointment. But M. Senart proves from the inscriptions themselves that the conversion really took place in the ninth year after the anointment, and immediately after the emperor had conquered Kalinga. It was the spectacle of the war of Kalinga, and of the cruel and sanguinary acts which accompanied it, that created a lasting impression on the mind of the benevolent emperor, and made him disposed to embrace the gentle and merciful creed of Gautama. Two years after, *i. e.*, in the eleventh year after his coronation, Asoka was converted a second time, *i. e.*, he was led to spread and proclaim the faith more zealously than he had done before; and from the thirteenth year he began to cause his Edicts to be inscribed in all parts of his great empire.

We learn from the inscriptions that Asoka had brothers and sisters living at the time of the inscriptions; and the story that Asoka killed his brothers in order to ascend the throne must therefore be rejected as false. The emperor had more than one queen, and one inscription describes the liberality of his second queen (Dutiya Devi). Pataliputra was the capital of the empire, but Ujjayini, Takshasila, Tosali, and Samapa, are spoken of as subject towns. The whole of Northern India owned the emperor's sway.

Fourteen nations (*Aparantas*) living beyond the limits of Northern India also owned his suzerainty. In this category are mentioned the Yavanas (of Bactria), the Kambojas (of Kabul), the Gandharas (of Kandahar), the Rastikas (Saurashtras and Maharashtras), the Petenikas (of the Deccan, *Paithana* or *Pratishthana*), the Andhras (of the Deccan), the Pulindas (of the Deccan), the Bhojas (of Malwa), and the Nabhakas and Nabhapantis. Thus Southern India as far as the Krishna river, and Kabul, Kandahar, and Bactria to the west, owned the suzerainty of the great emperor.

Other neighbouring nations are also spoken of as *Pratyantas* who were independent. The Cholas, the Pandyas, and Keralaputa (all to the south of the Krishna river), and five Greek kingdoms belong to this class.

Of Asoka's system of administration the inscriptions give us but meagre information. We are told of Purushas or officers of the king, of Mahamatras or functionaries of all orders, of Dharma-mahamatras or officers specially employed to propagate religion and foster morality, and of Pradesikas or local hereditary chiefs, the ancestors of the modern Raos and Raols and Thakurs, of whom India, with its Feudal system of administration, has always been rich. Besides these we hear of Anta-mahamatras or frontier officers, of Prativedakas or spies, and of Rajjukas specially appointed to inculcate religion to the Dharmayuta or the faithful.

The Anusamyana was a religious assemblage to which all the faithful were invited, and in which the Rajjukas exercised their special mission of imparting instruction to the people. We know that such Buddhist gatherings were held every five years, but this rule was not universal. A quinquennial Anusamyana was held in the provinces immediately under the emperor, but in Ujjayini and Takshasila the celebration was held once in every three years.

In the inscription of Sahasaram, we are told that after his conversion Asoka deprived Brahmans of the almost divine honour in which they were held, no doubt by showing equal honour to Buddhist monks. This salutary measure has been exaggerated into legends of sanguinary persecutions of Brahmans of which the pious emperor was entirely innocent. In the same inscription, as well as in that of Rupnath, we are told that Asoka sent his missionaries (Vivuthas) to all parts of the then known world. In the inscriptions of Bhabra, Asoka makes a profession of faith in the Buddhist Trinity,—Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

We now turn to the inscriptions themselves, and we will begin with the Rock Edicts.

Five rocks in five different parts of India bear on them five texts of *the same series of edicts* which Aśoka published. One of them is near *Kapur da giri*, about 25 miles to the north-west of Attok, on the Indus; another is near *Khalsi*, on the Jumna river just where it leaves the higher range of the Himalaya mountains; the third is at *Girnar* in Gujrat, about 40 miles to the north of the famous Somnath; the fourth is at *Dhauli* in Orissa, about 20 miles to the south of Cuttack; and the fifth is at *Jaugada*, near the Chilka Lake, and about 18 miles to the north-west of the modern town of Ganjam.

These Fourteen Edicts possess such surpassing interest for every student of Indian history, that we consider it necessary to transcribe them in full. They were first translated by James Prinsep, and have since been revised by Wilson and Burnouf, Lassen, Kern, and Senart. M. Senart's revision is the latest, and the following rendering is based on his interpretation of the Edicts. It is scarcely necessary to premise that Aśoka calls himself Pivadasi in the Edicts:—

EDICT I.

This Edict has been engraved by the order of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One must not, here below, kill any living animal by immolating it, not for the purpose of feasts. The King Piyadasi sees much that is sinful in such feasts. Formerly such feasts were allowed; and in the *cuisine* of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and for the table of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, hundreds of thousands of living beings were killed every day. At the time when this Edict is engraved three animals only are killed for the table, two pea-fowls and a gazelle, and the gazelle not regularly. Even these three animals will not be killed in future.

EDICT II.

Everywhere in the kingdom of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and also of the nations who live in the frontiers, such as

the Cholas, the Pandyas, the realms of Satyaputra and Kerala-putra, as far as Tambapanni, (and in the kingdom of) Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and of the kings who are his neighbours,—everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals. Wherever plants useful either for men or for animals were wanting, they have been imported and planted. Wherever roots and fruits were wanting, they have been imported and planted. And along public roads, wells have been dug for the use of animals and men.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. In the twelfth year after my anointment, I ordered as follows. Everywhere in my empire, the faithful, the Rajuka, and the governor of the district, shall meet in a gathering (Anusamyana), once every five years, as a part of their duty, in order to proclaim religious instructions as follows: "It is good and proper to render dutiful service to one's father and mother, to friends, to acquaintances and relations; it is good and proper to bestow alms on Brahmans and Sramans, to respect the life of living beings, to avoid prodigality and violent language." The clergy shall then instruct the faithful in detail in the spirit and in the word.

EDICT IV.

In past times, during many hundred years, have prevailed the slaughter of living beings, violence towards creatures, want of regard for relations, and want of respect for Brahmans and Sramans. But this day the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and faithful to the practice of religion, has made a religious proclamation by beat of drum, and has made a display of equipages, elephants, torches, and celestial objects to his people.

Thanks to the instructions of the religion spread by the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, there exist to-day a respect for living creatures, a tenderness towards them, a regard for relations and for Brahmans and Sramans, a dutiful obedience to father and mother, and obeisance to aged men, such as have not existed for centuries. In this respect as in others, the practice of religion prevails, and the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will continue to cause it to prevail. The sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, will cause this

practice of religion to prevail to the end of this world. Firm in religion and in virtue, they will inculcate religion. For the teaching of religion is the most meritorious of acts, and there is no practice of religion without virtue. The development, the prosperity of the religious interest, is desirable. With this object has this been engraved, in order that they may apply themselves to the highest good of this interest, and they may not allow it to decline. The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has caused this to be engraved twelve years after his anointment.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King, Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The practice of virtue is difficult, and those who practice virtue perform what is difficult. I have myself accomplished many virtuous acts. And so shall my sons and grandsons, and my latest posterity to the end of the Kalpa pursue the same conduct, and shall perform what is good. And he who shall neglect such conduct shall do what is evil. To do evil is easy. Thus in the past there were no ministers of religion (Dharmamahamatra). But I, thirteen years after my anointment, have created ministers of religion. They mix with all sects for the establishment and the progress of religion, and for the well-being of the faithful. They mix with the Yavanas, the Kambojas, the Gandharas, the Saurashtras, and the Petenikas, and with other frontier (Aparanta) nations. They mix with warriors and with Brahmans, with the rich and the poor and the aged, for their well-being and happiness, and in order to remove all the obstacles in the path of the followers of the true religion. They bring comfort to him who is in fetters, to remove his obstacles, and to deliver him,—because he has a family to support, because he has been the victim of deceit, and because he is bent with age. At Patali-putra and in other towns they exert themselves in the houses of my brothers and sisters and other relations. Everywhere the ministers of religion mix with the followers of the true religion, with those who apply themselves to religion and are firm in religion, and with those who bestow alms. It is with this object that this Edict is engraved.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There never was in past times a system of despatch of work and of hearing of reports at all moments. This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner appartments, in

the secret chamber, in my retreat, in the garden,—everywhere, officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I despatch the concerns relating to my people. I myself with my own mouth issue instructions which the ministers of religion impart to the people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel, in the assembly of the clergy, it should always be immediately reported to me. For there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice It is my duty to procure by my instructions the good of the public; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good, and nothing is more efficacious than this. All my endeavours have but thus one object;—to pay this debt due to my people! I render them as happy as possible here below; may they obtain happiness hereafter in heaven! It is with this object that I have caused this Edict to be engraved; may it endure long! And may my sons and my grandsons and my great-grandsons follow my example for the public good. This great object requires the utmost endeavour.

EDICT VII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, ardently desires that all sects may live (unmolested) in all places. All of them equally propose the subjection of the senses and the purification of the soul; but man is fickle in his attachments. They thus practice but imperfectly what they profess; and those who do not bestow ample gifts may yet possess a control over their senses, purity of soul, and gratitude and fidelity in their affections; and this is commendable.

EDICT VIII.

In past times kings went out for pastimes. Hunting and other amusements of the kind were their pastimes here below. I, King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, obtained true intelligence ten years after my anointment. These, then, are my pastimes;—visits and gifts to Brahmans and Sramans, visits to aged men, the distribution of money, visits to the people of the empire, their religious instruction, and consultations on religious subjects. It is thus that the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts.

EDICT IX.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Men perform various observances in illness, at the marriage of a son or a

daughter, at the birth of a child, and at the time of proceeding on a journey. On these and similar occasions men follow various practices. But these numerous and diverse practices observed by most people are valueless and vain. It is customary, however, to observe such practices, although they produce no fruit. But the practice of religion, on the contrary, is meritorious in the highest degree. Regard for slaves and servants, and respect for relations and teachers are meritorious; tenderness towards living beings, and alms to Brahmans and Sramans are meritorious. I call these and similar virtuous acts the practice of religion. A father or a son, a brother or a teacher should say,—this is what is meritorious, this is the practice which must be observed till the end is attained. It has been said that alms are meritorious, but there is no gift and no charity so meritorious as the gift of religion, the imparting of religion. Hence a friend, a relation, a companion should give such counsel,—in such and such circumstances this should be done, —this is meritorious. Convinced that such conduct leads to heaven, one should follow it with zeal as the way which leads to heaven.

EDICT X.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, does not deem any kind of glory and renown to be perfect except this, viz., that in the present and in the future my people practice obedience to my religion and perform the duties of my religion! That is the glory and the renown which the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, seeks. All the efforts of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, are for the fruits obtainable in the future life, and for escaping mortal life. For mortal life is evil. But it is difficult to attain this end both for the small and the great, except by a determined effort to detach themselves from all objects. It is assuredly a difficult task, specially for the great, to perform this.

EDICT XI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. There is no gift comparable with the gift of religion, the intimacy of religion, the charity of religion, the relationship of religion. This should be observed,—regard towards slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity towards friends, companions, relations, Sramans, and Brahmans, and respect for the life of living creatures. A father or a son or a brother, a friend, a companion, or even a

neighbour, should say,—this is meritorious, this should be done. In striving thus, he derives a gain in this world and in the life to come; infinite merit results from the gift of religion.

EDICT XII.

The King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, honours all sects, both ascetics and householders; he propitiates them by alms and by other gifts. But the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to such gifts and honours than to the endeavour to promote their essential moral virtues. It is true, the prevalence of essential virtues differs in different sects. But there is a common basis, and that is gentleness and moderation in language. Thus one should not exalt one's own sect and decry the others; one should not depreciate them without cause, but should render them on every occasion the honour which they deserve. Striving thus, one promotes the welfare of his own sect while serving the others. Striving otherwise, one does not serve his own sect, and does disservice to others. And whoever from attachment to his own sect, and with a view to promote it, exalts it and decries others, only deals rude blows to his own sect! Hence concord alone is meritorious, so that all bear and love to bear the beliefs of each other. It is the desire of the beloved of the gods that all sects should be instructed, and should profess pure doctrines. All people, whatever their faith may be, should say that the beloved of the gods attaches less importance to gifts and to external observances, than to the desire to promote essential moral doctrines and mutual respect for all sects. It is with this object that the ministers of religion, the officers in charge of females, the inspectors, and other bodies of officers, all work. The result of this is the promotion of my own faith, and its advancement in the light of religion.

EDICT XIII.

Vast is the kingdom of Kalinga conquered by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures have been reduced to slavery, a hundred thousand have been killed. Since the conquest of Kalinga, the king, beloved of the gods, has turned towards religion, has been devoted to religion, has conceived a zeal for religion, and has applied himself to the diffusion of religion,—so great was the regret which the beloved of the gods felt at the conquest of Kalinga. In conquering the country which was not subject to me, I, beloved of the gods, have deeply felt and

sorrowed for the murders, the deaths, and the reducing of the native inhabitants to slavery. But this is what the beloved of the gods has felt and sorrowed for more keenly. Everywhere dwell Brahmans or Sramans, ascetics or householders; and among such men are witnessed respect to authorities, obedience to fathers and mothers, affection towards friends, companions, and relations, regard for servants, and fidelity in affections. Such men are exposed to violence and to death, and to separation from those who are dear to them. And even when by special protection they themselves escape personal harm, their friends, acquaintances, companions, and relations are ruined; and thus they too have to suffer. All violence of this kind is keenly felt and regretted by me, beloved of the gods. There is no country where bodies of men like the Brahmans and Sramans are not known, and there is no spot in any country where men do not profess the religion of some sect or other. It is because so many men have been drowned, ruined, killed, and reduced to slavery in Kalinga that the beloved of the gods feels this to-day a thousand times more keenly.

. . . . . .

The beloved of the gods ardently desires security for all creatures, respect for life, peace, and kindliness in behaviour. This is what the beloved of the gods considers as the conquests of religion. It is in these conquests of religion that the beloved of the gods takes pleasure, both in his empire and in all its frontiers, with an extent of many hundred Yojanas. Among his (neighbours), Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and beyond Antiochus, four kings, Ptolemy, Antigonas, Magas, and Alexander; to the south, among the Cholas, Pandyas as far as Tambapanni, and also the Henaraja Vismavasi; among the Greeks and the Kambojas, the Nabhakas and the Nabhapantis, the Bhojas, and the Petenikas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas;—everywhere they conform to the religious instructions of the beloved of the gods. There where the messengers of the beloved of the gods have been sent, there the people heard the duties of the religion preached on the part of the beloved of the gods, and conform and will conform to the religion and religious instructions. . . . Thus the conquest is extended on all sides. I have felt an intense joy,—such is the happiness which the conquests of religion procure! But to speak the truth, this joy is a secondary matter; the beloved of the gods attaches great value only to the fruits which are assured in a future life. It is with this object that this religious inscription has been engraved, in order that our sons and grandsons may not think that a new conquest is necessary; that they may not think that conquest by

the sword deserves the name of conquest; that they may see in it nothing but destruction and violence; that they may consider nothing as true conquest save the conquest of religion! Such conquests have value in this world and in the next; may they derive pleasure only from religion, for that has its value in this world and in the next.

EDICT XIV.

This Edict is engraved by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is partly brief, partly of ordinary extent, and partly amplified. All is not connected yet, for my empire is vast, and I have caused much to be engraved, and will yet cause more to be engraved. Some precepts have been repeated because I attach particular importance to their being followed by the people. There may be faults in the copy,—be it that a passage has been truncated, or that the sense has been misunderstood. All this has been engraved by the engraver.

Such are the famous Fourteen Edicts of Asoka, by which he (1) prohibited the slaughter of animals; (2) provided medical aid for men and animals; (3) enjoined a quinquennial religious celebration; (4) made an announcement of religious grace; (5) appointed ministers of religion and missionaries; (6) appointed moral instructors to take cognisance of the conduct of people in their social and domestic life; (7) proclaimed universal religious toleration; (8) recommended pious enjoyment in preference to the carnal amusements of previous times; (9) expatiated on the merit of imparting religious instruction and moral advice; (10) extolled true heroism and glory founded on spreading true religion; (11) upheld the imparting of religious instruction as the best of all kinds of charity; (12) proclaimed his wish to convert all unbelievers on the principles of universal toleration and moral persuasion; (13) mentioned the conquest of Kalinga and the names of five Greek kings, to whose kingdoms, as well as to kingdoms in India, missionaries had been sent; and lastly, (14) summed up the foregoing with some remarks on the engraving of the Edicts.

From a historical point of view the second Edict is important as containing the names of Hindu kingdoms and of Antiochus of Syria: the fifth Edict also contains similar allusions; and the thirteenth Edict alludes to the conquest of Kalinga, which first brought Bengal and Orissa into close political relations with Magadha and Northern India. The same Edict names five Greek kings, and the original text containing these names deserves to be quoted.

ANTIYOKA *nama Yona Raja, param cha tena Antiyokena chatura Rajani*, TURAMAYE *nama*, ANTIKINA *nama*, MAKA *nama*, ALIKASANDARE *nama*.

These five names are those of ANTIOCHUS of Syria, PTOLEMY of Egypt, ANTIGONAS of Macedon, MAGAS of Cyrene, and ALEXANDER of Epiros. They were contemporaries of Asoka, and the latter made treaties with them, and with their permission sent Buddhist missionaries to preach the religion in those countries. The same Edict mentions names of kingdoms in India, or close to India, where missionaries were similarly sent.

Besides the Fourteen Edicts spoken of above, and which were published as one body of laws or moral rules, separate Edicts were published by Asoka from time to time, and some of them have been discovered.

An Edict published at Dhauli and Jaugada (south-west of Cuttack) lays down humane rules for the administration of the town of Tosali, recommends religious conduct to all subjects, and prescribes the quinquennial religious celebration alluded to above. The same Edict lays down that at Ujjayini and at Takshasila the celebration should be held once every three years.

A second Edict was published also at Dhauli and Jaugada, laying down rules for the administration of Tosali and Samapa, and conveying instructions to frontier officers. Two Edicts, one at Sahasaram (south-east of Benares) and one at Rupnath (north-east of Jubbulpur), have been translated by Dr. Buhler, and contain pious

exhortations, and inform us that 256 missionaries (Vivutha) had been appointed and sent in all directions by the pious emperor. The inscription at Bairat (south-west of Delhi) is a communication to the clergy of Magadha, and contains Asoka's profession of faith in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha,—the Buddhist Trinity. A pious Edict of the second queen of Asoka has been discovered at Allahabad, and three new inscriptions of Asoka have lately been discovered in Mysore.

We now turn to the inscriptions in Caves.

The Cave inscriptions known are those of the Barabar and Nagarjuni caves, about sixteen miles north of Gaya; the Khandagiri caves, south of Cuttack; and the Ramgarh caves, in the Central Provinces. The inscriptions in the Barabar caves declare that they were given by Asoka (Piyadasi) to religious mendicants; and those in the Nagarjuni caves state that they were the gift of Asoka's successor Dasaratha. The Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves were mostly gifts of the kings of Kalinga (Orissa).

And, lastly, we turn to the inscriptions on Pillars. The famous pillars of Delhi and Allahabad attracted the attention and defied the skill of antiquarians from the time of Sir William Jones, until the inscriptions on them were first deciphered by Prinsep. Besides the two Delhi pillars and the Allahabad pillar, there are two inscribed pillars at Lauria, in Tirhoot, and one at Sanchi, in Bhopal.

The same six Edicts are published in nearly all the pillars, while two more Edicts are found in the Delhi pillar called the Lat of Feruz Shah. It will be remembered that these Eight Edicts were proclaimed in the 27th and 28th years after Asoka's anointment; they contain little information about the emperor's politics, and are replete with moral and religious instructions, and accounts of works of public good and public utility. Briefly, the pious emperor (1) directed his officers of religion to work with zeal and pious anxiety; (2) explained religion to be mercy, charity, truth, and purity;

(3) inculcated self-questioning and the avoidance of sins ; (4) entrusted the religious instruction of the people to Rajjukas, and allowed prisoners condemned to death three days' grace ; (5) prohibited the killing of various animals ; (6) proclaimed his goodwill to his subjects and hoped for the conversion of all sects ; (7) hoped that his Edicts and religious exhortations would lead men to the right path ; and (8) lastly, recounted his works of public utility and his measures for the religious advancement of the people, and enjoined the conversion of the people by moral persuasion. The following translation of the Eight Edicts is based on the interpretation of Senart :—

EDICT I.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. Happiness in this world and in the next is difficult to secure without an excessive zeal for religion, a rigorous supervision, a perfect obedience, a lively sense of responsibility, and a constant activity (on the part of my officers). But, thanks to my instruction, this anxiety and zeal for religion increase and will increase day by day. And my officers, superior, middling, and subaltern, conform themselves to it and direct the people in the right path, and keep them in cheerful spirits ; and so too my frontier officers (Anta-mahamatra) work. For the rule is this : government by religion, law by religion, progress by religion, and security by religion.

EDICT II.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Religion is excellent. But it will be asked,—what is this religion ? Religion consists in doing the least possible evil and the greatest possible good,—in mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. Thus have I bestowed gifts of all kinds to men and to quadrupeds, to birds, and to animals that live in the waters. I have extended manifold favours for their good, even to supplying them with water for drink ; and have performed many other meritorious acts. To this purpose have I caused this Edict to be engraved, so that men may conform to it and travel in the right path, and that it may endure for ages. He who will act in conformity thereto, will do what is good and meritorious.

EDICT III.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. One sees only his good acts, and says,—I have done such a good act. But one does not see his evil acts, and does not say,—I have committed this evil act; this act is a sin. Such examination is painful, it is true, but nevertheless it is necessary to question one's self and to say,—Such things are sinful, as mischief, cruelty, anger, and pride. It is necessary to examine one's self carefully, and to say,—I will not harbour envy, nor calumniate others. This will be beneficial to me here below; this will be in truth still more beneficial to me in the life to come.

EDICT IV.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I caused this Edict to be engraved. I have appointed Rajukas over the people among hundreds of thousands of inhabitants. I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and to punish the Rajukas in order that they may in perfect confidence and security perform their duties, and promote the good of the people of my empire. They take account alike of progress and of suffering, and with the faithful, they exhort the people of my empire to secure to them happiness here below, and salvation in the future. The Rajukas obey me; the Purushas also obey my wishes and my orders and spread my exhortations, so that the Rajukas may work to my satisfaction. Even as one confides his infant to a careful nurse and feels secure, and says,—A careful nurse has charge of my infant,—even so I have appointed the Rajukas for the good of my subjects. And in order that they may with confidence and security, and free from anxiety, discharge their duties, I have reserved to myself the power to prosecute and punish them. It is desirable to maintain equality both in prosecution and in penalties. From this date therefore this rule is ordained,—To prisoners, who have been judged and condemned to death, I allow a grace of three days. They shall be informed that they shall live for this period, neither more nor less. Thus warned of the limit of their existence, they will bestow alms for the benefit of their future existence, or will practice fasting. I desire that even when confined in a prison, they shall be assured of the future; and I ardently desire to see the advancement of religious acts, the control of the senses, and the distribution of alms.

EDICT V.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 26 years after my anointment, I have prohibited the killing of any of the following kinds of living creatures, viz., the *suka*, the *sarika*, *aruna*, the *chakravaka*, the *hansa* (wild duck), the *nandimukha*, the *gairata*, the *gelata* (bat), the *ambaka pillika*, the *dadi*, the *anasthika* fish, the *vedaveyaka*, the *puputa* of the Ganges, the *sankuja* fish, the *kaphatasayaka*, the *pamnasasa*, the *simala*, the *sandaka*, the *okapinda*, the *palasata*, the *svetakapota* (white pigeon), the *grama-kapota* (village pigeon), and all quadrupeds which are not of use and are not eaten. The she-goat, the sheep, and the sow should not be killed when heavy with young or giving milk, or until their young ones are six months old. One shall not make capons. Living creatures shall not be burnt. Jungles shall not be burnt either recklessly or to kill the creatures inhabiting them. Animals shall not be fed on other living animals. At the full moon of the three Chaturmasyas (four-monthly celebrations), at the conjunction of the full moon with the constellation Tishya, and with the constellation Punarvasu, on the 14th and the 15th day of the moon and the day following the full moon, and generally on each *Uposatha* day, one should not kill or sell fish. On these days neither animals kept in game-forests, nor fishes in tank, nor any other kind of living beings shall be killed. On the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of each lunar fortnight, and on the days following the full moon of the Tishya, the Punarvasu, and the three *Chaturmasyas*, one shall not mutilate the bull, the goat, the sheep, or the pig, or any other animals which are mutilated. Neither the horse nor the bull shall be branded on the full moon days of Tishya, Punarvasu, and the Chaturmasyas, and on the first days of the fortnights succeeding the full moon days of the Chaturmasyas. In the twenty-six years from my anointment, I have liberated twenty-six prisoners.

EDICT VI.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. 12 years after my anointment, I caused Edicts to be engraved (for the first time) for the good and the happiness of the people. I flatter myself that they will profit by it, and will make progress in religion in manifold ways; and thus the Edicts will tend to the benefit and the happiness of the people. I adopted means calculated to promote the happiness of my subjects,—those who are far from me, as well as

those who are near me,—and also of my own relations. Hence I watch over all my bodies of officers. All sects receive from me gifts in manifold ways. But it is their own conversion which I consider the most important. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-six years after my anointment.

EDICT VII.

Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion. But men did not make any progress in religion according to their desire. Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have reflected that kings who ruled in past times desired that men should make progress in religion, and men made no progress in religion according to their desire,—by what means can I lead them in the right path? By what means can I cause them to make progress in religion according to my desire? By what means can I cause them to advance in religion? Then thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have formed the resolution of publishing religious exhortations and of promulgating religious instructions, so that men on hearing these will enter on the right path and will elevate themselves.

EDICT VIII.

I have promulgated religious exhortations and given manifold instructions on religion, in order that religion may make rapid progress. I have appointed numerous officers over the people, each employed in his duty towards the people, in order that they may spread instruction and promote goodness. Thus I have appointed Rajukas on many thousands of men, and they have received my order to instruct the faithful. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. It is with this single idea that I have raised *pillars* with religious inscriptions, that I have appointed ministers of religion (Dharma-mahamatra), that I have spread afar religious exhortations. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Along the highways I have planted Nyagrodha trees, that they may give shade to men and to animals; I have planted out gardens with mangoes; I have caused wells to be dug every half *krosa*; and in numerous places I have erected resting houses for the repose of men and of animals. But the truest enjoyment for myself is this. Previous kings and myself have contributed to the

happiness of men by various beneficial acts; but to make them follow the path of religion, it is with this object that I regulate my actions. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. I have also appointed ministers of religion in order that they may exert in every way in works of charity, and that they may exert themselves among all sects, monks as well as worldly men. I have also had in view the interest of the clergy, of Brahmans, of religious mendicants, of religious *Nirgranthas*, and of various sects among whom my officers work. The Mahamatras exert themselves, each in his corporation, and the ministers of religion work generally among all sects. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. These and other officers are my instruments, and they work to distribute my alms and those of the queens. Throughout my palace they work in manifold ways, each in the apartments entrusted to him. I learn also that both here and in the provinces they distribute the alms of my children, and specially of the royal princes, to favour acts of religion and the practice of religion. In this way acts of religion are promoted in the world, as well the practice of religion, viz., mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The manifold acts of goodness which I accomplish serve as an example. Through them, men have advanced, and will advance, in obedience to relations and to teachers, in kindly consideration for the aged, and in regard towards Brahmans and Sramans, towards the poor and the miserable,—yea, towards servants and slaves. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. The progress of religion among men is secured in two ways,—by positive rules,—and by religious sentiments which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value; it is the inspiration in the heart which best prevails. Positive rules consist in what I order,—when, for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules, as I have done to a large number. But it is solely by a change in the sentiments of the heart that religion makes a real advance in inspiring a respect for life and in the anxiety not to kill living beings. It is with this view that I have promulgated this inscription, in order that it may endure for my sons and my grandsons, and as long as the sun and the moon endure, and in order that they may follow my instructions. For by following this path one secures happiness here below, and in the other world. I have caused this Edict to be engraved twenty-seven years after my anointment. Thus spake King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Wherever this Edict exists, on pillars of stone, let it endure unto remote ages.

The Edict *has* endured unto remote ages; and within the two thousand years which have succeeded, mankind has discovered no nobler religion than to promote in this earth "mercy and charity, truth and purity, kindness and goodness."

CHAPTER II.

LANGUAGE AND ALPHABET.

THE inscriptions of Asoka are invaluable to us for a study of the language and alphabet of Northern India in the third century B.C. The Edicts are undoubtedly in the language which was spoken and understood by the people in Asoka's time; and the fact that the same Edicts are recorded in dialects slightly differing from each other, in the different parts of India, prove that the great emperor desired to publish his laws in the dialect which was spoken by the people in each separate portion of his extensive empire.

The inscriptions show that the spoken language of Northern India was essentially the same, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains, and from the Indus to the Ganges. There are slight variations, however, from which antiquarians have made out three varieties of the spoken tongue of the period. General Cunningham calls them the *Punjabi*, or Western dialect, the *Ujjaini* or Middle dialect, and the *Magadhi* or Eastern dialect.

The Punjabi dialect is closer to Sanscrit than the others. It retains the *r* in such words as Priyadarsi, Sramana, &c.; it retains the three sibilants of the Sanscrit; and it shows a nearer approach to Sanscrit forms. The Ujjaini dialect has *r* as well as *l*; while the Magadhi dialect is marked by the entire absence of *r*, for which *l* has been substituted, *Laja* for *Raja*, *Dasalatha* for *Dasaratha*, &c.

Considering, then, the slightly varying dialects as one

spoken language, antiquarians have held that that language is Pali. Prinsep called the language to be "intermediate between Sanscrit and Pali." Wilson made a careful and searching examination of four different versions of the Rock Edicts, and stated his opinion that "the language itself is a kind of Pali, offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pali grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanscrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language."

Lassen agrees with Wilson in maintaining that the language of Asoka's inscriptions is Pali, and he further maintains that the Pali is the eldest daughter of the Sanscrit,—the oldest spoken tongue in Northern India after Sanscrit had ceased to be a spoken tongue. Muir supports this view by a comparison of the language of the inscriptions with the language of the Buddhist Scriptures taken to Ceylon in the third century B.C., and proves that they are pretty much the same language,—Pali. In an "essai sur le Pali," written by Burnouf and Lassen, those learned authors maintain that Pali stands "on the first step of the ladder of departure from Sanscrit, and is the first of the series of dialects which break up that rich and fertile language."

This, then, is a sufficiently clear and definite fact, which is invaluable to the historian of India. We know the spoken tongue of the Vedic Age, which has been preserved in the simplest and most beautiful hymns of the Rig Veda. We know the spoken tongue of the Epic Age, which has been preserved in the prose Brahmanas and Aranyakas. After 1000 B.C., there was a growing divergence between the spoken and the written tongue. Learned Sutras were composed in the old grammatical Sanscrit, while the people spoke, and Gautama preached in the sixth century B.C., in a somewhat simpler and more fluent language. What that language was, we

know from the Edicts of Asoka; for the spoken tongue could not have changed very much from 477 B.C., when Gautama died, to 260 B.C., when Asoka reigned. The spoken language then of the third or Rationalistic Period was an early form of Pali, by whatever names (Magadhi, &c.) we may choose to call it. And varieties of this language continued to be the spoken tongue of Northern India during the fourth or Buddhist period.

In the fifth or Puranic Period, the Pali had been considerably altered and formed into the different Prakrit dialects which we find in the dramas of this period. The grammatical forms of the Prakrit depart more widely from the Sanscrit than those of the Pali, and historically too, we know that the spoken language of Kalidasa's heroines was later than the spoken tongue of Asoka. When the Puranic Period closed, another change took place; and the Prakrits were further modified into the Hindi, in Northern India, by 1000 A.D.

It will thus be seen that the spoken tongue of Northern India has undergone considerable changes within the last four thousand years. In the Vedic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda; in the Epic Period it was the Sanscrit of the Brahmanas; in the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods it was Pali; in the Puranic Period it was the Prakrits; and since the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth century it has been the Hindi.

From the subject of the spoken language of India we turn to the subject of alphabet, on which much has been written, and many wild conjectures have been indulged in.

The Devanagari character, in which Sanskrit is now written, is of comparatively recent origin. The oldest Indian character known is that in which Asoka's inscriptions were recorded in the third century before Christ. It is necessary to mention that these inscriptions are recorded in two distinct characters—one reading from right to left, like the modern Arabic and Persian, and the other reading from left to right, like the modern

Devanagari and the European characters. The former is confined to the Kapur da Giri inscription and to the coins of the Greek and Scythian princes of Ariana; and it has been called the *Ariano-Pali* or *North Asoka* character. The latter is the character of all other texts of Asoka's inscriptions, and has been called the *Indo-Pali* or *South Asoka* character.

The Ariano-Pali or North Asoka character is not one of Indian origin, and was never used in India except in the extreme western frontier. Mr. Thomas rightly concludes that it has no claim to an indigenous origin in India, based, as it manifestly is, upon an alphabet cognate with the Phœnician. It died out after the first century A.D.

On the other hand, the Indo-Pali or South Asoka character was not only universally used in India, but can claim to be of indigenous Indian origin. As we have stated before, it reads from left to right, and it is the mother of the Devanagari and other modern Indian alphabets. Mr. Thomas has no hesitation in stating that it is an "independently devised and locally matured scheme of writing;" and he insists pointedly to the Indian origin of this alphabet, because it pleases many antiquarians to conjecture that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks or the Phœnicians.

General Cunningham maintains with Mr. Thomas the Indian origin of the Indo-Pali character. His remarks on the subject of the origin of alphabets generally, and of the Indo-Pali alphabet in particular, are so thoughtful that we make no hesitation in making some extracts.

"The first attempts of mankind at graphic representation must have been confined to pictures or direct imitations of actual objects. This was the case with the Mexican paintings, which depicted only such material objects as could be seen by the eye. An improvement on direct pictorial representation was made by the ancient Egyptians in the substitution of a part for the whole, as

of a human head for a man, a bird's head for a bird, &c. The system was still further extended by giving to certain pictures indirect values or powers symbolical of the objects represented. Thus a jackal was made the type of cunning, and an ape the type of rage. By a still further application of this abbreviated symbolism, a pair of human arms with spear and shield denoted fighting, a pair of human legs meant walking, while a hoe was the type of digging, an eye of seeing, &c. But even with this poetical addition, the means of expressing thoughts and ideas by pictorial representations was still very limited. . . . . It seems certain, therefore, that at a very early date the practice of pure picture writing must have been found so complicated and inconvenient, that the necessity for a simpler mode of expressing their ideas was forced upon the Egyptian priesthood. The plan which they invented was higly ingenious. . . .

"To the greater number of their pictorial symbols, the Egyptians assigned the phonetic values of the particular sounds or names, of which each symbol previously had been only a simple picture. Thus to a mouth, *ru*, they assigned the value *r*, and to a hand, *tut*, the value *t*. . . .

"A similar process would appear to have taken place in India, as I will presently attempt to show by a separate examination of the alphabetical letters of Asoka's age with the pictures of various objects from which I believe them to have been directly descended. . . . My own conclusion is that the Indian alphabet is of purely Indian origin, just as much as the Egyptian hieroglyphics were the purely local invention of the people of Egypt. . . . I admit that several of the letters have almost exactly the same *forms* as those which are found amongst the Egyptian hieroglyphics for the same things, but their *values* are quite different, as they form different syllables in the two languages. Thus a pair of legs separated as in walking was the Egyptian symbol for walking or motion, and the same form, like the two sides of a pair of

compasses, is the Indian letter *g*, which as *ga* is the commonest of all the Sanscrit roots for walking or motion of any kind. But the value of the Egyptian symbol is *s*; and I contend that if the symbol had been *borrowed* by the Indians, it would have retained its original value. This, indeed, is the very thing that happened with the Accadian cuneiform symbols when they were adopted by the Assyrians." *

General Cunningham conjectures that the Indo-Pali letter *Kh* is derived from the Indian hoe or mattock (*Khan*—to dig); that *Y* is derived from barley (*Yava*), or from a member of the human frame; that *D* is from the tooth (*Danta*), *Dh* from the bow (*Dhanus*), *P* is from the hand (*Pani*), *M* is from the mouth (*Mukha*), *V* is from the lute (*Vina*), *N* is from the nose (*Nasa*), *R* is from a rope (*Rajju*), *H* is from the hand (*Hasta*), *L* is from the plough (*Langa*) or from a member of the human frame, *S* is from the ear (*Sravana*), and so on.

"In this brief examination of the letters of the old Indian alphabet, I have compared their forms at the time of Asoka, or 250 B.C., with the pictures of various objects and of the different members of the human frame; and the result of my examination is the conviction that many of the characters still preserved, even in their simpler alphabetical forms, very strong and marked traces of their pictorial origin. My comparison of the symbols with the Egyptian hieroglyphics shows that many of them are almost identical representations of the same objects. But as the Indian symbols have totally different values from those of Egypt, it seems almost certain that the Indians must have worked out their system quite independently, although they followed the same process. They did not, therefore, borrow their alphabet from the Egyptians. . . .

"Now, if the Indians did not borrow their alphabet

* Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i. 1877, pp. 52 and 53.

from the Egyptians, it must have been the local invention of the people themselves, for the simple reason that there was no other people from whom they could have obtained it. Their nearest neighbours were the peoples of Ariana and Persia, of whom the former used a Semetic character of Phœnician origin, reading from right to left, and the latter a cuneiform character formed of separate detached strokes, which has nothing whatever in common with the compact forms of the Indian alphabet."*

We have quoted the opinions of Mr. Thomas and General Cunningham, as there are no higher authorities than they on the subject of Indian alphabets. Our readers will, however, feel interested in the opinions of other scholars on this very important subject.

Weber maintains that the Hindus borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians, but modified and expanded it so much that the Indian alphabet may be called an Indian invention. Max Muller holds that India had no written alphabetic literature earlier than the fifth century B.C., and that the Indian alphabet is borrowed from the West. But Roth expresses his firm conviction, based on prolonged Vedic studies, that the vast collections of Vedic Hymns could not possibly have depended for existence on oral transmission, and he considers it as a *sine quâ non* that writing was known in Vedic times. Buhler holds that the Indian alphabet with its five nasals and three sibilants must have been developed in the grammatical schools of the Brahmans; Goldstucker holds that writing was known when the Vedic Hymns were composed; and Lassen maintains that the Indo-pali or South Asoka alphabet is of purely indigenous Indian origin.

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i. pp. 60 and 61.

CHAPTER III.

THE KINGS OF MAGADHA.

"I KNOW the Rig Veda, sir," says Narada in the Chhandogya Upanishad (VII, 1, 2), "the Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda, as the fourth the Atharvana, as the fifth the Itihasa-Purana," &c. This and other similar passages in the literature of the Epic Period would lead to the conclusion that some kind of annals of kings and dynasties existed, even in that ancient period, which were known as Itihasa-Puranas. If such annals existed, beyond what we find in the Brahmanas themselves, they have long since been lost. Probably such annals were preserved in the traditions of the people, and were altered and re-cast, and mixed up with legends from century to century, and from age to age, until, after about two thousand years, they finally assumed the shape in which we find them now,—the modern Puranas. For the Puranas which exist now were compiled in the Puranic Period, and have since been altered and considerably enlarged during many centuries *after* the Mahommedan conquest of India.

When these Puranas were first discovered by Sir William Jones and other European scholars, great hopes were entertained that they would throw light on the ancient history of India. A host of eminent scholars turned their attention to this new field of inquiry, and Dr. H. H. Wilson gave to English readers a translation of the Vishnu Purana, "in the hope of supplying some of the necessary means to a satisfactory elucidation

of an important chapter in the history of the human race." *

The royal race of the Kosalas is called in the Puranas the race of the Sun, while that of the Kurus is called the race of the Moon. According to the Puranas there were no less than ninety-three kings of the solar line, and no less than forty-five kings of the lunar line before the Kuru-Panchala war was fought. Accepting B.C. 1250 as the date of the war, as we have done, and giving a modest average of fifteen years for each reign, it would seem that the Aryans settled in the Gangetic valley and founded kingdoms there, not about 1400 B.C. as we have imagined, but at least a thousand years earlier. It would seem that Indian antiquarians have been too modest in their supposition about the limits of the Epic Age, and that instead of fixing four centuries, from B.C. 1400 to 1000, for that age, we could extend it to fifteen centuries, from B.C. 2500 to 1000. And as the Vedic Period preceded the Epic Age, we could reckon the former from B.C. 3000, if not a still earlier date.

We have mentioned these facts to show that the dates which are generally given for the first two epochs of Indian history are merely tentative, and that further researches may require their extension, as has been the case in the instances of Egypt and Chaldea. We do not yet feel justified in extending them, merely on the authority of the lists preserved in the Puranas of the solar and lunar kings; but nevertheless these lists are important and suggestive. They remind us that the rise and fall of nations and dynasties in India cannot always be limited within the brief limits of a few centuries, but may have occupied a thousand years and more. And they also remind us that if we have accepted B.C. 2000 as the commencement of the Vedic Period, it is only as a tentative measure, and that future researches may justify our extending it to B.C. 3,000, or to a yet remoter date.

* Preface to the *Vishnu Purana*.

To return now to the Puranic lists. It is scarcely necessary to mention that among the solar kings we find the name of Rama, the hero of the Ramayana, and among the lunar kings we find the names of the five Pandava brothers, the heroes of the Mahabharata. Among the lunar kings we also find the names of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Sumbha, and Pundra, which are really local names, being East Behar, East Bengal, Orissa, Tippera, and North Bengal respectively. Legends connected with the colonisation of Eastern India must have been mixed up with the accounts of the royal race of the Kurus.

It will thus be seen that annals of the solar and lunar dynasties preserved in the Puranas are partly historical and partly legendary. In this respect they may be compared with the chronicles of the world's history written and copied from century to century by European monks in the Middle Ages. Each monk began with the creation of the world, as each Purana begins with the founders of the solar and the lunar dynasties; and, like the writers of the Puranas, Christian monks wove together legends, miracles, with episodes from Jewish history, and narrated the discovery of Britain by the Trojans, and the fables about Arthur and Roland, along with real historical facts and incidents. Nevertheless, there was a portion in the chronicle of each renowned monk which had its value for the purposes of history. As the writer came nearer to his time, he generally wrote an authentic account of his country, its kings and its monasteries. And as if to complete the parallel, we find something at the very close of the Puranic annals, which is valuable for our historical purpose.

The existing Puranas, as we have said before, were compiled or recast in the Puranic Period, *i.e.*, immediately on the close of the Buddhist Period. And as throughout the Rationalistic and Buddhist Periods the empire of Magadha was the centre of civilisation and power in India, the Puranas furnish us with something that is

valuable about this one kingdom,—Magadha. According to our custom, we will quote the lists from the Vishnu Purana which relates to this kingdom.

"I will now relate to you the descendants of Brihadratha who will be (the kings) of Magadha. There have been several powerful princes of this dynasty, of whom the most celebrated was Jarasandha. His son was Sahadeva; his son is Somapi;* his son will be Srutavat; his son will be Ayutayus; his son will be Niramitra; his son will be Sukshatra; his son will be Brihatkarman; his son will be Senajit; his son will be Srutanjaya; his son will be Vipra; his son will be Suchi; his son will be Kshemya; his son will be Suvrata; his son will be Dharma; his son will be Susrama; his son will be Dridhasena; his son will be Sumati; his son will be Subala; his son will be Sunita; his son will be Satyajit; his son will be Visvajit; his son will be Ripunjaya. These are Barhadrathas who will reign for a thousand years."

Although the Vayu Purana, the Bhagavata Purana, and the Matsya Purana agree with the Vishnu Purana in giving the Barhadrathas a thousand years, yet we will venture to correct these venerable authorities, and will scarcely give 500 years to the twenty-two princes. Indeed the Vishnu Purana corrects itself, as we shall find further on.

"The last of the Brihadratha dynasty Ripunjava will have a minister named Sunika, who, having killed his sovereign, will place his own son Pradyotana upon the throne. His son will be Palaka; his son will be Visakhayupa; his son will be Janaka; and his son will be Nandivardhana. These five kings of the house of Pradyota will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-eight years.

* The writer is supposed to be living at the time of Somapi, *i.e.*, shortly after the Kuru-Panchala war, and therefore speaks in the future tense of prophecy of the succeeding princes.

"The next prince will be Sisunaga; his son will be Kakavarna; his son will be Kshemadharman; his son will be Kshatraujas; his son will be Vidmisara; his son will be Ajatasatru; his son will be Darbhaka; his son will be Udayasva; his son will also be Nandivardhana; and his son will be Mahanandin. These ten Saisunagas will be kings of the earth for three hundred and sixty-two years."

Here we will pause, for we find in the list one or two names with which we are already familiar. Vidmisara is called Bimbisara in the Vayu Purana, and is the same king of Rajagriha in whose reign Gautama Buddha was born in Kapilavastu. And his son Ajatasatru is the powerful king in the eighth year of whose reign Gautama died. We have accepted 477 B.C. as the year of Buddha's death, and allowing a hundred years for the remaining portion of Ajatasatru's reign and the reigns of his four successors, we get about 370 B.C. as the date when Mahanandin died, and the dynasty of the Sisunagas was at an end.

If now we accept the periods which have been given for the different dynasties in the Vishnu Purana, we get 1,000 years for the Brihadratha dynasty; 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty; and 362 years for the Sisunaga dynasty; or, in other words, exactly 1,500 years from the Kuru-Panchala war to the end of the Sisunaga dynasty. Or, in other words, if the Sisunaga dynasty ended about 370 B.C., the Kuru-Panchala war took place about 1870 B.C.

But the Vishnu Purana's chronology is wrong, and the Vishnu Purana's astronomy corrects its chronology. For, towards the close of the very chapter from which we have made the above extracts (Book IV, Chapter XXIV), the Vishnu Purana says: "From the birth of Parikshit to the coronation of Nanda, it is to be known that 1,015 years have elapsed. When the two first stars of the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) rise in the heavens and some lunar asterism is seen at night at an equal distance between them, then the Seven Rishis continue stationary in

that conjunction, for a hundred years of men. At the birth of Parikshit, they were on Magha; when the Seven Rishis are in Purvasadha, then Nanda will begin to reign." From Magha to Purvasadha both inclusive there are ten asterisms, and hence, it is calculated, a thousand years elapsed between Parikshit and Nanda. And if Nanda began his reign (*i.e.*, the Sisunaga dynasty ended) about 370 B.C. Parikshit was born early in the fourteeth century, and the Kuru-Panchala war was fought about 1,400 B.C.

Our readers will see that this is within a century and a half of the date which we have assumed as the date of the Kuru-Panchala war in an earlier portion of this work.

If, on the other hand, we leave aside the astronomical reasons and assign an average period of 20 years* to the 37 kings of the Brihadratha, Pradyota, and Sisunaga dynasties, then we shall have for the Kuru-Panchala war a date 740 years before Nanda, or in other words 1110 B.C. And this date is also within a century and a half of the year which we have fixed for that war. The date we have fixed for the war must therefore be approximately correct.

From the above facts we will try to make out something like a probable list of dates for the Magadha kings. We know that Ajatasatru began his reign in 485 B.C., and that his father Bimbisara commenced to reign in 537 B.C. If we allow a hundred years to the four predecessors of Bimbisara, we arrive at the fact that the Sisunaga dynasty began at 637 B.C.

The Pradyota dynasty of five kings reigned before the Sisunaga dynasty, and these five reigns covered, we are told, a period of exactly 138 years. This gives a high average of over 27 years for each reign; but allowing for one or two long reigns, we may accept this period of 138 years for the Pradyota dynasty.

The Brihadratha dynasty with its 22 kings are said to

* This is a high average. But we must make allowance for weak kings with short reigns, whose names have been forgotten in later times, and have therefore not been included in the Puranic lists.

have reigned 1000 years. The figure is, of course simply a round number, and has no value;—500 years would be nearer the mark, or rather let us say 484 years, to make it divisible by 22, the number of kings. Even this would give a high average of 22 years for each reign; but we may accept the average on the supposition that some unimportant reigns have been omitted.

On these calculations we make out the following lists; but each reader must decide for himself how much reliance he will place on the lists of kings preceding the historic dynasty of Bimbisara and Ajatasatru, called the Sisunaga dynasty, which commenced in the seventh century B.C.:—

BRIHADRATHA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Jarasandha	1280
Sahadeva (contemporary of the Kuru-Panchala war)	1259
Somapi	1237
Srutavat	1215
Ayutayus	1193
Niramitra	1171
Sukshatra	1149
Brihatkarman	1127
Senajit	1105
Srutanjaya	1083
Vipra	1061
Suchi	1039
Kshemya	1017
Suvrata	995
Dharma	973
Susrama	951
Dridhaseña	929
Sumati	907
Subala	885
Sunita	863
Satyajit	841
Visvajit	819
Ripunjaya	797 to 775

PRADYOTA DYNASTY.

Pradyotana	775
Palaka	747
Visakhayupa	719
Janaka	691
Nandivardhana	664 to 637

SISUNAGA DYNASTY.

Sisunaga	637
Kakavarna	612
Kshemadharman	587
Kshatraujas	562
Bimbisara	537
Ajatasatru	485
Darbhaka	453
Udayasva	432
Nandivardhana	411
Mahanandin	390 to 370

We will now proceed with our extracts.

"The son of Mahanandin will be born of a woman of the Sudra class; his name will be Nanda (called) Maha-

padma; for he will be exceedingly avaricious. Like another Parasurama, he will be the annihilator of the Kshatriya race; for after him the kings of the earth will (be Sudras). He will bring the whole earth under one umbrella; he will have eight sons—Sumalya and others—who will reign after Mahapadma, and he and his sons will govern for a hundred years. The Brahman Kautilya will root out the nine Nandas."

We find in the above extract mention of low-caste kings ascending the throne of Kshatriyas, and of the growing power and supremacy of these kings of Magadha among the kingdoms of Northern India. We also find mention of Kautilya, the renowned Chanakya who vowed vengeance against the house of the Nandas (see the drama called Mudra Rakshasa) and helped Chandragupta to ascend the throne of Magadha. The period of one hundred years assigned to Nanda and his eight sons is merely a round number, and has no value. We allow ample time to Nanda and his eight sons if we give them fifty years; and this brings us to B. C. 320 as the date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne of Magadha.

"Upon the cessation of the race of Nanda, the Mauryas* will possess the earth; for Kautilya will place Chandragupta on the throne. His son will be Bindusara; his son will be Asoka Vardhana; his son will be Suyasas; his son will be Dasaratha; his son will be Sangata; his son will be Salisuka; his son will be Somasraman; and his successor will be Brihadratha. These are the ten Mauryas who will reign over the earth for a hundred and thirty-seven years."

The writer of the Vishnu Purana here tells us of Asokavardhana, but does not vouchsafe to make any mention of the religious revolution which took place in his reign,—the greatest which the world has ever seen. To the Brahman narrator, the deeds of the scheming

* The commentator says that Chandragupta was the son of Nanda by a wife named Mura, whence the race was called Maurya.

Chanakya, who helped Chandragupta to the throne, are more worthy of mention than those of the imperial Asoka, who spread the name and religion of India from Antioch and Macedon to Cape Comorin and Ceylon! But to return to our story. Accepting the period of 137 years given for the Maurya dynasty, that dynasty came to an end in 183 B. C.

"The dynasty of the Sungas will next become possessed of the sovereignty; for Pushpa Mitra the general (of the last Maurya prince) will put his master to death and ascend the throne. His son will be Agnimitra; his son will be Sujyeshtha; his son will be Vasumitra; his son will be Ardraka; his son will be Pulindaka; his son will be Ghoshavasu; his son will be Vajramitra; his son will be Bhagavata; his son will be Devabhuti. These are the ten Sungas, who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years."

The genius of Kalidasa has immortalised the name of the second prince of this line in the celebrated play *Malavika-Agnimitra*.* But Agnimitra is there named the king of Vidisa, not of Magadha. And his father, Pushpamitra the general, is represented as fighting with the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks) on the Indus. This statement has probably some foundation in fact, for, after the time of Alexander the Great, the western frontier of India was the scene of continuous warfare between the Bactrians and the Hindus, and Magadha, as the central power in India, had to take its share in the wars. Accepting the period of 112 given to the Sunga dynasty, that dynasty came to its end in 71 B. C.

"Devabhuti the (last) Sunga prince being addicted to immoral indulgences, his minister, the Kanva, named Vasudeva, will murder him and usurp the kingdom. His son will be Bhumimitra; his son will be Narayana; his son will be Susarman. These four Kanvayanas will be kings of the earth for forty-five years."

* It is doubtful, however, if Kalidasa is the real author of that play.

We will now assign dates to the kings of these dynasties, according to the periods fixed for the dynasties in the Vishnu Purana.

NANDA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Nanda and his eight sons	370 to 320

MAURYA DYNASTY.

Chandragupta	320
Bindusara	291
Asoka	260
Suyasas	222
Dasaratha	215
Sangata	208
Salisuka	201
Somasraman	194
Brihadratha	187 to 183

SUNGA DYNASTY.

	B.C.
Pushpamitra	183
Agnimitra	170
Sujyeshtha	159
Vasumitra	148
Ardraka	137
Pulindaka	126
Ghoshavasu	115
Vajramitra	104
Bhagavata	93
Devabhuti	82 to 71

KANVA DYNASTY.

Vasudeva Kanva	71
Bhumimitra	59
Narayana	48
Susarman	37 to 26

The short reigns of the most of these kings, the frequent change in dynasties, and the displacement of royal houses by generals or ministers, show that the glory of Magadha had passed, and a period of weakness and senile decay had set in. The empire which had laid down the law for all India in the days of Chandragupta and Asoka was in the last stage of feebleness, and was ready to welcome any strong invader or line of invaders who might choose to rule its destinies. Such invaders came from the south. The Andhra kingdom had already risen to power and distinction in the Deccan in the Rationalistic Period; and an Andhra chief (described as a "powerful servant") now conquered Magadha, and his dynasty ruled for four centuries and a half. Our last extract from the lists of the Vishnu Purana will give the names of these Andhra kings.

"Susarman the Kanva will be killed by a powerful

servant named Sipraka of the Andhra tribe, who will become king (and found the Andhra-bhritya dynasty). He will be succeeded by his brother Krishna; his son will be Sri Satakarni; his son will be Purnotsanga; his son will be Satakarni; his son will be Lambodara; his son will be Ivilaka; his son will be Meghasvati; his son son will be Patumat; his son will be Arishtakarman; his son will be Hala; his son will be Puttalaka; his son will be Pravilasena; his son will be Sundara Satakarni; his son will be Chakora Satakarni; his son will be Sivasvati; his son will be Gautamiputra; his son will be Pulimat; his son will be Sivasri Satakarni; his son will be Sivaskandha; his son will be Yajnasri; his son will be Vijaya; his son will be Chandrasri; his son will be Pulomarchis. These thirty Andhrabhritya kings will reign four hundred and fifty-six years."

Only twenty-four names, however, are given in the above list, but, along with the Vayu and the Bhagavata Puranas, the Vishnu Purana says there were thirty kings of this line. And if the line began about 26 B. C., the period given above brings us down to 430 A. D.

If we divide this period of 456 years among the 24 princes named above, we get an average of exactly 19 years for each reign, as shown below:—

ANDHRA DYNASTY.

	B.C.		A.D.
Sipraka	26	Puttalaka	183
Krishna	7	Pravilasena	202
		Satakarni III.	221
	A.D.	Satakarni IV.	240
Satakarni I.	12	Sivasvati	259
Purnotsanga	31	Gautamiputra I.	278
Satakarni II.	50	Pulimat	297
Lambodara	69	Satakarni V.	316
Ivilaka	88	Sivaskandha	335
Meghasvati	107	Yajnasri Gautamiputra II.	354
Patumat	126	Vijaya	373
Arishtakarman	145	Chandrasri	392
Hala	164	Pulomarchis	411 to 430

+ Contemporary of Castana (Bakhtle)

These dates, however, do not coincide with the dates of the five sovereigns, from Gautamiputra I. to Gautamiputra II., as ascertained by scholars from inscriptions. It has been ascertained with tolerable certainty that these five kings reigned for nearly a hundred years, from 113 to 211 A. D.

It is needless to remark that the power of the Andhra kings varied from time to time, and we will see in the next chapter that the distant country of Saurashtra was lost in the first century after Christ, but was reconquered by Gautamiputra II. The dynasty declined in the fifth century, and the empire of Magadha was then at an end; for, after the Andhras, various foreign tribes overran the country and brought ruin and disorder. The Vishnu Purana says that, after the Andhras, "various races will reign as seven Abhiras, ten Gardhabhilas; sixteen Sakas; eight Yavanas; fourteen Tusharas; thirteen Mundas; eleven Mounas, who will be sovereigns of the earth."

CHAPTER IV.

KASHMIR AND GUJRAT.

We have in the last Chapter confined our remarks to the main story of the central political power in India. We have seen that from the time of Sisunaga, in the seventh century B. C., the supreme power in India was held by the kings of Magadha. We have seen that after the destruction of several dynasties, the supreme power passed away to the hands of the Andhras, who held it from the first century B. C. to the fifth century A. D.

While the Andhras were wielding supreme power in the centre of India, the western provinces suffered from a series of foreign invasions, of which some account should be given.

After the retreat of Alexander the Great, Chandragupta expelled the Greeks out of India, defeating Seleucus, the Greek ruler of the Indus provinces. The Greeks, however, had an independent kingdom in Bactria, and there was frequent intercourse, sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, between the Hindus and the Bactrian Greeks. The Bactrian Greeks were great coiners, and it is from their coins that complete lists of their kings down to 130 B.C. have been compiled. Occasionally these kings extended their supremacy beyond the Indus,* and it is certain that their civilization had considerable influence over the civilization and the arts of the Buddhist Hindus. Greek sculptures are found among Buddhist ruins, and Greek inscriptions stamped on Hindu coins.

* Our readers will remember, for instance, that Menander, the Bactrian king, conquered Western India as far as the Ganges.

About 126 B. C., the little civilised kingdom of Bactria came to an untimely end, through the invasions of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanian tribes, who swept through Central Asia, and subsequently conquered Kabul and occupied the country as far as the Indus.* Havishka, a king of this race, ruled in Kabul. He seems to have been driven out thence, and conquered Kashmir, where his successors Hushka and the great Kanishka ruled after him, in the first century after Christ.

Kanishka was a great conqueror, and his empire extended from Kabul and Yarkand as far as Agra and Gujrat. Nothing like this had been witnessed in India since the time of Asoka the Great. Houen Tsang tells us that tributary princes from China sent hostages to him, and the town where these hostages lived was called Chinapati. Kanishka was also a staunch Buddhist; he held the Great Council of the Northern Buddhists, and emissaries were sent to introduce Buddhism in the neighbouring kingdoms. We have already said before that the era known as the Sakabda was established from Kanishka's reign. Dr. Oldenberg maintains that the Saka Era is reckoned from the date of Kanishka's coronation, and this conclusion seems to be well founded.

On Kanishka's death his empire fell to pieces, and Kashmir sank into the insignificance from which it had risen. This kingdom has a history of its own, called the Raja Tarangini,† by Kahlana Pandita, who lived in the twelfth century after Christ, and we shall pause here to notice a few facts from this history.

Little of any importance is noted before the time of

* Our readers will remember that this troublesome tribe had penetrated into India 350 years before through the Himalayas, and was checked by Ajatasatru about the time of Gautama Buddha's death.

† An English translation of this work has been completed by my esteemed brother, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt. Three volumes, Elm Press, 29, Beadon Street, Calcutta, London, Trubner & Co.

Kanishka. We are told that fifty-two kings reigned for a period of 1266 years from the time of the Kuru-Panchala war to Abhimanyu, the successor of Kanishka. And this would place the Kuru-Panchala war in the twelfth century before Christ. We are also told that Asoka, the third king before Kanishka, was a Buddhist and "a truthful and spotless king, and built many Stupas on the banks of the Vitasta." His successor Jaloka was an orthodox Hindu king, and drove back the *Mlechchas*, who were pouring in from the west. This horde must have been the Turanians who conquered Kashmir so soon after. Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II., and then came the foreign conquerors, and "during their long reign Buddhist hermits were all-powerful in the country, and the Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."

We subjoin a list of the thirty-one kings from Kanishka, and up to the time of Matrigupta, the contemporary of Vikramaditya of Ujjayini. If we accept 78 A.D. as the date of Kanishka's coronation, and 550 A. D. as the date of Matrigupta, then we get the intervening 472 years for 31 reigns, giving a not improbable average of over 15 years for each reign.

	A.D.		A.D.
Kanishka	78	Aksha	340
Abhimanyu	100	Gopaditya	355
Gonanda	115	Gokarna	370
Bibhisana I.	130	Narendraditya	385
Indrajit	145	Yudhisthira	400
Ravana	160	Pratapaditya	415
Bibhisana II.	175	Jalauka	430
Nara I.	190	Tunjina	445
Siddha	205	Vijaya	460
Utpalaksha	220	Jayendra	475
Hiranyaksha	235	Sandhimati	490
Mukula	250	Meghavahana	505
Mihirakula	265	Shreshta Sena	520
Vaka	280	Hiranya	535 to 550
Kshitinanda	295	And Hiranya was succeeded by Matrigupta.	
Vasunanda	310		
Nara II.	325		

A few of the kings deserve a passing notice. Nara I. is said to have been a violent persecutor of Buddhists, and burnt numerous monasteries, and gave the villages which supported them to Brahmans. In the reign of Mukula the *Mlechchas* once more overran Kashmir, but his successor Mihirakula was a great conqueror, and is said to have spread his conquests as far as Karnata and Ceylon. He was also a persecutor of Buddhists. Pratapaditya began a new dynasty. A severe famine visited Kashmir in the reign of his grandson Tunjina, in consequence of the *sali* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. Meghavahana seems to have been favourably disposed towards Buddhism; he is said to have carried his conquering arms as far as Ceylon, and he prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom and in all the kingdoms he conquered. His queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries. His son Shreshta Sena and then his grandson Hiranya succeeded; and then a stranger Matrigupta was helped to the throne of Kashmir by Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, then all-powerful in India.

From this brief account of Kashmir we now turn to Gujrat. We have stated before that the great Kanishka extended his conquests southwards as far as Gujrat. A race of rulers known as the Kshaharatas held sway in Gujrat as the vassals of Kanishka's successors. But after the time of Nahapana, these rulers became independent kings, and maintained their independence against the Andhras of Magadha, who claimed suzerainty over Saurashtra. These rulers, generally known as the "Shah kings," or the Kshatrapas, are known to us only by their coins and inscriptions, and it has now been settled after much controversy that they adopted the Saka Era, and all their coins and inscriptions are dated according to this era. A list of the Shah kings is given below, in the order in which they are placed by the industrious and able scholar Bhagvanlal Indraji. We give only one coin-date for each king.

SHAH KINGS OF SAURASHTRA.

	Coin Dates.	A.D.		Coin dates.	A.D.
Nahapana	41	119	Vijayasena	160	238
Chashtana	—	—	Isvaradatta	—	—
Jayadaman	—	—	Damajadasri	176	254
Rudradaman	72	150	Rudrasena	180	258
Damazada	—	—	Bhartridaman	200	278
Jivadaman	100	178	Visvasinha	198	276
Rudrasinha	103	181	Sinhasena	—	—
Rudrasena	125	203	Visvasena	216	294
Sanghadaman	144	222	Rudrasinha	231	309
Prithivisena	144	222	Yasodaman	240	318
Damasena	148	226	Sinhasena	—	—
Damajadasri	154	232	Rudrasena	270	348
Viradaman	158	236	Rudrasinha	310	388
Yasodaman	160	238			

Among the many inscriptions of this dynasty which have been found in different places in Western India, we will only quote one, which is perhaps the earliest, and which will give our readers a fair idea of these inscriptions. The following inscription, found in the Nasik caves, belongs to Nahapana, who heads the list given above :—

To the Perfect One! This cave and these small tanks were caused to be constructed on the mounts Trirasmi in Govardhana by the beloved Usavadata, the son-in-law of King Kshaharata Satrap Nahapana, son of Dinika, who gave three hundred thousand cows, presented gold, and constructed flights of steps on the river Barnasaya; gave sixteen villages to gods and Brahmans; fed a hundred thousand Brahmans every year; provided eight wives for Brahmans at Prabhasu the holy place; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting-places at Bharukachchha, Dasapura, Govardhana, and Sorparaga; made gardens, tanks, and wells; charitably enabled men to cross Iba, Parada, Damana, Tapi, Karabina, and Dahunuka, by placing boats on them; constructed Dharmasalas and endowed places for the distribution of water, and gave capital worth a thousand for thirty-two Nadhigeras for the Charanas and Parishads in Pinditakavada, Govardhana, Suvarnamukha, Sorparaga, Ramatirtha, and in the village of Namagola. By the command of the lord, I went in the rainy season to Malaya to release Hirudha the Uttamabhadra.

Nadhigeras are dealt by Namagola

The Malayas fled away at the sound (of our war music), and were all made subjects of the Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras. Thence I went to Poksharani, and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.†

The above inscription of Nahapana found in the Nasak caves is of great importance, as it shows how even a vassal of the Buddhist kings of Kashmir delighted in doing honour and making gifts to Brahmans, and how Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in the centuries immediately succeeding the Christian Era, except when some intolerant prince occasionally filled the throne. To bestow gold and cattle and villages to Brahmans; to construct bathing *ghats*, halting-places, *dharmasalas*, gardens, tanks, and wells; to establish free ferries, and to endow institutions for charitable purposes, were acts which were deemed worthy of royal charity and benevolence. And lastly, we learn from this inscription that the Saurashtras undertook an expedition against the Malayas in order to help a race of friendly Kshatriyas, the Uttamabhadras.

The most remarkable inscription of the Shah kings, however, is that on a bridge near Girnar, known as Rudra Daman's bridge, which was first read by James Prinsep, and revised and more correct readings have since been published. By referring to the list of kings given above, our readers will see that Rudra Daman was the third king after Nahapana, and reigned in the middle of the second century A.D. The inscription is remarkable on account of its reference to Asoka the Great, and his grandfather Chandragupta. We are told in the inscription that the ancient bridge was swept away by an inundation; that it was repaired by Puspagupta, the chief artificer of the Maurya king Chandragupta, and then by Tushaspa the Yavana Raja of Asoka; that it was then constructed by the great Satrap (Mahakshatrapa) Rudra Daman in the year 72 (Saka Era, *i.e.*, 150 A.D.). In this inscription Rudra Daman boasts that

having repeatedly overcome Satakarni, the lord of Dakshinapatha, he concluded an alliance with him. And he also boasts of having conquered Saurashtra, Kutch, and other places. The above inscription of Rudra Daman would show that the Shah kings of Saurashtra were often the rivals of the great Andhra kings.

On the other hand, Gautamiputra of the Andhra line boasts, in an inscription in a cave at Nassik, that he had conquered Saurashtra, Kutch, and other countries, and destroyed the race of the Kshaharata. This was Gautamiputra II., who ruled at the close of the second century after the Christian Era.

We have spoken of the invasions and conquests of three distinct races, viz., of the Bactrian Greeks in the second century before Christ, of the Yu-Chi and other cognate Turanians in the first century after Christ, and lastly, of their vassals the Shah kings, who ruled in Saurashtra for three centuries. Other invasions followed in the wake, of which history scarcely keeps any note.

At last, the great White Huns appeared on the scene in the fourth and fifth century of the Christian Era. Their locust hordes spread over Persia, and compelled Bahram Gaur, king of Persia, to seek an asylum in India and an alliance with the king of Kanouj, whose daughter he married. It is probable that this royal maiden who espoused a Persian husband was a daughter of the Gupta line, for the Gupta emperors were then ruling in Kanouj, and were the paramount power in India. We will speak of them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

GUPTA KINGS.

HALF a century ago, James Prinsep indicated the necessity of arranging all inscriptions found in India for the study of the ancient history of India, and he also suggested that the collective publication should bear the name of *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

In 1877 General Sir Alexander Cunningham brought out the first volume of this proposed work, and this volume contains the inscriptions of Asoka which we have spoken of in the first chapter of this book.

In 1888 Mr. Fleet of the Bombay Civil Service brought out the third volume of this work, containing the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, and giving a history of the controversy about the date of the Guptas, which has been carried on during the last forty years in India and in Europe.

The second volume of the proposed work, which would contain the inscriptions of the Shah kings of Saurashtra, has not yet been commenced. It is to be hoped that some able scholar and experienced archæologist will yet be employed on this work, and will complete the collection of Indian inscriptions which are invaluable for the elucidation of the Buddhist Period of Indian History.

We have seen that the controversy relating to the date of the Guptas has gone on for well-nigh forty years, and many of the ablest Oriental scholars have engaged themselves in this controversy. The history of this remarkable controversy occupies over thirty folio pages of Mr. Fleet's

valuable work! Happily it is a controversy which is now at an end, and the conclusion arrived at is beyond reasonable doubt. Alberuni wrote in the eleventh century that the Gupta Era was posterior to the Saka Era by 241 years, or in other words, the Gupta Era begins with 319 A.D. All the facts collected during recent years confirm this statement, and we can now read the dates in the Gupta coins and inscriptions, remembering that we have to add 319 to them to find out the dates of the Christian Era. Mr. Fleet, with a pardonable partiality for his own labours, maintains that the Mandasor inscription which he has discovered finally settles the controversy. Scholars are pretty well agreed on this point, and the Mandasor inscription probably confirms the conclusion.

We give below a list of the Gupta kings, with their coin and inscription dates, and the corresponding years of the Christian Era:—

	Coin and Inscription Dates.	A.D.
(Maharaja) Gupta	. . . . .	About 300.
Ghatotkacha	. . . . .	" 310.
Chandra Gupta I. (or Vikramaditya)	. . . . .	" 319.
Samudra Gupta	. . . . .	" 350.
Chandra Gupta II. (or Vikramaditya)	82, 88, 93, 95.	401, 407, 412, 414.
Kumara Gupta (or Mahendraditya)	96, 98, 129, 130.	415, 417, 448, 449.
Skanda Gupta	136, 137, 138, 141, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149.	455, 456, 457, 460, 463, 464, 465, 467, 68.

Dr. Buhler supports the plausible view that the Gupta Era was in fact established by Chandragupta I. His successor, Samudra Gupta, reigned during the latter half of the fourth century. The famous Gupta inscription on the Allahabad *Lat* of Asoka throws much light on the extent of this great king's power and influence.

Whose great good fortune was mixed with, so as to be increased by, his glory produced by the favour shown in capturing and then liberating Mahendra of *Kosala*, Vyaghraraja *Mahakantara*, Mantaraja of *Kerala*, Mahendra of *Pishtapura*, Svamidatta of *Kottura* on the hill, Damana of *Erandapalla*, Vishnugopa of *Kanchi*, Nilaraja of *Avamukta*, Hastivarman of *Vengi*, Ugrasena of *Palakka*, Kuvera of *Devarashtra*, Dhananjaya of *Kusthalapura*, and all other kings of the reign of *the South*;

Who abounded in majesty which had been increased by violently exterminating Rudradeva, Matela, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman and many other kings of *Aryavarta*, who made all the kings of the forest countries to become his servants;

Whose imperious commands were fully gratified by the payment of taxes and the execution of his orders by the frontier kings (*Pratyanta Nripati*) of *Samatata*, *Davaka*, *Kamarupa*, *Nepala*, *Kartripura*, and other countries; and by the *Malavas*, *Arjunayanas*, *Yaudheyas*, *Madrakas*, *Abhiras*, *Prajunas*, *Sanakanikas Kakas*, *Kharaparikas*, and other tribes;

Whose tranquil fame pervading the whole world was generated by establishing again many royal families fallen and deprived of sovereignty, whose binding together of the whole world, by means of the ample vigour of his arm, was effected by acts of respectful service,—such as offering themselves as sacrifices, bringing presents of maidens, giving Garuda tokens, surrendering the enjoyment of their own territories, soliciting his commands, &c.——rendered by the *Daivaputras*, *Shahis*, *Shahanushahis Sakas*, *Murundas*, and by the people of *Sinhala*, and all other dwellers in islands.

Here we have an elaborate and perhaps somewhat exaggerated account of the immense power of one of the early Gupta emperors. We learn that he conquered the kings of Kanchi, Kerala, and other countries *in Southern India*; that he exterminated the kings of Aryavarta or *Northern India*; that frontier kings of Samatata (East Bengal), Kamarupa (Assam), Nepal, and other places, and nations like the Malavàs, Madrakas, and Abhiras obeyed his orders and paid him tribute; and that even the Shahs and Shahinshahs of western countries, and the people of Ceylon sent him tribute in offerings and gifts, and handsome maidens from their lands. We are told,

towards the close of this inscription, that this great king was "the son of the son's son of the Maharaja the illustrious Gupta,"—"the son's son of the Maharaja the illustrious Ghatotkacha,"—"the son of Maharajadhiraja the glorious Chandragupta"—"begotten on the Mahadevi Kumaradevi," a daughter of the Lichchavi royal house.

Samudragupta was succeeded by his son Chandragupta II. and among his inscriptions there is a short one found at Sanchi, which makes a grant of a village to Buddhist monks,—the "Arya Sangha in the holy great Vihara of Kakanadabota." Elsewhere, in an inscription on a stone found in Mathura, Chandragupta gives us his mother's name,—describing himself as the son of the Maharajadhiraja Samudragupta "begotten on the Mahadevi Dattadevi."

Chandragupta II. was succeeded by his son Kumaragupta, who, in an inscription found in Bilsad, in the North-Western Provinces, gives us the entire genealogy of the family from the first Gupta. And he describes himself as "begotten on Mahadevi Druvadevi of the Maharajadhiraja the glorious Chandragupta."

Another inscription of Kumaragupta in Mankuwar, in Allahabad District, was discovered by Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1870. The inscription is under an image of Buddha seated, and we are informed that the image was installed by Kumaragupta in the year 129 (448 A.D.)

The celebrated Mandasor inscription discovered by Mr. Fleet was not engraved by order of the Gupta kings, but has reference to Kumaragupta, and may therefore be spoken of here. It is on a stone slab in front of a temple of Mahadeva in the village of Dasapura, in Scindia's dominions. The inscription informs us that some silk weavers immigrated to this place from Gujrat, and that a portion of them formed a flourishing guild. At the time "when Kumaragupta was reigning over the whole earth," there was a ruler named Visvavarman, and his son Bandhuvarman was ruling in Dasapura when the

guild of weavers built a temple there, which was completed "in the season when the sound of thunder is pleasing, when 493 years had elapsed from the tribal constitution of the Malavas."

"Malavanam gana-sthitya yate sata chatushtaye
Trinavatya-dhikabdanam ritau sevya-ghana-svane."

And we are further informed in this inscription that the temple was repaired in the year when 529 years of the same Era had elapsed.

Mr. Fleet maintains that the particular Kumaragupta alluded to in this inscription of the Dasapura weavers is Kumaragupta of the Gupta line, and that the Era alluded to in this inscription is the Era of the Malavas, now known as Vikramadiya's Samvat Era beginning with 56 B.C. The temple was therefore built in (493 – 56)=437 A.D., and repaired in (529 – 56) 473 A.D.

This is a startling discovery; for if Mr. Fleet's supposition be correct, then the true origin of the *Samvat Era* is discovered. The Era was not founded by a Vikramaditya who reigned in 56 B.C., as was suppposed by earlier scholars. *The Era was originally a national Era of the Malava tribe, and came subsequently to be connected with the name of Vikramaditya*, who about the sixth century A.D. raised the Malavas to the rank of the first nation in India.

Kumaragupta's son Skandagupta succeeded him; and his inscription on the pillar discoverd in Ghazipur District, and known as the Bhitari Lat, gives us the genealogy of the Gupta kings given before, and continues it to Skandagupta. More important is the inscription found in Junagarh, in the Bombay Presidency. After an invocation to Vishnu, it tells us that Skandagupta,—who had subdued the whole earth as far as the seas, and whose fame was acknowledged even by his enemies "in the countries of the Mlechchhas,"—appointed Parnadatta to govern his kingdom of the Saurashtras. Parnadatta

appointed his son Chakrapalita. In the year 136 (Gupta Era, *i.e.*, 455 A.D.), the lake at the foot of Girnar burst its embankment in consequence of excessive rain, and the restoration of the breach after two months' work was effected in 137, and is the cause of the inscription.

Skandagupta appears to have been the last great king of the Gupta line, and some weak kings succeeded. There is an inscription of Buddhagupta in Eran, in the Central Provinces, and dated 165, *i.e.*, 484 A.D. It informs us that Surasmichandra, the feudatory of Buddhagupta, governed the country between the Kalindi and the Narmada. The obect of the inscription is to record the erection of a column to the god Vishnu under the name of Janardana.

Another inscription in Eran alludes to Bhanugupta, and informs us that a chieftain or noble Goparaja accompanied him, and fought a battle and was killed. Goparaja's "devoted, attached, beloved, and beauteous wife, in close companionship, accompanied him into the funeral pyre."

The destruction of the powerful dynasty of the Guptas, which held the supreme power in India for over a century, has formed the subject of much controversy. Dr. Fergusson holds that the locust hordes of the White Huns which extended their invasions far and wide in Asia, weakened Persia, and dealt the death-blow to the Guptas in India. Mr. Fleet shows some reasons* for believing that the great and relentless Mihirakula of the Punjab and his father Toramana were Huns; that after the death of Skandagupta (who had once repelled the Huns) Toramana wrested Eastern Malwa from the Guptas about 466 A.D.; that Mihirakula began his career of conquest and destruction about 515 A.D.; and that he was at last quelled by Yasadharman, the powerful king of Northern India. The sway of the Huns in Central India was thus of short duration, but Cosma Indico Pleustes, writing in the sixth century, tells us that

* Indian Antiquary, vol. xv. p. 245, &c.; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii. p. 11, &c.

the Huns in his day were still a powerful nation settled and holding sway in the Punjab.

These and other foreign invaders, of whom we have spoken before, settled down among the people, adopted the language, the religion, and the civilisation of India, and thus formed new Hindu races, destined to play an important part in the political revolution which ensued at the close of the Puranic Period, in the ninth and tenth centuries.

CHAPTER VI.

FA HIAN'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

IN the last three chapters we have attempted to give our readers an account, unfortunately scanty and meagre, of some of the principal ruling dynasties in India in the Buddhist Period. But an account of ruling dynasties is not a History of India, and it is necessary that we should try to form a more distinct notion of the numerous races which inhabited India, their chief towns, their arts, and their civilisation. Happily we have some material at our disposal to help us in this undertaking, in the records of a Chinese traveller who visited India about the close of the period of which we are speaking.

Fa Hian came to India about 400 A.D., and begins his account of it with UDYANA, or the country round Kabul, with which he says North India commenced. The language then spoken here was the language of Mid-India, and the dress and food and drink of the people were the same.* Buddhism was then flourishing, and there were five hundred *Sangha-aramas* or abodes of monks. He passed through SVAT, GANDHARA, TAXASILA, and PESHAWAR, in which last place he saw a Buddhist tower of remarkable strength, beauty of construction, and height.

Travelling through Nagarahara and other countries, and after crossing the Indus, Fa Hian at last reached the MATHURA country on the Jumna river. On the sides of the river, both right and left, there were twenty

* Throughout this chapter we rely on Beal's translation, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., 1884.

Sangharamas, with perhaps 3000 priests. The religion of Buddha was progressing and flourishing. "Beyond the deserts are the countries of Western India. The kings of these countries (Rajputana) are all firm believers in the law of Buddha. . . . Southward from this is the so-called middle country (Madhyadesa). The climate of this country is warm and equable, without frost or snow. The people are very well off, without poll tax or official restrictions; only those who till the royal lands return a portion of profit of the land. If they desire to go, they go; if they like to stop, they stop.* The kings govern without corporal punishment; criminals are fined according to circumstances, lightly or heavily. Even in cases of repeated rebellion, they only cut off the right hand. The king's personal attendants who guard him on the right and left have fixed salaries. Throughout the country the people kill no living thing, nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of Chandalas only. . . . . In this country they do not keep swine nor fowls, and do not deal in cattle; they have no shambles or wine shops in their market-places. In selling they use cowrie-shells. The Chandalas only hunt and sell flesh. Down from the time of Buddha's Nirvana, the kings of these countries, the chief men and householders have raised Viharas, and provided for their support by bestowing on them fields, houses, and gardens, with men and oxen. Engraved title-deeds were prepared and handed down from one reign to another; no one has ventured to withdraw them, so that till now there has been no interruption. All the resident priests having chambers (in these Viharas), have their beds, mats, food, drink, and clothes provided without stint; in all places this is the case."

* It is abundantly proved by the literature of the Hindus, and by the testimony of Greek and Chinese travellers, that the system of agricultural slavery, which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages, was never known in India.

Our traveller passed through Sankasya and came to KANOUJ. Our readers will remember that Kanouj was at this time the flourishing capital of the Gupta emperors, but unfortunately Fa Hian has little to say about the city except its two Sangharamas!

Passing through Shachi, Fa Hian came to KOSALA and its ancient capital Sravasti. But that great city had declined since the days of Buddha, and the Chinese pilgrim saw very few inhabitants in the city, altogether about 200 families. But Jetavana, in which Buddha had often preached, had not lost its natural beauty, and the Vihara there was now ornamented with clear tanks, luxuriant groves, and numberless flowers of variegated hues. The monks of the Vihara, on learning that Fa Hian and his companion had travelled from China, exclaimed, "Wonderful! to think that men from the frontiers of the earth should come so far as this from a desire to search for the law."

KAPILAVASTU, the birth-place of Gautama, was no more in its glory. "In this city there is neither king nor people; it is like a great desert. There is simply a congregation of priests, and about ten families of lay people." KUSHINAGARA, too, where Gautama had died, was no longer a town. There were but few inhabitants, and such families as there were, were connected with the resident congregation of priests.

Fa Hian then came to VAISALI, once the proud capital of the Lichchavis, and the spot where Gautama had accepted the hospitality of the courtesan Ambapali. Here, too, was held the Second Council, and Fa Hian alludes to it: "One hundred years after the Nirvana of Buddha there were at Vaisali certain Bhikshus who broke the rules of the Vinaya in ten particulars, saying that Buddha had said it was so; at which time the Arhats and the orthodox Bhikshus, making an assembly of 700 ecclesiastics, compared and collected the Vinaya Pitaka afresh."

Crossing the Ganges, our traveller came to PATALI-

PUTRA or Patna, first built by Ajatasatru to check his northern foes, and afterwards the capital of Asoka the Great. "In the city is the royal palace, the different parts of which he (Asoka) commissioned the genii to construct by piling up the stones. The walls, doorways, and the sculptured designs are no human work. The ruins still exist." By the tower of Asoka was an imposing and elegant Sangharama and temple with 600 or 700 monks. The great Brahman teacher Manjusri himself lived in the Buddhist Sangharama, and was esteemed by Buddhist Sramans. We have also here an account of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist rites were then celebrated. "Every year on the eighth day of the second month there is a procession of images. On this occasion they construct a four-wheeled car and erect upon it a tower of five stages, composed of bamboos lashed together, the whole being supported by a centre post, resembling a spear with three points, in height 22 feet and more. So it looks like a pagoda. They then cover it over with fine white linen, which they afterwards paint with gaudy colours. Having made figures of the Devas, and decorated them with gold, silver, and glass, they place them under canopies of embroidered silk. Then at the four corners (of the car) they construct niches (shrines) in which they place figures of Buddha in a sitting posture, with a Bodhisattva standing in attendance. There are perhaps twenty cars thus prepared, and differently decorated. During the day of the procession, both priests and laymen assemble in great numbers. There are games and music, whilst they offer flowers and incense. The Brahmacharis come forth to offer their invitations. The Buddhas then one after the other enter the city. After coming into the town again they halt. Then all night long they burn lamps, indulge in games and music, and make religious offerings. Such is the custom of all those who assemble on this occasion from the different countries round about." This is a

valuable account from an eye-witness of the system of idolatry to which Buddhism had declined by the fifth century A.D.

More interesting to us is the account of the charitable dispensaries of the town of Pataliputra. "The nobles and householders of this country have founded hospitals within the city to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, cripple, and the diseased may repair. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases order them food and drink, medicine or decoctions, everything in fact that may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their convenience."

Fa Hian then visited RAJAGRIHA, the new town built by Ajatasatru, as well as the old town of Bimbisara. The traveller here alludes to the first Buddhist Council, which was held immediately after the death of Buddha to compile the sacred texts. "There is a stone cave situated in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Cheti. This is the place where 500 Arhats assembled after the Nirvana of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books."

At GAYA, Fa Hian found everything desolate and like a desert. He visited the famous Bo-tree and all the other places connected with Buddha's penances and attaining supreme wisdom, and tells legends which had grown up since Gautama's time. He then arrived at the country of Kasi and the city of Benares, where he visited the deer park where Gautama had first proclaimed the truth. Two Sangharamas had been built here. Thence he went to the ancient town of Kausambi, where Gautama had often preached.

From Benares, Fa Hian returned to Pataliputra. The purpose of Fa Hian was to seek for copies of the Vinaya Pitaka; but "throughout the whole of Northern India the various masters trusted to tradition only for their knowledge of the precepts, and had no originals to copy

from. Wherefore Fa Hian had come even so far as Mid-India.* But here in the Sangharama of the great vehicle he obtained one collection of the precepts."

Proceeding down the course of the river Ganges, the pilgrim came to CHAMPA, on the southern shore of the river. We have already said before, that Champa was the capital of Anga or East Behar, and was situated near modern Bhagalpur. Going further eastward and southward, Fa Hian came to TAMRALIPTI, which was then the great seaport at the mouth of the Ganges. There were twenty-four Sangharamas in this country; all of them had resident priests, and the law of Buddha was generally respected. Fa Hian remained here for two years, writing out copies of the sacred books, and drawing image-pictures. He then shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel. Putting to sea, they proceeded in a south-westerly direction, catching the first fair wind of the winter season. They sailed for fourteen days and nights, and arrived at the "country of the lions" (*Sinhala* Ceylon).

Ceylon, our traveller says, had originally no inhabitants, but merchants came in great numbers and gradually settled here, and so a great kingdom rose. Then the Buddhists came (Fa Hian says, Bhuddha came), and converted the people. The climate of Ceylon was agreeable and the vegetation verdant, and to the north of the royal city was a great tower 479 feet in height, with a Sangharama containing 5000 monks. But amid these pleasing scenes, the heart of the traveller sickened for his home, from which he was now separated for many years, and when on one occasion the present of a fan of Chinese manufacture by a merchant, to a jasper figure of Buddha 22 feet high, reminded Fa Hian of his native country, he "gave way to his sorrowful feelings, and the tears flowing down filled his eyes."

* The whole tract of country from Mathura to Magadha was called Middle India.

After a residence of two years in Ceylon, and after obtaining copies of the Vinaya Pitaka and other works "hitherto unknown" in China, Fa Hian shipped himself on board a great merchant vessel which carried about 200 men. A great tempest arose, and the ship sprung a leak, and much cargo had to be thrown overboard. Fa Hian threw overboard his pitcher and his basin, "and was only afraid lest the merchants should fling into the sea his sacred books and images." The hurricane abated after thirteen days, the passengers came to a little island where they stopped the leak, and then put to sea again. "In this ocean there are many pirates, who, coming on you suddenly, destroy everything. The sea itself is boundless in extent; it is impossible to know east or west, except by observing the sun, moon, or stars; and so progress. . . At length, the weather clearing up, they got their right bearings, and once more shaped a correct course and proceeded onwards," and after over ninety days they reached Ye-po-ti (Java, or Sumatra). "In this country heretics and Brahmans flourish."

Stopping here for nearly five months, Fa Hian embarked on board another merchant vessel with a crew of about 200 men, who took fifty days' provisions with them. After they had sailed for over a month, a storm again arose, and the superstitious Brahmans said to one another, "It is because we have got this Sraman (Fa Hian) on board we have no luck, and have incurred this great mischief. Come let us land this Bhikshu on any island we may meet, and let us not all perish for the sake of one man." But Fa Hian's patron boldly stood by him and saved him from a miserable death in some lonely island. After sailing for eighty-two days, they arrived at the southern coast of China.

CHAPTER VII.

BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

THE Hindus first came in contact with a nation as civilised as themselves in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and a great deal has been written as to the indebtedness of the Hindus to the Greeks in the cultivation of their arts and sciences. As usual, some writers on the subject have rushed to hasty conclusions, and it has been asserted that in architecture and sculpture, and even in the art of writing and in their alphabet, the Hindus received their first lessons from the Greeks.

A cultured nation cannot come in contact with a great and civilised nation without deriving immense advantages in arts and civilisation. The gifted Greeks were certainly the most civilised nation in the earth in the fourth and third centuries before Christ, and what is more, they spread their wonderful civilisation over all the regions conquered by Alexander, until the whole of Western Asia from Antioch to Bactria presented the Greek type of civilisation, arts, and manners. That the Hindus were greatly indebted to the Greeks not only in the development of many arts, but also in the cultivation of some of the abstrusest sciences like astronomy, will be conceded by all historians of India; and it will be our pleasing duty to acknowledge such friendly services rendered by one cultured nation to another, wherever we find facts justifying us in acknowledging such indebtedness, or even in presuming it. But it is necessary to warn our readers against hasty assumptions where facts are absolutely

wanting, or where facts go directly against such assumptions.

In architecture the Hindus were not indebted to the Greeks. Buddhist Hindus developed their school of architecture themselves from the very commencement; they created their own style, which is purely Indian; they borrowed from no foreign school of architecture or building. In Gandhara and in the Punjab columns have been found distinctly belonging to the Ionic order, and the general architecture, too, bears a Greek character. But in the vast continent of India itself, from Bombay to Cuttack, the architecture immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era is purely Indian in character. This would not have been the case if the Hindus had learnt their first lessons in architecture from the Greeks.

In sculpture, too, the Hindus (except in the Punjab) were not indebted to the Greeks. Dr. Fergusson, speaking of the rail of Bharut (200 B.C.), says: "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that the art here displayed is purely indigenous. There is absolutely no trace of Egyptian influence. It is in every detail antagonistic to that art. Nor is there any trace of classical art; nor can it be affirmed that anything here established could have been borrowed directly from Babylonia or Assyria. The capitals of the pillars do resemble somewhat those at Persepolis, and the honeysuckle ornaments point in the same direction; but barring that the art, specially the figure sculpture belonging to the rail, seems an art elaborated on the spot, by Indians, and by Indians only." *

Having thus cleared our ground, we will now proceed to give a very brief account of some of the most striking specimens which still exist of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus of the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, and Dr. Fergusson will be our guide on this subject. Such specimens are nearly all the work of Buddhists. Architecture in stone, previous to the

* Indian and Eastern Architecture, London, 1876, p. 89.

Buddhist movement, was confined mostly to engineering works, such as city walls, gates, bridges, and embankments; and if palaces and religious and civil edifices were also sometimes built of stone, no specimens of such have come down to us. On the other hand, the Hindu and Jaina edifices of stone which abound in all parts of India belong to the period subsequent to the fifth century of the Christian Era, and will therefore be treated of when we come to the Puranic Period. In the present chapter, therefore, we will speak of works constructed in the Buddhist Period, and such works are all Buddhist.

Dr. Fergusson classifies the works under five heads, viz:—

(1) *Lats*, or stone pillars, generally bearing inscriptions;

(2) *Stupas*, or topes, erected to mark some sacred event or site, or to preserve some supposed relic of Buddha;

(3) *Rails*, often of elaborate workmanship; often erected to surround topes;

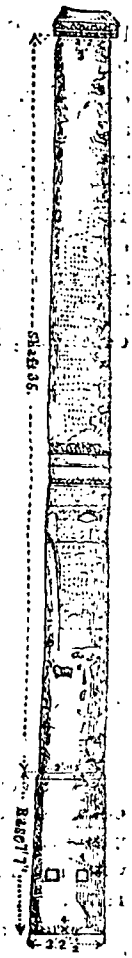
(4) *Chaityas*, or churches; and

(5) *Viharas*, or monasteries.

The oldest LATS are those which were erected by Asoka in different parts of India, and bearing inscriptions conveying to his subjects the doctrines and moral rules of the Buddhist religion. The best known Lats are those of Delhi and Allahabad, the inscriptions on which were first deciphered by James Prinsep. Both of these bore the inscriptions of Asoka, while the Allahabad Lat also bore a subsequent inscription of Samudragupta of the Gupta dynasty of kings, as we have stated before, and details the glories of his reign and the names of his ancestors. The Lat seems to have been thrown down and was re-erected by Emperor Jahangir in 1605 A.D., with a Persian inscription to commemorate the commencement of his reign. Like most other Lats this has lost its crowning ornament, but a Lat in Tirhoot bears the figure of a lion on the top and the Lat of Sankasya, between Mathura and Kanouj, bears the mutilated figure of

an elephant so mutilated that Houen Tsang mistook it for a lion. At Karli, between Bombay and Poona, a Lat stands in front of the cave of Karli surmounted by four lions. The two Lats at Eran are said to belong to the era of the Gupta kings.

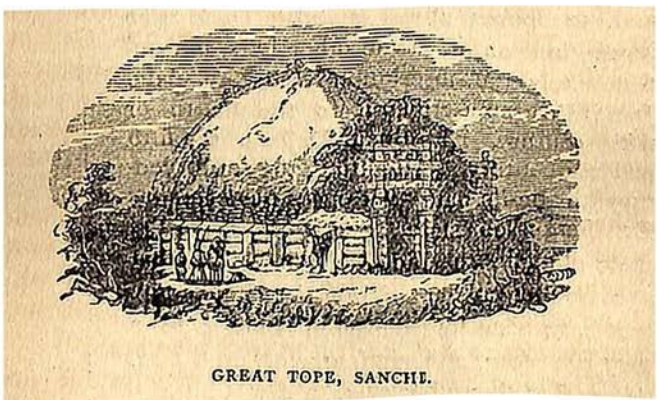
The remarkable iron pillar near the Kutab Minar has been seen by every tourist and traveller who has been to Delhi. It is 22 feet above ground and 20 inches under ground, and its diameter is 16 inches at the base and 12 inches at the capital. There is an inscription on it, as on other Lats, but unfortunately the inscription bears no date. James Prinsep ascribed it to the fourth or fifth century, Dr. Bhau Daji to the fifth or sixth century. Admitting the fifth century to be its date, "it opens our eyes," as Dr. Fergusson states, "to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this Lat in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanarak, we must believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is unrusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago."



Allahabad Lat.

Of the STUPAS, the Bhilsa topes are the most famous. Within an area ten miles east and west and six north and south, near the village of Bhilsa, in the kingdom of

Bhopal, there are no less than five or six groups of topes containing about twenty-five or thirty individual examples. General Cunningham first published an account of them in 1854, and since then they have been repeatedly described. The principal of these topes is known as the Great Tope of Sanchi, and has a base 14 feet high and a dome 42 feet high, and 106 feet in diameter at the point just above the base. The rails are 11 feet in height, and the gateway, covered with the most elaborated sculpture, which will be subsequently described, is 33 feet in height.



GREAT TOPE, SANCHI.

The centre of this great mound is quite solid; being composed of bricks laid in mud, but the exterior is faced with dressed stones. Over this there was a coat of cement which was no doubt adorned with painting and figures in relief.

There are many other groups near Sanchi, viz., one at Sonari, six miles away, one at Satdhara, three miles further on, and a numerous group at Bhojpur, seven miles from Sanchi. Another group is at Audhar, five miles from Bhojpur. Altogether there are no less than sixty topes within one small district.

Most of our readers who have visited Benares have seen the tope at Sarnath, erected in the old deer park,

where Gautama first preached his new religion. It consists of a stone basement 93 feet in diameter, solidly built to the height of 43 feet. Above it is brickwork, rising to a height of 128 feet above the surrounding plain. The lower part is relieved by eight projecting faces elegantly carved, and with a niche in each. General Cunningham believes the date of this to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Another Bengal tope is known as Jarasandhá-ka-Baithak, 28 feet in diameter and 21 feet in height, resting on a base of 14 feet. It is mentioned by Houen Tsang, and its date is probably 500 A.D.

The central Stupa or Dagoba at Amaravati which Houen Tsang saw no longer exists. In the Gandhara country there are numerous examples. The great Dagoba, however, of Kanishka, over 470 feet in height, which Fa Hian and Houen Tsang saw, is no more. The most important group of the Gandhara topes is that of Manikyala in the Punjab, between the Indus and the Jhelum. Fifteen or twenty were found in the spot, some of which were first opened by Ranjit Sinha's French generals, Ventura and Court, in 1830. The principal tope has a dome which is an exact hemisphere, 127 feet in diameter, and therefore about 400 feet in circumference.

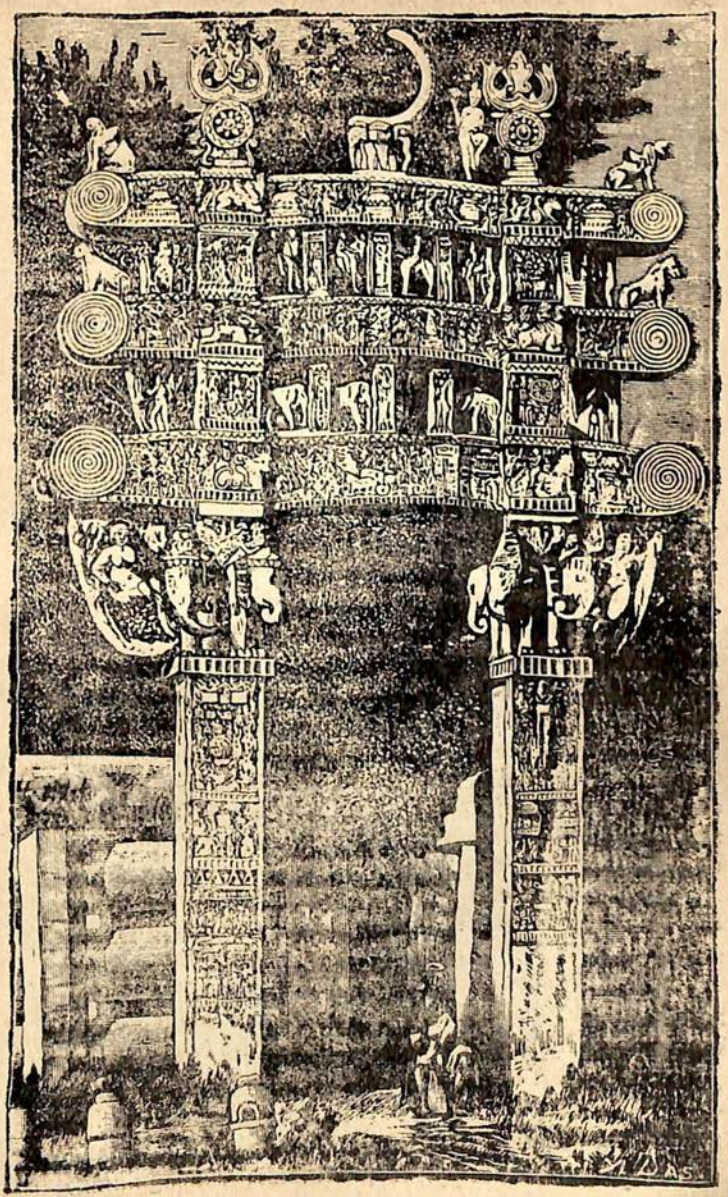
The most elaborately ornamented architectural works of the Buddhist period are the RAILS and gateways generally found round Stupas. The two oldest rails are those of Buddha Gaya and of Bharhut; Dr. Fergusson assigns 250 B.C. for the former and 200 B.C. for the latter. The former formed a rectangle 131 feet by 98 feet, and the pillars were 5 feet 11 inches in height.

Bharhut is situated between Allahabad and Jubbulpore. The tope enclosed here has entirely disappeared, having been utilised for building villages, but about one-half of the rail remains. It was originally 88 feet in diameter, and therefore about 275 feet in length. It had four entrances, guarded by statues 4½ feet high. From General Cunningham's restoration, it appears that the pillars of

the eastern gateway were 22 feet 6 inches in height. The beams had no human figures on them. The lower beam had a procession of elephants, the middle beam of lions, and the upper probably of crocodiles. The rail was 9 feet high, and the inner side was ornamented by a continuous series of bas-reliefs, divided from each other by a beautiful flowing scroll. About a hundred bas-reliefs have been recovered, all representing scenes or legends, and nearly all inscribed with the title of the Jataka represented. It is the only monument in India which is so inscribed, and this gives the Bharhut rails a unique value.

We make no apology for quoting the following remarks of Dr. Fergusson's about the state of Indian sculpture as disclosed by these rails:—"When Hindu sculpture first dawns upon us in the rails of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut, B.C. 400 to 250, it is thoroughly original, absolutely without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed, at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer, and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculptures known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and where grouped together combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like pre-Raphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."

The rail surrounding the great tope of Sanchi, in the kingdom of Bhopal, is a circular enclosure 140 feet in diameter, and consists of octagonal pillars 8 feet in height and two feet apart. They are joined together at the top by a rail 2 feet 3 inches deep, and between the pillars. This is, however about the simple strail arrangement,



GATEWAY AND RAIL AT SANCHI.

and the ornamentation on the rails increases in other places, until the scrolls and discs and figures become so elaborate and profuse as to completely hide the pillars and bars from the sight, and to entirely change the character of the original design.

The great tope of Sanchi, of which we have spoken before, was probably constructed in Asoka's time. Each rail is shown, by the inscription on it, to be the gift of a different individual. The four gateways were then added to the rail, probably during the first century of the Christian Era. Dr. Fergusson thus describes them :—

"All these four gateways, or toranas, as they are properly called, were covered with the most elaborate sculptures both in front and in rear,—wherever in fact their surface was not hidden by being attached to the rail behind them. Generally the sculptures represent scenes from the life of Buddha. . . . In addition to these are scenes from the Jatakas or legends, narrating events or actions that took place during five hundred births through which Sakya Muni had passed before he became so purified as to reach perfect Buddhahood. One of these, the Wessantara or the "alms-giving" Jataka, occupies the whole of the lower beam of the northern gateway, and reproduces all the events of that wonderful tale, exactly as it is narrated in Ceylonese books at the present day. . . . Other sculptures represent sieges and fighting and consequent triumphs, but, so far as can be seen, for the acquisition of relics or subjects connected with the faith. Others pourtray men and women eating and drinking and making love. . . . The sculptures of these gateways from a perfect Picture Bible of Buddhism, as it existed in India in the first century of the Christian Era."

The date of the Sanchi rail is said to be three centuries after that of Buddha Gaya and Bharhut rails; and the Amaravati rail is again three centuries posterior to the Sanchi rail. The date of the Amaravati rail is said to be the fourth or fifth century A.D.

Amaravati is situated on the southern bank of the Krishna river near its mouth, and was long the capital of the Andhra empire of Southern India. The Amaravati rail is loaded with ornament and sculptures. The great rail is 195 feet in diameter and the inner 165 feet, and between these two was the procession path. Externally the great rail was 14 feet and internally 12 feet, while the inner rail was solid and 6 feet high. The plinth of the great rail was ornamented by a frieze of animals and boys, and the pillars as usual were octagonal and ornamented with discs. The inside of the great rail was more richly ornamented than the outside, and the upper rail was one continuous bas-relief 600 feet in length. The inner rail was even more richly ornamented than the great rail, with figures most elaborately carved with scenes from the life of Buddha, or from legends.

Two woodcuts given in Dr. Fergusson's work, one from the great rail, and one from the inner rail, are interesting. The former represents a king seated on his throne and receiving a messenger, while his army in front defends the walls. Lower down the infantry, cavalry, and elephants sally forth in battle array, while one of the enemy sues for peace. The latter, *i.e.*, the woodcut from the inner rail, represents three objects of worship, viz., a Stupa with its rails, a Chakra or wheel of religion, and a congregation worshipping a relic or sacred tree.

We now come to the important subject of CHAITYAS, *i.e.*, assembly halls or churches. The great distinguishing feature of these Buddhist churches is that they are not constructed but excavated. Twenty or thirty churches are known to exist, and all of them with one exception are excavated rocks. The external view of European churches and of Hindu temples forms their most distinguishing and noble feature; but of the Buddhist churches,—excavated in rocks,—there is no external view except the frontage, which is often ornamented.

Nine-tenths of the Buddhist churches which exist

belong to the Bombay Presidency, and this is explained by the fact that the Western Presidency is the great cave district of India, with rocks peculiarly fitted for excavation.

There is a cave in Behar which is believed to be the identical Satapanni cave of Rajagriha, in which, or in front of which, the First Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama to fix the cannon. It is a natural cave slightly improved by art, and it was seen by Houen Tsang when he resided in Magadha.

There is an interesting group of caves sixteen miles north of Gaya, of which the most interesting is the one known as Lomasa Rishi's cave. The form of the roof is a pointed arch, and the frontage is ornamented with simple sculpture. The interior is a hall 33 feet by 19 feet, beyond which there is a nearly circular apartment. All the caves of this group are said to have been excavated in the third century B.C.

There are five or six Chaitya caves in the Western Ghats, all of which are said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and of which the cave at Bhaja is said to be the most ancient. As in the Buddhist rails, so in the Chaityas, we find architecture in stone slowly evolving itself out of wooden forms. The pillars of the Bhaja cave slope inwards at a considerable angle, as wooden posts would slope, to give strength to a structure; and the rafters of the cave are still of wood, many of which remain to this day. The date of this cave is said to be the third century B.C.

In the next group of caves, at Bedsor, considerable progress is manifested. The pillars are more upright, though still sloping inwards. The frontage is ornamented with rail decoration, the design being taken from actual rails as described before, but represented here merely as ornament. The date of the caves is said to be the first half of the second century.

The next cave is at Nassik. The pillars are so nearly

perpendicular that the inclination escapes detection, and the facade, though still exhibiting the rail decoration, shows a great advance in design. The date of the cave is said to be the last half of the second century.

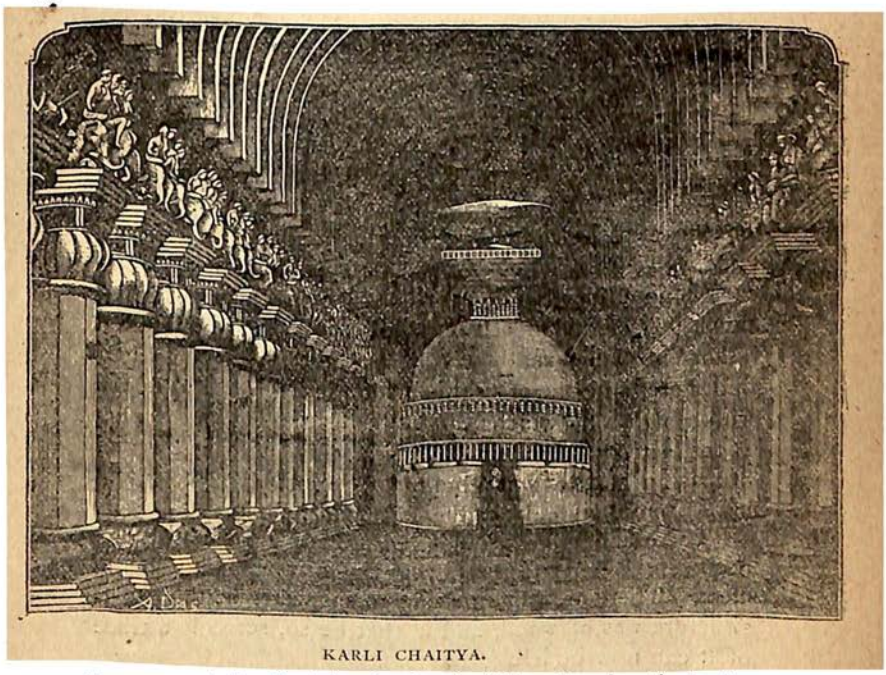
And when we come at last to the cave at Karli, on the road between Poona and Bombay, we find the architecture of this class in its state of perfection. The pillars are quite perpendicular, the screen is ornamented with sculpture, and the style of architecture both inside and in front is chaste and pure. The Chaitya is said to have been excavated in the first century after Christ, and it is the largest and the most perfect Chaitya yet discovered in India; and the style of architecture was never surpassed in succeeding centuries.

The following account will interest our readers :—

"The building, as will be seen from the annexed illustration, resembles to a great extent an early Christian church in its arrangements, consisting of a nave and side aisles, terminating in an apse or semi-dome, round which the aisle is carried. The general dimensions of the interior are 126 feet from the entrance to the back wall, by 45 feet 7 inches in width; the side aisles, however, are very much narrower than in Christian churches, the central one being 25 feet 7 inches, so that the others are only 10 feet wide, including the thickness of the pillars. . . . Fifteen on each side separate the nave from the aisles; each pillar has a tall base, an octagonal shaft, and richly ornamented capital, on which kneel two elephants, each bearing two figures, generally a man and a woman, but sometimes two females, all very much better executed than such ornaments usually are. The seven pillars behind the altar are plain octagonal piers without either base or capital. . . . Above this springs the roof, semicircular in general section, but somewhat stilted at the sides, so as to make its height greater than the semi-diameter. . . . Immediately under the semi-dome of the

apse, and nearly where the altar stands in Christian churches, is placed the Dagoba. . . .

"Of the interior we can judge perfectly, and it certainly is as solemn and grand as any interior can well be. And the mode of lighting is the most perfect, one undivided volume of light coming through a single opening overhead at a favourable angle, and falling directly on the



KARLI CHAITYA.

altar or principal object in the building, leaving the rest in comparative obscurity. The effect is considerably heightened by the closely set thick columns that divide the three aisles from one another."—*Fergusson.*

There are four Chaityas at Ajanta, dating probably from the first century to the sixth century A.D. Statues of Buddha appear in the later Chaityas ; and Buddhism,

as represented on the latest of these Chaityas, is very akin to the Hinduism of the sixth and subsequent centuries.

The Visvakarma cave of Ellora is a Chaitya belonging to the latter part of the Buddhist Period. The dimensions of the hall are 85 feet by 43 feet, and in the roof all the ribs and ornaments are cut in the rock, though still copied from wooden prototypes. In the facade we miss for the first time the horse-shoe opening which is the most marked feature in all previous examples. The facade of Ellora Chaitya looks like that of an ordinary two-storeyed house, with verandas richly sculptured.

The cave of Kenheri, on the island of Salsette in Bombay harbour, is well known. It was excavated in the early part of the fifth century A.D. It is a copy of the great cave at Karli, but very inferior in style.

Lastly, we come to VIHARAS or monasteries. Foremost among the Buddhist Viharas was the celebrated monastery of Nalanda (south of Patna), visited by Houen Tsang in the seventh century. Successive kings had built here, and one of them surrounded all the Viharas with a high wall which can still be traced, measuring 1600 feet by 400 feet. Outside this enclosure, again, Stupas and towers were built, ten or twelve of which have been identified by General Cunningham.

The architecture of this great monastery, however, has not been properly restored, nor the arrangements made clear. There are some reasons to suspect that the superstructure was of wood, and if that be so, scarcely a trace of it can now be left.

Many of our readers who have visited Cuttack and Bhuvanesvara must also have seen the caves in the two hills, Udayagiri and Khandagiri, about twenty miles from Cuttack. There is an inscription on the Hathi Gumpha, or the Elephant Cave, to the effect that it was engraved by Aira, king of Kalinga, who subdued neighbouring kings.

The Ganesa Gumpha and the Rajrani Gumpha are both said to have been excavated before the Christian Era, and a curious story is sculptured on them both. A man sleeps under a tree, and a woman, apparently his wife, introduces a lover. A fight ensues, and the victor carries away the female in his arms.

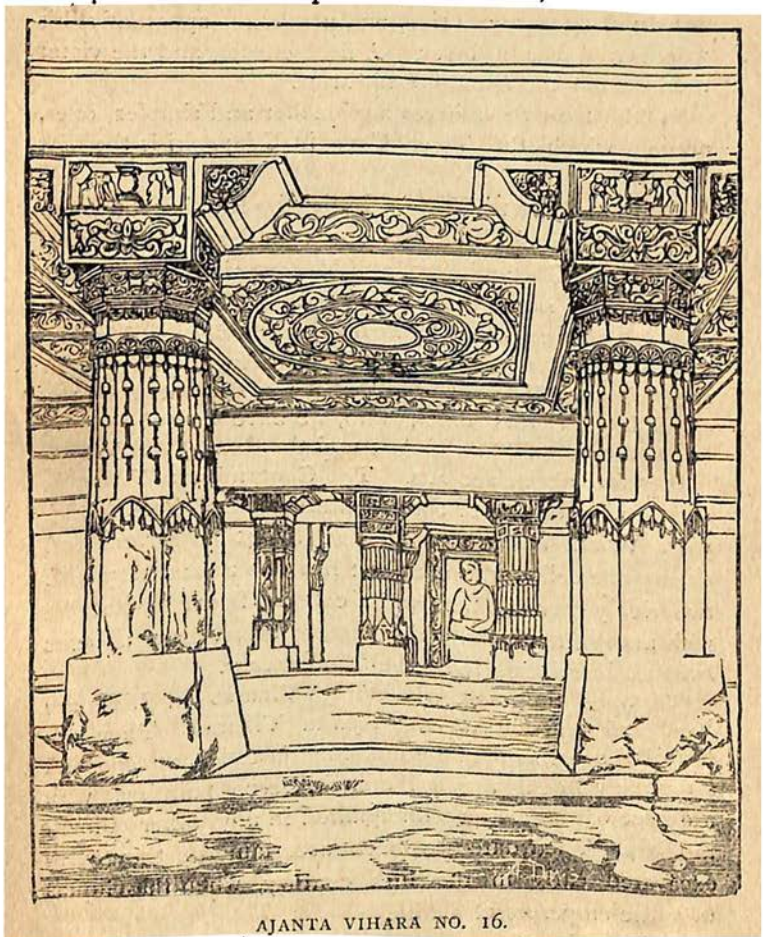
Older than these caves are smaller and simpler ones, among which the Tiger Cave in Udayagiri is the best known.

Turning now to Western India, the Nassik group contains three principal Viharas known under the names of Nahapana, Gautamiputra, and Yaduyasri. The first two are on the same plan, being halls 40 feet square, with sixteen small cells for monks on three sides, and a six-pillared veranda on the fourth side. An inscription in the Nahapana Vihara shows that it was excavated by the son-in-law of that chief, who, we have seen elsewhere, heads the list of Shah kings; and the date of this Vihara is therefore about 100 A.D. The Gautamiputra Vihara is supposed to be two or three centuries later. The Yaduyasri Vihara has a hall 60 feet by 40 to 45 feet, and twenty-one cells for monks. It has also a sanctuary with two richly carved pillars and a colossal figure of Buddha with many attendants. The date of this Vihara appears from an inscription to be the fifth century.

Perhaps the most interesting Viharas in India are Nos. 16 and 17 of the Ajanta Viharas. They are beautiful specimens of Buddhist monasteries, and possess a unique value, as they still contain fresco paintings with a degree of distinctness unequalled in any other Vihara in India. Their date has been ascertained; they were excavated early in the fifth century, when the Guptas were the emperors of India.

Vihara No. 16 measures 65 feet each way, and has twenty pillars. It has sixteen cells for monks on two sides, a great hall in the centre, a veranda in the front, and a sanctuary in the back. All the walls are

covered with frescoes representing scenes from the life of Buddha or from the legends of saints, and the roofs and pillars have arabesques and ornaments, and all this



AJANTA VIHARA NO. 16.

combines to produce a peculiar richness of effect. Judging from the representations of the frescoes which have been published, the painting was by no means contemptible. The figures are natural and elegant, the human

faces are pleasant and expressive, and convey the feelings which they are meant to convey, and the female figures are supple, light, and elegant, and have an air of softness and mild grace which mark them peculiarly Indian in style. The decorations are chaste and correct in style and singularly effective. It is to be hoped that a fairly complete representation of these curious paintings will yet be published for the elucidation of the art of painting in Ancient India; and such a work will be as valuable to the historian of Indian Art as the paintings recovered from Pompeii, and preserved in the Museum of Naples, are valuable to the historian of ancient European Art. Dr. Fergusson, however, apprehends that the means adopted to heighten the colour of the Ajanta paintings in order to copy them, and the "destructive tendencies of British tourists," have already spoilt these invaluable treasures.

Ajanta Vihara No. 17 is similar in plan to No. 16, and is known as the Zodiac cave, because a figure of the Buddhist Chakra or wheel was mistaken for the signs of the Zodiac.

Eight or nine Viharas exist at Bogh, a place about thirty miles west of Mandu. The great Vihara here has a hall 96 feet square and a shala or schoolroom attached to it 94 feet by 44 feet; while a veranda 220 feet in length runs in front of the hall and the shala. 28 pillars beautify the hall, 16 pillars are in the schoolroom, while 20 pillars all in a row adorn the veranda. At one time the whole of the back wall of the gallery was adorned with a series of fresco paintings, equalling the Ajanta paintings in beauty. The principal subjects are processions on horseback and on elephants. Women exceed men in number, and dancing and love-making are prominently introduced.

At Ellora there are numerous Viharas attached to the Visvakarma Chaitya, of which we have spoken before. The great Vihara is 110 feet by 70 feet, and this as well

as the smaller Vihaias belong probably to the same century as the Chaitya.

There are three temples here which curiously illustrate the steps by which Buddhistic excavations gradually emerged in the Hindu. The first temple is Do-tal, a two-storeyed Buddhist Vihara, Buddhistic in all its details. The second temple is Teen-tal, similar to the Do-tal, and still having Buddhist sculptures, but departing so far from simplicity of style as to justify Brahmans in appropriating it, as they have done! The third is Das Avatar, still resembling the other two in architectural details, but entirely Hindu in sculptures. Later on, when Hinduism had completely triumphed over Buddhism, the Hindus of Southern India excavated in the spot, in the eighth or ninth century A.D., the famous temple of Kailasa, which has made Ellora one of the great wonders of India. But of this and other Hindu edifices we will speak when we come to treat of the Puranic Period. We need only state here that the main distinction between Buddhist works and Hindu works is this; Buddhist Chaityas and Viharas are caves excavated in rocks; while Hindu workers, even when they worked on existing hills and rocks, imitated structural buildings by clearing away the stone on all sides, and thus allowing the edifices carved to stand out in bold relief against the neighbouring rocks. Such is Kailasa in Ellora.

We need not lengthen this chapter by giving an account of Gandhara Viharas. There can be no doubt that Greek influence greatly modified the style of architecture there, and many capitals and figures discovered in the Punjab are distinctly Greek in style. Nor is it possible to include here an account of Ceylonese architecture. There are numerous ruins of ancient topes and other edifices in that island, specially near Anuradhapura, which continued to be the capital of Ceylon for ten centuries. Two of the largest known topes are in Ceylon, one at Abhayagiri, 1100 feet in circumference and 244

feet high; and the other at Jetavana, a few feet higher. The former was erected in 88 B.C., and the latter in 275 A.D.

From the brief account that has been given, our readers will perceive that both in architecture and in sculpture the highest excellence was attained and maintained in India before and immediately after the Christian Era. For the first attempts we must look to the rude caves in Orissa and Behar, with the facades now and then ornamented with rude sculpture of animals. Such, for instance, is the Tiger Cave of Orissa, and we must date this class of caves with the first spread of Buddhism in the fourth century B.C. A great advance was made in the third century B.C., and perhaps the noblest monuments, both in sculpture and in architecture, were constructed between the third century B.C. and the first century A.D. The richly sculptured rails of Bharhut and Sanchi belong to 200 B.C. and 100 A.D., and the finest Chaitya that has been yet discovered, that of Karli, belongs also to the first century after Christ. For the succeeding three or four centuries the art maintained its high position, but scarcely any progress was made, for it is doubtful if a tendency towards elaborate ornamentation is true progress. The Ajanta Viharas and the Amaravati rails, constructed in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., maintained the high position which art had reached in India three or four centuries earlier. Painting, too, of which we cannot discover the first beginnings, attained or maintained its high excellence in the fifth century A.D.

Hinduism, then, inherited from Buddhism the arts of architecture and sculpture. In the earlier Hindu temples of the sixth and seventh centuries, in Orissa and elsewhere, the sculpture is still as chaste and as meritorious as in the Buddhist rails. But it declined in later times.

In the later Hindu temples, the art has lost much of its higher æsthetic qualities, and "frequently resorts

to such expedients as giving dignity to the principal personages, by making them double the size of less important characters, and of distinguishing gods from men by giving them more heads and arms than mortal man can use or understand."

CHAPTER VIII.

CASTE.

FROM an account of the architecture and sculpture of the Hindus, we will now turn to their social manners and institutions in the Buddhist Age.

We have said before that Buddhism and Hinduism flowed in parallel streams in India during many centuries. Orthodox Hindus, specially of the higher castes, adhered to the Vedic form of religion and to Vedic sacrifices. On the other hand, the number of Buddhist monks and monasteries increased all over the land, and the common people drifted in large numbers to Buddhist ceremonials and the worship of relics and images. There was no open hostility between the two creeds, and except when some unwise and violent monarch signalised his reign by acts of persecution, there was no thought of a rupture between Hindus and Buddhists, who lived in India in friendliness for many centuries, each practising their own form of religious rites.

The numerous extracts we have made from the Buddhist Scriptures in the last Book throw much light on Buddhist life and manners. For a picture of Hindu life and manners during this age, we must go to the Institutes of Manu,—in many respects the most remarkable work of the age.

We have seen before that the laws of Manu in their earlier or Sutra form were prevalent in India, and were much respected by the other Sutrakaras in the Rationalistic Age. Those earlier laws, however, have been lost

to us, and the Institutes of Manu which we have now, were completely recast and put in verse in the Buddhist Age. They reflect, therefore, the Hindu manners and customs of the Buddhist Age, and thus form an intermediate link between the earlier Sutra works of the Rationalistic Age and the later Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Age.

The earlier Sutras connect themselves with some particular Vedic school or other. Manu does not connect himself with any such school or particular community, but professes to lay down rules for all Aryan Hindus. Herein Manu differs from the Sutras of the Rationalistic Age.

On the other hand, Manu differs still more widely from the later Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Age. These Dharma Sutras proclaim Puranic or Modern Hinduism, and believe in the Hindu Trinity and in the worship of images. Manu does not recognise these modern innovations. He still stands up for Vedic Hinduism and Vedic sacrifices, ignores the later Hindu Trinity, and condemns the worship of images. Thus the position of Manu is singular and unique, and he represents the transition state through which the Hindus passed during the Buddhist Age,—before they completely adopted modern or Puranic Hinduism. Herein consists the importance of Manu's Institutes, and the date assigned to the Institutes in their present shape, by Dr. Buhler and other scholars, is the first or second century before or after Christ.

We shall obtain from this valuable work much valuable information about the social manners and laws and rules of administration of the Hindus during the Buddhist Age. In the present chapter our remarks will be confined to the caste-system.

We have seen before, that the ancient Sutrakaras had conceived that the different castes sprang from the union of men and women of different original castes; and Manu unfortunately adopts and hands down the childish myth.

The following is a list of Manu's mixed castes, or, if we may so call it, Manu's theory of the Origin of the Human

Species I Sons begotten by the first three castes on wives of the next lower castes were considered similar to their fathers, and did not form new castes.

Father.	*Mother.*	*Castes formed.*
Brahman	Vaisya	Ambashtha
Do.	Sudra	Nishada
Kshatriya	Do.	Ugra
Do.	Brahman	Suta
Vaisya	Do.	Vaideha
Vaisya	Kshatriya	Magadha
Sudra	Vaisya	Ayogava
Do.	Kshatriya	Kshattri
Do.	Brahman	Chandala
Brahman	Ugra	Avrita
Do.	Ambashtha	Abhira
Do.	Ayogava	Dhigvana
Nishada	Sudra	Pukkasa
Sudra	Nishada	Kukkutaka
Kshattri	Ugra	Svapaka
Vaidehaka	Ambashtha	Vena

First three castes { by wives of their same caste, but not performing sacred rites } Vratyas.

From Brahman Vratyas	. . . .	Bhrijjakantaka Avantya Vatadhana Pushpadha Saikha
From Kshatriya Vratyas	. . . .	Jhalla Malla Lichchhivi Nata Karana Khasa Dravida
From Vaisya Vratyas	. . . .	Sudhanvan Acharya Karusha Vijanman Maitra Satvata

Father	*Mother*	*Castes formed.*
Dasyu	Ayogava	Sairindhra
Vaideha	Do.	Maitreyaka
Nishada	Do.	Margava or Dasa or Kaivarta
Do.	Vaideha	Karavara
Vaidehika	Karavara	Andhra
Do.	Nishada	Meda
Chandala	Vaideha	Pandusopaka
Nishada	Do.	Ahindika
Chandala	Pukkasa	Sopaka
Chandala	Nishada	Antyavasayin.

As if this list of non-Aryan races was not sufficiently long, the great legislator tries to include by a sweeping rule all the known races of the earth! The Paundrakas (North Bengal men), the Udras (Oriyas), the Dravidas (Southern Indians), the Kambojas (Kabulis), the Yavanas (Bactrian Greeks), the Sakas (Turanian invaders), the Paradas, the Pahlavas (Persians), the Chinas (Chinese), the Kiratas (hill men), and the Daradas and Khasas are said to have been Kshatriyas before, but to have "gradually sunk in this world to the condition of Sudras," through omission of the sacred rites, and for "not consulting Brahmans" (X, 43 and 44).

On carefully looking over the foregoing list of mixed castes, we find that they include all the aboriginal and foreign races that were known to Manu, but they do not include the profession—castes of the modern day. We find no mention of Kayasthas and Vaidyas and Goldsmiths and Blacksmiths and Vaniks, and Potters and Weavers, and other artisans who form castes in modern times. How have these castes sprung? When did they spring into existence? And shall we believe in the myth of a further permutation and combination among the men and women of Manu's mixed castes in order to account for the existence of the scores of new castes in the modern day?

Again, when we survey the modern Hindu castes, we

do not in many provinces of India find any trace of the ancient Vaisya caste, which formed the mass of the nation in the days of Manu. Where are those Vaisyas gone? When and how did they disappear from most provinces of India? And shall we, consistently with the myth spoken of before, believe that the Vaisyas were so apt to marry women of other castes, and so little fond of their own women, that they continually formed alliances with other castes, until they simply married themselves out of their caste-existence?

The student of Indian history is spared the humiliation of accepting such nursery tales! Common sense will suggest to him that the Vaisyas of Manu have now been disunited into new modern castes according to the professions they follow. Manu knew of goldsmiths and blacksmiths and physicians, and speaks of them, but does not reckon them as separate castes. *They were not castes but professions in Manu's time, and still belonged to the common undivided Vaisya caste.* Scribes and physicians and artisans were still entitled in Manu's time to the privileges of the ancient Aryans, to acquire religious knowledge, to perform religious rites, and to wear the sacrificial thread. However much, then, we may deplore the results of the caste-system, it is important to remember that even in the centuries immediately before and immediately after the Christian Era, the system had not reached its worst stage. Sacred learning had not yet become the monopoly of priests, and honest citizens, who gained a livelihood as scribes, physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, potters, &c., were still Vaisyas, still united as one caste, and still entitled to all the literary and religious heritage of Aryans.

We will illustrate these remarks by a few facts taken from the modern state of Bengal. Bengal proper, *i.e.*, the country in which the Bengali is the spoken tongue (comprising the Presidency, Burdwan, Rajshahi, Dacca, and Chittagong fiscal divisions), has a population about

35½ millions according to the census of 1881. Roughly speaking, 18 millions are Mahommedans, 17 millions are Hindus (including aborigines), and the remaining half-million is made up of Buddhists, Christians, &c.

The castes which make up the 17 million Hindus are numerous; and those which number 200,000 souls or more are shown in the following list:—

1. Kaivarta	2,006	thousands.	17. Baniya	318	thousands.
2. Chandala	1,564	,,	18. Jugi	306	,,
3. Koch	1,215	,,	19. Kamar	286	,,
4 Brahman	1,077	,,	20. Kumar	252	,,
5. Kayastha	1,056	,,	21. Bauri	252	,,
6. Bagdi	720	,,	22. Teor	229	,,
7. Gowala	613	,,	23. Dhobi	227	,,
8. Sadgop	547	,,		13,760	,,
9. Napit	447	,,			
10. Vaishnav	439	,,	Other castes, numbering less than 200,000 souls	3,494	,,
11. Chamar	410	,,			,,
12. Sunri	383	,,			
13. Teli	383	,,	Total Hindu population	17,254	,,
14. Jeleya	375	,,			
15. Tanty	330	,,			
16. Pod	325	,,			

The two most numerous castes the Kaivarta and the Chandala, find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes. The Kaivartas of Bengal form a solid body of two million people, making nearly one-eighth of the entire Hindu population of Bengal. They have much the same physical features, follow the same pursuits of fishing and agriculture, and possess the same mental characteristics of patience and industry, docility and dulness. Three-fourths of them inhabit the south-western corner of Bengal, *i.e.*, the districts of Midnapur, Hooghly, and Howrah, 24-Pergunnahs, Nuddea, and Murshedabad. Is there any one among our readers who is so simple as to believe with Manu that this solid and numerous race of men, possessing the same features and characteristics, and mostly inhabiting one definite part of Bengal, is

descended from children borne by Ayogava women who deserted their own husbands and yielded themselves—by the hundred thousand—to the embraces of Nishadas! Where are the traditions of this strange and universal elopement, this rape of the Ayogava women by Nishadas, compared to which the rape of the Sabine women was but child's play? Common sense brushes aside such nursery tales, and recognises in the millions of hardworking and simple Kaivartas, one of those aboriginal races who inhabited Bengal before the Aryans came to the land, and who submitted themselves to the civilisation, the language, and the religion of the conquering Hindus, and learnt from them to till the land where they had previously lived by fishing and hunting.

Let us next turn to the Chandalas of Bengal. They too form a solid body of people numbering a million and a half, and inhabiting mostly the south-eastern districts of Bengal, Backergunj, Faridpur and Dacca, Jessore and Khulna. They are patient and hard-working, and unrivalled in boating and fishing; and landlords like to have them as tenants for bringing waste and marshy lands under cultivation.* But nevertheless the Chandalas are a soft, timid, and submissive race, and bear without a complaint many wrongs from the sturdier Mussulmans of East Bengal. There is a marked family likeness, both physical and mental, among the Chandalas, which shows them to be one distinct race.

And how was this race formed? Manu has it that they are the issues of Brahman women who yielded themselves to the embraces of Sudras. As the number of Brahmans

* The present writer has often witnessed the curious way in which the Chandalas of some parts of Backergunj District turn *beels* or marshes into solid cultivable lands. They either connect the *beels* with tidal rivers by artificial canals, so as to induce a deposit of silt on the bed of the marshes day by day and year by year; or they collect a kind of weed growing in the marshes, and lay them stratum upon stratum until the lowest stratum reaches the bottom. The present writer has seen houses and trees on lands thus *manufactured*.

in South-Eastern Bengal was never very large in olden times, and does not even in the present day come to even a quarter of a million in the five districts named above, it is difficult to account for the presence of a million Chandalas in those districts on Manu's theory. Shall we suppose that fair-skinned Brahman Desdemonas habitually bestowed their hands on swarthy Sudra swains? Shall we suppose that beauteous but frail Brahman girls were seduced from their parents—by the hundred thousand—by gay Sudra Lotharios intent on creating a new caste? And shall we further suppose that the children begotten of such unions thrived and multiplied in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations,—more than true-born Brahman children basking in the sunshine of royal favour and priestly privileges? We have only to state such suppositions to show their utter absurdity; and with these suppositions, Manu's theory of mixed castes is brushed aside to the region of myths and nursery tales! Common sense will tell every reader who knows anything of the Chandalas of Bengal that they were the primeval dwellers of South-Eastern Bengal, and lived by fishing in its numerous creeks and channels, and they naturally adopted the religion, the language, and the civilisation of the Hindus when the Aryans came and colonised Bengal.

We have shown that the Kaivartas and the Chandalas were distinct primeval races, and that they formed Hindu castes when they were Hinduised by the conquering Aryans. There are other similar race-castes in Bengal. The reader will find in the list given above the names of the Koch, the Bagdi, the Pod, the Bauri, and the Teor, which are all race-castes. They formed distinct aboriginal races before the Hindus came to Bengal; and from century to century, in the long-forgotten ages, they submitted to the conquering Hindus, adopted their language and religion, and mode of tillage, and formed low castes in the Hindu confederation of castes. The names of

many of these Bengal races were unknown to Manu; those which he knew, he tried to account for by his own theory, in the absence of all historical and statistical facts.

Let us now turn from *race-castes* to *profession-castes*. In the list given above, the reader will find mention of the Kayastha or scribe, the Goala or cowherd, the Napit or barber, the Teli or oil-manufacturer, the Jeleya or fisherman, the Tanti or weaver, the Baniya or trader, the Kamar or blacksmith, the Kumar or potter, the Dhobi or washerman, &c. It is remarkable that while some of the race-castes find mention in Manu's list of mixed castes, *not one of the profession-castes finds mention in that list.* Were the professions unknown in Manu's time? Were there no scribes and traders, no blacksmiths and potters, no barbers and washermen in Manu's time? The supposition is absurd, for Manu lived at a time of high civilisation in India, and speaks of those professions in his Code. But he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes, and does not speak of them as castes. And this demonstrates with mathematical certainty that the different professions in Manu's time were yet professions only, and had not been formed into distinct and inviolable castes. The Vaisyas were still a united body, and so were the Sudras, although they followed different professions and trades.

We now know the true origin of the profession-castes which were unknown to Manu, and have been formed since. We know also the origin of the race-castes which were formed before Manu's time, and were known to Manu. And lastly, we know how Manu erred in trying to account for these race-castes. Manu's mistake was unavoidable. He saw distinct castes like the Kaivartas and the Chandalas, and did not know their historic origin. The religious traditions of his time traced all mankind from the four parent castes, and he was compelled therefore to stretch the old theory in order to account for

the new castes of his time. All this is intelligible. What is not intelligible is, that the old theory should still find acceptance among some Hindus in these days of statistics and historical inquiry. But the very sanctity of the Institutes disarms historical inquiry, repels careful examination, silences criticism. It is for this reason that the ancient theory of mixed castes has been upheld and accepted and venerated for centuries in the face of all facts and all probabilities. Never questioned, never criticised never tested by facts, the theory has floated in the imagination and belief of orthodox Hindus, an object of admiration and blind faith. And yet this theory, so symmetrical and comprehensive, so perfect and complete, vanishes like a beauteous soap-bubble into nothingness, the moment it is touched by the finger of criticism.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL LIFE.

MANU's account of domestic rites is based on the accounts of the old Sutrakaras, and the same rites are described. The *Jatakarman* must be performed immediately after the birth of a child, and before the navel-string is cut. On the tenth or twelfth day after birth, or on a lucky day, in a lucky muhurta, under an auspicious constellation, the *Namadheya* rite should be performed, and the child should be named. In the fourth month, the *Nishkramana* should be done, and the child taken out of the house, and in the sixth month the child should have his *Annaprasana* or first meal of rice. The *Upanayana* or initiation should be performed in the eighth year for a Brahman, in the eleventh for a Kshatriya, and in the twelfth for a Vaisya; and then the boy, invested with the holy thread, is to be made over to his instructor.

The rules of the student's life are the same as those laid down in the Dharma Sutras. The student should have a girdle, a staff, and one or two garments; he should be obedient and respectful to his teacher; he should beg from door to door every day, and bring the proceeds to his teacher's house; and he should live there and serve him menially, while receiving instruction from day to day and from year to year. The ceremony of *Kesanta* or shaving was performed for a Brahman in the sixteenth year, for a Kshatriya in the twenty-second, and for a Vaisya two years later.

The time for learning the three Vedas is thirty-six years,

or eighteen years, or even nine years, or until the student has perfectly learnt them. We are not told of any fourth Veda here (III, 1), nor is any time allotted for learning the Atharvan. And having concluded his studies and bathed, the student became a Snataka, returned home, married and settled down as a householder. The sacred fire was to be lighted at the wedding; and the householder was enjoined to perform his domestic ceremonies and the five great sacrifices all through his life. These great sacrifices were—(1) teaching and studying metaphorically called a sacrifice to the Supreme God (Brahman); (2) offerings of water to the departed fathers; (3) burnt offerings to the minor gods; (4) offerings to spirits; and (5) an ever hospitable reception of guests, described as a sacrifice to men (III, 67 and 70). The last duty was a most important one, and Hindu sages are never tired of impressing on pious Hindus this great duty to their fellow-men.

Apart from the daily offering to departed ancestors, there was the monthly Pinda-Pitriyajna (III, 122), and Pindas or cakes were prepared on this occasion and were offered to the manes. Brahmans were fed at the daily offerings, as well as at the monthly offerings, and Manu is as bitter as the Sutrakaras, against feeding ignorant Brahmans.

"As a husbandman reaps no harvest when he has sown the seed in barren soil, even so the giver of sacrificial food gains no reward if he presented it to a man unacquainted with the Richas" (III, 142).

"As many mouthfuls as an ignorant man swallows at a sacrifice to the gods or to the manes, so many red hot spikes, spears, and iron balls must the giver of the repast swallow after death" (III, 133).

Elsewhere we are warned against offering even water "to a Brahman who acts like a cat, or like a heron." And it would sound irreverent to modern Hindus if we quoted the words in which Manu indignantly stigmatised

the cat-like and heron-like Brahmans of his day! (IV, 192, 195, 196).

With regard to sacrifices, we are told that a Brahman should always offer the Agnihorta morning and evening; that he should perform the Darsa and Paurnamasa Ishtis at the new and full moon; that he should do the Chaturmasya sacrifices at the end of the three seasons; that he should perform animal sacrifices at the solstices, and a soma sacrifice at the end of the year. When the new grain was reaped he should perform an Agrayana Ishti and an animal sacrifice (IV, 25—27). The reader is referred to the last Book for an account of these and similar rites as described in the older Sutra works.

All these injunctions to continue the daily, monthly, and periodical rites prescribed in the ancient Sutras, show that Manu sought to perpetuate the old Vedic rites which were fast falling into disuse. Such expressions as "A Brahman who keeps sacred fires" (IV, 27) would indicate that to keep such fires was becoming rather the exception than the rule; and bitter expressions against heretics would indicate that the influence of the Buddhists was telling on the ancient forms and rites. A householder is forbidden to honour, even by greeting, heretics and logicians arguing against the Veda (IV, 30); he is directed to avoid atheism and cavilling at the Veda (IV, 163); and women who have joined a heretical sect are classed with lewd women, with drunken women, with murderesses of their husbands, and with women who have caused abortion (V, 90).

We shall probably never know exactly in what way and by what degrees the Vedic rites and forms of the Epic and Rationalistic Periods were changed into the forms of modern Hinduism. But we may be quite certain that at the very time at which the Institutes of Manu were compiled, the ancient domestic sacrifices (Grihya) at the householder's hearth, and the more pompous sacrifices (Srauta) performed by priests, were falling in disuse,

and were being supplanted by those very temple priests whom Manu contemptuously classes with sellers of meat and wine, with shopkeepers and usurers (III, 152, 180). The Institutes are a vain attempt to perpetuate the past against the innovations of the present, and the historian has little difficulty in noting in what direction the tide was turning.

The forms of marriage recounted by Manu are the same that we find in the Dharma Sutras. He enumerates the *Brahma*, the *Daiva*, the *Arsha*, the *Prajapatya*, the *Asura*, the *Gandharva*, the *Rakshasa*, and the *Paisacha* forms; but his sense of decorum rebels against some of the forms; "the Paisacha (seduction) and the Asura (sale) must never be used" (III, 25). And again we are emphatically told that "No father who knows the law must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring" (III, 54). As if to leave no doubt whatever on the subject, we are told that even a Sudra should not take a nuptial fee; and that such a transaction has never been heard of (IX, 98 and 100). But nevertheless a nuptial fee was probably received among the low people in ancient times, as it is done to this day in India, and Manu in one place incautiously lays down a rule, that if one damsel has been shown and another is given to a bridegroom, he may marry both for the same price (VIII, 204).

Similarly Manu is indignant against widow-marriage, which ancient custom was becoming unpalatable to the later Hindus; but he unguardedly informs us of the fact, —and the fact is more valuable to the historian than Manu's opinions,—that widow-marriage still prevailed in his time, although it was not approved by the orthodox. We are told in (V, 157) that a widow must never even mention the name of another man after her husband has died, and again that a second husband is nowhere prescribed for virtuous women (V, 162). But nevertheless

we are told of husbands of remarried women (III, 166), and of sons of remarried widows (III, 155 and 181; IX, 169, 175 and 176). Virgin widows were expressly permitted to remarry. Such a widow "is worthy to perform with her second husband the nuptial ceremony" (IX, 176).

Intermarriage, as we have already seen before, was freely allowed, provided that a man of a lower caste did not marry a woman of a higher caste.

Marriage between relations was strictly prohibited in Manu's time. "A damsel who is neither a Sapinda on the mother's side, nor belongs to the same family on the father's side, is recommended to twice-born men for wedlock and conjugal union" (III, 5).

With regard to the age at which girls were married, we should infer from Manu's rules that though girls were sometimes married before they reached their puberty, this was by no means obligatory, and they often married later. We are told that a man of thirty should marry a girl of twelve, and that a younger man should marry girls still younger (X, 94). We are again told that to a distinguished handsome suitor a father should give away his daughter "though she have not attained the proper age." This is laid down as an exception, and the usual rule, therefore, we should infer, was to give away girls at "the proper age." And we are expressly told that a girl when marriageable should wait for three years and then give herself away (IX, 90), and that her father should rather keep unmarried the whole of her life than give her away to a bridegroom who is not suitable (IX, 89).

The ancient custom of raising issue on a brother's widow seems to have fallen into disuse. Manu, in his anxiety to adhere to ancient rule, and also to proclaim a purer custom, seems to flatly contradict himself. In IX, 59 and 60, he says that on failure of issue by her husband, a wife or widow who has been authorised may obtain the desired offspring by a brother-in-law, or by

some other Sapinda of the husband. But shortly after he emphatically declares that a widow must never be appointed to raise issue in this way; that in the sacred texts the appointment of widows is nowhere mentioned; that the practice is reprehended by the learned as fit for cattle (IX, 64 to 68). This is pretty strong language, and shows how utterly the somewhat primitive custom was condemned at the time of Manu.

It will be seen, from what has been stated above, that the Institutes of Manu are somewhat composite in their character. The author tries to adhere to ancient law, often quotes the current sayings and verses of his time, —many of which have been found in the Mahabharata,— and at the same time he is anxious to proclaim a pure law for the Aryans. Actuated by such different influences, Manu is sometimes uncertain in the rules he lays down; but the general scope and object of his law cannot be mistaken by the candid reader. And if such a reader carefully peruses all the chapters and verses in the Code bearing on the position of women, he will, in spite of some objectionable passages, certainly form a high idea of the status of women, and of the Hindu civilisation and manners of Manu's time.

Women were regarded as dependent on their male relations;—this Manu emphatically declares. But nevertheless women were honoured in their families, respected by their relations, and held in esteem by the society in which they lived. And this will appear not only from the rules of Manu, but from the general tone of all Sanscrit literature.

"The Acharya (teacher) is ten times more venerable than the Upadyaya (sub-teacher), the father a hundred times more than the teacher, but the mother a thousand times more than the father (II, 145).

"Women must be honoured and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire their own welfare.

"Where women are honoured, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honoured, no sacred rite yields reward.

"Where female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy, ever prospers" (III, 55—57).

On the other hand, we have as clear an enunciation of women's duties.

"In childhood a female must be subject to her father; in youth to her husband; when her lord is dead, to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

"She must not seek to separate herself from her father, husband, or sons. By leaving them she would make both her own and her husband's family contemptible.

"She must always be cheerful, clever in the management of her household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.

"Him to whom her father may give her, or her brother, with her father's permission, she shall obey as long as she lives, and when he is dead, she must not insult his memory.

"Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.

"No sacrifice, no vow, no fast, must be performed by women apart from their husbands; if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven" (V, 148—151, and 154, 155).

CHAPTER X.

ADMINISTRATION.

MANU gives us a very interesting picture of the daily duties and the private life of kings.

To protect his subjects, to deal impartial justice, and to punish the wrong-doer were the essential duties of a king, and the very existence of society depended on the performance of these duties (VII, 2, 16—35). Drinking, dice, women, and hunting were the most pernicious faults of kings (VII, 50).

The king rose in the last watch of the night, and having performed personal purification, and offered oblations to the fire, he entered the hall of audience in the morning. There he gratified all subjects who came to see him, and having dismissed them, he took counsel with his ministers in a lonely place, unobserved by the public (VII, 145—147). When the consultation was over, the king took his customary exercise, bathed, and entered the inner apartments in order to take his meals. The food was prepared by faithful servants hallowed by sacred texts that destroyed poison, and well tried females served him with fans, water, and perfumes. The carefulness which is enjoined in the matter of food, is enjoined also in respect of the king's carriages, bed, seat, bath, toilet, and ornaments, and shows that the risk of death by poison or treachery was guarded against in the ordinary arrangements in a king's household (VII, 216—220).

After taking his meals, the king passed some time with his wives in the inner apartments; but in the afternoon

he issued again in his robes of state and inspected his fighting men, his chariots, animals, weapons, and accoutrements. And then, having performed his twilight devotions, he gave audience to his secret spies, and heard secret reports collected for his information. After this he entered his inner apartments again and had his supper. Then, after refreshing himself by the sound of music, he retired to rest (VII, 221—225).

The king was, of course, assisted in his work of administration by his ministers,—seven or eight ministers according to Manu,—versed in sciences, skilled in the use of weapons, and descended from noble and well-tried families. Such ministers advised the king in matters of peace and war, revenue, and religious gifts. The king also employed suitable persons for the collection of revenue, and in mines, manufactories, and storehouses; and he employed an ambassador "who understands hints, and the expression of the face and gestures," for carrying on negotiations (VII, 54—63).

For the protection of villages and towns separate officers were appointed. The king appointed a lord over each village, lords of ten villages, lords of twenty villages, lords of a hundred villages, and lords of a thousand villages, and it was their duty to check crime and protect the villagers. Similarly each town had its superintendent of all affairs, who personally inspected the work of all officials, and got secret information about their behaviour. "For the servants of the king who are appointed to protect the people generally become knaves who seize the property of others; let him protect his subjects against such men" (VII, 115—123). This is a bitter invective against the rapacity of officers; but few administrative officers of the present day will consider the invective too strong for the modern protectors of the people,—the police officers,—each entrusted with the charge of an extensive Thana with a population of fifty to a hundred thousand or more!

The income of the state from the royal demesnes was supplemented by taxes. Manu fixes the taxes at "a fiftieth part of the increments on cattle and gold," which corresponds to an income-tax of two per cent., and "the eighth, sixth, or twelfth part of the crops," which represents a land revenue much lower than modern assessments. The king might also take a sixth part of trees, meat, butter, earthen vessels, stoneware, &c., and might exact a day's service in each month from artisans, mechanics, and Sudras living by manual labour. But he should on no account tax Srotriyas. And lastly, kings are warned against excessive taxation. "Let him not cut up his own root nor the root of others by excessive greed. For by cutting up his own root or theirs, he makes himself or them wretched" (VII, 130—139).

All these and other rules about administration and taxation show that a fairly advanced system of government prevailed in India between fifteen hundred and two thousand years ago. And the testimony of Chinese and Greek writers who lived in the country proves that the ideas were not merely worked out by theorists and bookmakers, but were carried into practice by kings and their responsible officials. Megasthenes speaks in the highest terms of the government of Chandragupta; and Fa Hian and Houen Tsang, who lived many years in India, and visited many kingdoms, also speak highly of Hindu administration, and do not cite one single instance of a people being ground down by taxes or harassed by the arbitrary and oppressive acts of kings, or ruined by internecine wars. On the contrary, the picture which they present to us is that of a happy and prosperous group of nations, loyal and well-disposed to their kings, enjoying the fruits of a benign and mild and civilised administration. Agriculture flourished everywhere; the arts were cultivated; learning was respected and cultivated with great assiduity by Hindus and Buddhists alike; religion was taught and preached from temples and monasteries without let or

hindrance; and the people were left to their own pursuits without oppressive interference. These results are a truer indication of a beneficent administration than any rules, however just and humane, which we may find recorded in law books.

Fortresses were highly esteemed for the purposes of defence, and Manu declares that "one bowman placed on a rampart is a match in battle for one hundred foes" (VII, 74). He directs that a king should always build for his safety a fortress, protected by a desert, or water, or trees, or by earthworks, or by armed men; but he gives his preference to hill forts, which are the strongest of all forts. And such forts should be well supplied with weapons, money, grain, and beasts of burden; with Brahmans, artisans, engines, fodder, and with water (VII, 70, 71, 75). The value of such hill forts has repeatedly been proved in the history of modern Indian warfare, and the enemy has often wasted a campaign in a futile attack against a single fort, sufficiently provided with provisions and water, with natural defences and brave men.

The laws of war have always been honourable and humane among the Hindus. Chariots and horses and elephants, grain, cattle, and women conquered in battle are the prize of the conqueror; but he is strictly enjoined not to strike the flying foe, nor one who joins his hands in supplication or sits down and says, "I am thine." Similarly, no violence should be used against disarmed or wounded men, or men who were merely looking on without joining in the fight (VII, 91, 92, 93, 96). These rules have been scrupulously observed from the ancient times to the days of modern Rajput warfare, and foreigners have noted peaceful villagers following their daily occupations, and husbandmen ploughing their fields without concern, while hostile armies were contending within sight for the destinies of kingdoms and nations.

A great many rules have been laid down about the policy of kings and the conduct of war, some of which

are interesting. The king was to consider his immediate neighbour his foe and the next king beyond to be his friend, a rule which finds apt illustration in the Continent of Europe in the present day,—in the policies of France, Germany, and Russia (VII, 158). The tall men of the Doab formed then, as now, the best soldiers in India, and kings were recommended to engage such men, the Matsyas, the Panchalas, and the men of Kurukshetra and Surasena as soldiers, and to keep them in the van of the battle (VII, 193). The commencement or end of the cold season was said to be the proper season for marching troops, but movements should be commenced at any time according to the exigencies of the war (VII, 182, 183). We get curious glimpses here and there into the rules which were observed in arranging troops in a march or a battle. In a march the troops were to be arranged like a staff (oblong), or like a waggon (wedge), or like a boar (rhombus), or like a makara (two triangles with the apices joined), or like a pin (long line), or like a Garuda (rhomboid with extended wings). In a battle a small number of soldiers might fight in close order, or the army might be extended in loose ranks; a small number could fight in the needle array, or a large number in the thunderbolt array (VII, 187, 191). When the enemy is shut up in a town or fort, the assailant should encamp outside and spoil the enemy's grass, food, fuel, and water; destroy his tanks, ramparts, and ditches; assail him unawares at night, or instigate rebellion among his subjects and followers (VII, 195—197).

And when a king has conquered his enemy he is directed to place a relation of the vanquished ruler on the throne, after consulting the wishes of the conquered people, and to respect the local customs and laws of the vanquished (VII, 202, 203). These are just and humane rules, worthy of Hindu conquerors.

the writer of the celebrated Mahabhasya or Great Commentary on Panini,—a monument of the grammatical culture of the Buddhist Period.

In religious literature, the Code of Manu belongs to the Buddhist Age, while much of the large mass of Buddhist theology was composed in this age, in the universities of Nalanda and elsewhere. In poetry, little is left to us that clearly belongs to this period; but nevertheless the earliest beginnings of later or classic Sanscrit poetry date from this age. We know from the inscriptions of the Gupta kings, that graceful and flowing versification was appreciated. Poetry was honoured by kings in courts, and Samudragupta, the greatest of the Gupta kings, who reigned towards the close of the fourth century, was himself a poet, and received the title of Kaviraja from his court poets.

But it was in astronomy that the most brilliant results were achieved in the Buddhist Age. We have seen before that astronomical observations were made as early as the Vedic Age; and that early in the Epic Age the lunar zodiac was fixed, the position of the solstitial points marked, and other phenomena carefully observed and noted. No separate astronomical works however of these ages, or even of the Rationalistic Age, have come down to us. The oldest astronomical works of which we know anything, or which have come down to us, belong to the Buddhist Period.

Hindu writers speak of eighteen ancient Siddhantas or astronomical works, but they are now mostly lost. They are named below:—

1. Parasara Siddhanta.
2. Garga ,,
3. Brahma ,,
4. Surya ,,
5. Vyasa ,,
6. Vasishtha ,,
7. Atri ,,
8. Kasyapa ,,
9. Narada ,,
10. Marichi Siddhanta.
11. Manu ,,
12. Angiras ,,
13. Romaka ,,
14. Pulisa ,,
15. Chyavana ,,
16. Yavana ,,
17. Bhrigu ,,
18. Saunaka or Soma ,,

A few remarks about some of these Siddhantas will throw some light on the pursuit of the science in the Buddhist Age; and we will premise that the Hindus received much of their astronomical knowledge of this age from the Greeks, who cultivated the science with great success.

Parasara, says Professor Weber, is considered to be the most ancient of Hindu astronomers, and the second in order of time is Garga. Of Parasara we know next to nothing, except that his name is connected with the Veda Calendar. The work which professes to contain Parasara's teachings is called the Parasara Tantra. It was held in high esteem in the Puranic Period, and Varahamihira often quotes from it. "To judge from very numerous quotations, the greater part, at least a large part of it, is written in prose, a striking peculiarity among the works of its class. A pretty large part is in Anushtubha, and it contains also Aryas. Interesting for the geography of India is an entire chapter which Varahamihira, only changing the form, but leaving the matter almost intact, has given in the fourteenth chapter of the Brihat Sanhita."* As the Yavanas or Greeks are placed by Parasara in Western India, the date of the work cannot be much earlier than the second century B.C.

Of Garga we know something more, and he is one of the few Hindu writers who tell us something of the Greek invasion of India of the second century B.C. He could feel respect for learned men among the Greeks,—although they were considered: Mlechchhas,—and the following passage of his is well known and often quoted: "The Yavanas (Greeks) are Mlechchhas, but amongst them this science (astrology) is well established. Therefore they are honoured as Rishis,—how much more than an astrologer who is a Brahman."

In the historical portion of his work Garga speaks of the four Yugas, the third ending and the fourth

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhita*, Preface, p. 32.

beginning with the war of the Mahábhárata. Further on we are told of the Sisunaga dynasty of Magadha, and then of the Maurya kings. Speaking of Salisuka (whom we know to be the fourth in succession from Asoka the Great), Garga says: "Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Saketa (Oude), the Panchala country, and Mathura, will reach Kusumadhvaja (Patna); Pushpapura (Patna) being taken, all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder."

So rarely do Sanscrit writers furnish us with historical facts, that we are thankful to get, in the astronomy of Garga, evidence of the conquest of India as far down as Patna by the Bactrian Greeks, in the second century B.C. Many of our readers are aware that the profound scholar Dr. Goldstucker discovered mention of this invasion of Oude by the Greeks in Patanjali's work, and has thus fixed the date of Patanjali, the author of Mahabhasya and of the Yoga Philosophy.

But we will proceed with Garga. "The unconquerable Yavanas (Greeks) will not remain in the middle-country. There will be a cruel, dreadful war among themselves. Then, after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga, seven powerful kings will reign in Oude." We are then told, that after the Greeks the rapacious Sakas were the most powerful, and we have little difficulty in recognising in them the Yu-Chi conquerors, who destroyed the kingdom of Bactria about 130 B.C. These new conquerors continued to repeat their depredations, and the annals of Garga here come to an end. From the details given above, Dr. Kern is right in placing Garga in the first century before Christ.

We now proceed to some of the other Siddhantas, viz:—The five Siddhantas which are known as the Pancha-siddhanta, and on which Varahamihira based his work the Pancha-siddhantika in the sixth century.

They are the *Brâhma* or Paitamaha, the *Surya* or Saura, the *Vasishtha*, the *Romaka*, and the *Pulisa*.

The ancient Brahma or Paitamaha Siddhanta seems to have been entirely superseded by the celebrated work of Brahmagupta known as the Sphuta-Brahma Siddhanta. Alberuni obtained a copy of this last work in the eleventh century, and speaks of it in his account of India.

The Surya Siddhanta is a famous work, but the original work has been so often recast and recompiled that the original is lost to us. We do not know the date of the original work, except that it must have been composed in the Buddhist Age; and we do not know when the work was recast finally in the shape in which we have it now, except that it was in the Puranic Age.

Utpala, the commentator of Varahamihira, lived in the tenth century, and quotes six slokas from the Surya-Siddhanta of his day, not one of which slokas, as Dr. Kern points out, is to be found in the present edition of the Siddhanta. Nevertheless, "the Surya-Siddhanta in its present edition is a lineal and legitimate descendant of the work mentioned by Varahamihira as one of his authorities."*

The work, as we find it now, is divided into fourteen chapters, and treats of the mean places and true places of planets, of questions on time, of the eclipses of the moon and the sun, of the conjunction of planets and stars, of the heliacal rising and setting of planets and stars, of the phases of the moon and the position of the moon's cusps, of the declination of the sun and the moon, of cosmography, of the construction of astronomical instruments, and of the different kinds of time.†

The Vasishtha-Siddhanta is ascribed by Alberuni to Vishnu Chandra, but Brahmagupta states more correctly that the ancient work was revised by Vishnu Chandra.

* Kern, *Brihat Sanhita* Preface, p. 46.

† See Whitney's translation or Bapudeva Sastri's translation.

A work pretending to be Vasishtha-Siddhanta now exists, but it is undoubtedly a modern work.

The Romaka-Siddhanta is ascribed, both by Brahmagupta and by Alberuni, to Sri Sena. A spurious and modern Romaka-Siddhanta exists which contains a horoscope of Jesus Christ, and an account of the kingdom of Baber, and of the conquest of Sindh by Akbar!

The Pulisa-Siddhanta was known to Alberuni, who obtained a copy of it, and he calls the author Paules the Greek. Professor Weber thinks that Pulisa the Greek may be identical with Paulus Alexandrinus, the author of an astrological work, the Eisagoge. Dr. Kern thinks this identification doubtful, although he has no doubt that Pulisa was a Greek.

These are the five famous Siddhantas which were compiled together by Varahamihira in the sixth century. Dr. Kern roughly dates them half way between Garga and Varahamihira,—*i.e.*, about 250 A.D.

Works in various other departments existed in the Buddhist Period, which are now lost to us. For instance, we learn with much interest that Nagnajit composed a work on architecture, sculpture, painting, and kindred arts.

Medicine appears to have made great progress in the Buddhist Age, when hospitals were established all over the country. The great writers on Hindu medicine, known as Charaka and Susruta, lived and wrote in the Buddhist Age. But their works seem to have been recast in the Puranic Age, and we will speak of them when we come to treat of that age.

BOOK V.

PURANIC PERIOD, A.D. 500 TO A.D. 1000.

CHAPTER I.

VIKRAMADITYA THE GREAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

WE have now come to the last act of the drama of Hindu History, and the curtain rises on a truly great spectacle. The victor of a great and patriotic war, the patron of reviving Hinduism, the centre of all that is best and most beautiful in modern Sanscrit literature, and the subject of a hundred legends, Vikramaditya the Great is to the Hindus what Charlemagne is to the French, what Alfred is to the English, what Asoka is to Buddhists, and what Harun Ar'Rashid is to Mahommedans. To the learned as to the illiterate, to the poet as to the story-teller, to old men as to schoolboys, his name is as familiar in India as the name of any prince or potentate in any country. Tender recollections of Sakuntala and Urvasi rise in the minds of Hindu scholars with the name of the prince in whose court Kalidasa flourished. Hindu astronomers cherish the memory of the patron of Varahamihira; and Hindu lexicographers honour the name of the potentate who honoured Amara Sinha. And as if his true claims to glory were not enough, a hundred tales familiarise his name to the illiterate and the simple. Villagers assemble to this day under the umbrageous pepul tree to hear how the thirty-two speaking puppets, who bore aloft the throne of the great emperor, would not

brook his successor, and departed, each telling a story of Vikrama's glory. And little boys in every village school in India still learn with wondering admiration how the undaunted Vikrama struggled in the midst of darkness and scenes of terror to obtain mastery over a mighty spirit, and how he succeeded at last, by his indomitable bravery, his never wavering judgment, his never failing self-possession and valour.

When we turn, however, from literary recollections and popular tales to history, we find the greatest confusion with regard to Vikrama's age and even his very identity! For a long time scholars held that Vikramaditya, the patron of Kalidasa, lived about 56 B.C., as the Samvat Era would seem to indicate. This opinion has now been generally abandoned. Mr. Fleet maintains, as has been stated before, that the Samvat Era was an old existing Era of the Malavas, and that "the name of Vikrama or Vikramaditya came to be connected with the Malava Era of B.C. 57 in consequence of some confused reminiscence of a conquest of the Indo-Scythians by Chandragupta I. or II." of the Gupta line of kings who assumed the title of Vikramaditya.*

Such is the darkness which still hangs over the origin of the Samvat Era, and we leave it to subsequent scholars to dispel this gloom. We ourselves believe that Vikramaditya, the patron of Kalidasa, reigned in the sixth century after Christ, and we will briefly mention our reasons for holding this opinion.

Houen Tsang, who came to India in the seventh century, places the reign of Siladitya I about 580 A.D., and places Vikramaditya immediately before Siladitya. And the historian Kahlana, who lived in the twelfth century, places Vikramaditya thirty reigns after Kanishka, who reigned from 78 A.D. The evidence of Houen Tsang and of Kahlana, in our opinion, conclusively fixes the reign of Vikramaditya in the sixth century after Christ.

* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. iii. p. 37, note 2.

Turning now to literary annals, we know that a tradition, which we will show hereafter to be at least a thousand years old, speaks of nine great writers as the *nine gems* of Vikrama's court. Varahamihira, Vararuchi, and Kalidasa are the best known among them. Varahamihira was probably born in 505 A.D., and is shown by Dr. Bhao Daji to have died in 587 A.D. Vararuchi could not have composed his Prakrita grammar much before the fifth or sixth century, as the Prakrita was not a literary language before that period. And Kalidasa's writings show that he must have lived in the fifth or sixth century, when Puranic Hinduism flourished, when temples and images were revered, and when the Hindu Trinity was worshipped. Unlike Manu, and obviously long posterior to him in point of time, the poet respects the Hindu Trinity, reveres temples and images, and even speaks of the Huns settled in the Punjab.

Kalidasa's successors, Bharavi, Dandin, Banabhatta, Subandhu, Bhartrihari, Bhavabhuti,—who have so much in common with Kalidasa,—all belong to the sixth to eighth century after Christ. One of them, Subandhu, speaks of Vikramaditya as departed not very long ago.* It is not possible for any scholar who has read the writings of these authors to place a period of *six centuries* between them and Kalidasa. Thus the evidence of the writings of Varahamihira, Vararuchi, and of Kalidasa also fixes the reign of Vikramaditya in the sixth century after Christ.

With regard to Vikramaditya's victory over the Sakas, Alberuni, who lived in India in the eleventh century, tells us that Vikramaditya marched against the Saka king,

* Attention was first drawn to this passage in the Vasavadatta by Pundit Isvara Chandra Vidyasagara. It may be thus translated: "Now that Vikramaditya has disappeared save in his fame, the excellence of political sentiments has disappeared, new writers are flourishing, and each attacks every one else in this earth,—even like a lake where Sarasa birds disappear, where Vaka birds do not sport, and where the Kanka bird does not stride about when the sun is set."

" put him to flight, and killed him in the region of Kórur, between Multan and the castle of Loni." This is, unfortunately, all that we know historically of Vikrama's great victory over the foreign invaders.

This defeat or expulsion of the foreign invaders had, however, the happiest results, and secured peace to Northern India, which had been harassed by centuries of invasions. The arts of peace flourished with the return of peace. The courts of kings as well as large towns became the centres of luxury and wealth, industries and manufactures. Science raised her head, and modern Hindu astronomy obtained a fresh start. Poetry and the Drama lighted their magic lamps, and spread light and gladness on the Hindu mind. Religion itself gathered strength and life, and Hinduism in its new and Puranic form sought to win back the people from the ranks of Buddhism.

Buddhism had never assumed a hostile attitude towards the parent religion of India; and the fact that the two religions existed side by side for long centuries increased their toleration of each other. In every country Buddhists and orthodox Hindus lived side by side. Hindus went to Buddhist monasteries and universities, and Buddhists learned from Brahman sages. The same kings favoured the followers of both systems of religion. The Gupta emperors were often worshippers of Siva and Vishnu, but loaded Buddhists and Buddhist monasteries with gifts, presents, and favours. One king was often a Buddhist and his son an orthodox Hindu; and often two brothers followed or favoured the two religions without fighting. Every court had learned men belonging to both the religions, and Vikramaditya's court was no exception to the rule.

We will speak of the great writers of Vikrama's court when we come to treat of literature and science, but our account of Vikrama's rule will not be complete without some mention, however brief, of those writers here.

A verse naming the nine gems* of Vikrama's court is known to every Pandit in India. In an inscription of Buddha Gaya dated Samvat 1015, or 948 A.D., we find the following passage:—"Vikramaditya was certainly a king renowned in the world. So in his court were nine learned men known under the epithet of *nava-ratnani*." The antiquity of the tradition is thus beyond question.

Kalidasa is the central figure among these noted literary men. We read in the Rajatarangini that, after the death of Toramana, his son Pravarasena was unable to assert his claims to the throne of Kashmir, and that Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, the recognised emperor of India, sent an eminent poet of his court, Matrigupta by name, to rule in Kashmir. Matrigupta ruled till the death of his patron, when he retired as a Yati to Benares, and Pravarasena succeeded in Kashmir. Dr. Bhao Daji first started the bold theory that this Matrigupta is no other than the poet Kalidasa. We need not mention in detail the reasons given by that scholar for his supposition, and need only state that though they are plausible, they are not convincing. On the other hand Kshemendra, a poet of Kashmir, has, in a critical work which he has left, treated Kalidasa and Matrigupta as different poets, and Kshemendra's authority on this point must be held as conclusive.

We next come to the poet Bharavi, the author of the Kiratarjuniya. He does not appear to have flourished in the court of Vikramaditya, but an inscription has been found, dated 637 A.D., in which his name and that of Kalidasa are mentioned. If he was not a contemporary of Kalidasa, he certainly lived in the sixth century A.D.

Amara Sinha, the writer of the best known dictionary in Sanscrit, was one of the "nine gems," and was a Buddhist. His work was translated into Chinese in the

*They are Dhanvantari, Kshapanaka, Amara Sinha, Sanku, Vetalabhatta, Ghatakarpara, Kalidasa, Varahamihira, and Varauchi.

sixth century, and he is said to have built the Buddhist temple at Buddha Gaya.*

In astronomy, Aryabhatta was the first writer of the Puranic Period. He was born, as he tells us, in 476 A.D.† He did not belong to Vikramaditya's court; he was born in Pataliputra, and made his mark early in the sixth century, before Vikramaditya became renowned.

Varahamihira, who followed Aryabhatta, was one of the "nine gems." He was a native of Avanti, and died in 587 A.D.

His successor Brahmagupta was born at the very close of the sixth century, in 598 A.D., and wrote his work when he was thirty years of age, in 628 A.D. Brahmagupta's father was Jishnu, and may have been the very Jishnu mentioned as one of the contemporaries of Kalidasa.

Of the remaining "gems" of Vikrama's court, Dhanvantari was a famous physician, and is mentioned by Dandin in his Dasa Kumara Charita. Vetalabhatta was the author of Nitipradipa, and Vararuchi was a well-known grammarian. Ghatakarpara, Sanku, and Kshapanaka are little known; and posterity has not held them in the same honour in which they were held in the royal court of Vikrama.

We are now able to form some idea of the great literary activity which marked Vikramaditya's age, and has shed an undying lustre round his name. We are able, after a lapse of over thirteen centuries, to form some conception of the upheaval of the Hindu mind and the rise of literary genius which marked the revival of Hinduism. We can imagine how after a prostration of centuries, after harassing wars and invasions, the national mind suddenly rose to vigour, to greatness, to glory. The nation wanted a leader, and Vikramaditya, the conqueror of the foreigners, the master of all Northern India, the enlightened patron of genius and learning, be it Buddhist or be it Hindu,

* See discussions on the subject in Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Buddha Gaya.* † Dr. Bhao Daji on the age of Aryabhatta.

stood forth as the leader. The times called for a great man, and the great man appeared. And the nation gathered round their great king, and achieved results in literature and science, such as were seldom achieved before.

Thus if we try to read history carefully and aright, if we brush aside fables and exaggerations, we can understand each period of Indian History philosophically, and trace each result to its true cause. We trace the greatness of Vikramaditya himself to the circumstances by which he was surrounded; we understand the matchless flights of Kalidasa's fancy in the light of the general exhilaration of the Hindu spirit in his time; we appreciate the labours of Varahamihira and Amara Sinha, incited as they were by a spirit of emulation, in a very learned court; and we understand a healthy rivalry between Hindus and Buddhists at a time when difference of opinion had not degenerated into intolerance and persecution. Buddhism was decaying and Hinduism was reviving, and naturally enough the reviving religion showed the greatest signs of vigour, of learning, of genius.

After Vikramaditya the Great, Siladitya Pratapasila became the master of Northern India about 550 A.D. We know from Houen Tsang that he was inclined towards Buddhism, and in his court, Vasubandhu, the pupil of Manoratha, was honoured, and won a great victory in controversy over the Hindu party. Vasubandhu was the son of a Brahman, and was the brother of the famous Asanga. He studied in Kashmir, returned to Magadha, became a Pundit in the University of Nalanda, and died in Nepal. We do not know of any other great men of Siladitya's court.

Siladitya I. was succeeded by Prabhakara Vardhana probably about 580 A.D. Prabhakara's sister Rajyasri was married to Grahavarman, but a war broke out with Malava, and Prabhakara was defeated and Grahavarman was killed.

Prabhakara was succeeded by Rajyavardhana about

605 A.D. Rajyavardhana continued the war with Malava, and slew the king of that country. We know from Houen Tsang that Rajyavardhana was afterwards defeated and killed by Sasanka Narendra Gupta, king of Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal.

He was succeeded by his younger brother Siladitya II., called Harshavardhana and also Kumararaja, about 610 A.D. He was a great and powerful king, and, both by his conquests and by his patronage of learning, revived the memories of Vikramaditya's reign. In six years he conquered the "five Indies;" but he could never defeat Paulakesin II., king of the Maharashtras. The Malavas were defeated and Rajyasri was recovered, and Siladitya made an alliance with Bhaskaravarman, the king of Kamarupa, who was also known as Kumararaja.

A copper seal of Harshavardhana or Siladitya II. has been discovered, and gives us his genealogy. The inscription is short, and informs us that Adityavardhana was the son of Rajyavardhana and Mahadevi; Prabhakaravardhana was the son of Adityavardhana and Mahasenagupta; Rajyavardhana was the son of Prabhakaravardhana and Yasomati; and Prabhakara's younger brother Harshavardhana was also begotten on Yasomati.*

We know from Houen Tsang that Siladitya had his capital at Kanyakubja or Kanouj, and that he held every five years a great assemblage of princes and people to celebrate a religious festival. We also know that Siladitya was a staunch Buddhist, though he respected and honoured Brahmans.

Siladitya Harshavardhana was a renowned patron of letters, and is said to be the author of Ratnavali and the Buddhist drama Nagananda. But probably he was the real author of neither, though both the works were composed in his court. The Ratnavali was probably composed by Banabhatta, the author of Kadamvari and

* *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.; Texts, &c., p. 232.

of Harshacharita, a life of the king. Dandin, the author of Dasakumara Charita, lived before Banabhatta and after Kalidasa, and alludes to Kalidasa. It is probable that Dandin was still living, when Banabhatta followed in his footsteps in the more ambitious fiction of the Kadamvari.

The other well-known prose fiction in Sanscrit is the Vasavadatta of Subandhu, and he too was a contemporary of Banabhatta, though he may have written a little earlier, as Banabhatta often quotes him. We thus approximately know the dates of the three best prose fictions in Sanscrit.

The name of Mayura is often mentioned in connection with the name of Banabhatta, and a legend has it that Bana married Mayura's daughter, a Chandi, or scold. Mayura is the author of Mayura Sataka.

A more renowned name is that of Bhartrihari. In a most interesting note,* Professor Max Muller shows, on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing, that Bhartrihari died about 650 A.D., or in other words, that the author of the three Satakas on Love, Discipline, and Tranquillity, was a contemporary of Siladitya II.

The Bhattikavya, being an easy and entertaining method of learning grammar, is better known to Hindu students than the Satakas of Bhartrihari. Commentators of the Bhattikavya like Kandarpa, Vidyavinoda, and Sridhara Svamin call Bhartrihari the author of Bhatti. The name Bhartri has frequently been called Bhatti by other commentators, and, on the whole, there is the strongest presumption that the author of the Satakas and of the Bhattikavya is the same person, Bhartri or Bhatti. Professor Max Muller adduces the testimony of the Chinese traveller named above to confirm this presumption.

Such was the literary activity of the time of Siladitya, the great emperor of Kanouj, who assembled the kings and nations of Northern India at his quinquennial

* India, &c., p. 347 &c.

festivals, and swayed the destinies of all Northern India. We have seen before that the astronomer Brahmagupta also lived in the time of this potentate.

Siladitya died about 648 or 650 A.D. Fifty years later, a weak prince reigned on the throne of the great Siladitya. The prowess and glory of Kanouj were gone, and Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated in war by the proud Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir. The lamp of literature, lighted in Ujjayini two centuries before, still shone, however, in the court of Yasovarman; and one of the greatest poets that India has produced, Bhavabhuti, lived in that prince's court. He is almost the last of that bright galaxy of poets who appeared in India between the sixth and the eighth centuries A.D. The Rajatarangini, from which we get this information, further tells us that two other writers, Vakpati and Rajyasri, also lived under Yasovarman's patronage.

If these three centuries, 500 to 800 A.D., are reckoned as the brightest period in the annals of later Sanscrit literature, those centuries also mark the period of toleration and friendly rivalry between the Hindus and the Buddhists. But controversies between the followers of the rival creeds were going on all this time, and the great Sankaracharya, who was born about the close of the eighth century, was the strongest champion of reviving Hinduism and the strongest opponent of Buddhism.

The Dark Ages then followed, and between 800 and 1000 A.D. there is not one bright name in the history of Hindu literature, science, or art.

CHAPTER II.

HOUEN TSANG'S ACCOUNT OF INDIA.

We now come to the records of the most eminent of Chinese travellers, Houen Tsang, whose story has shed a flood of light on the state of India in the seventh century.* He left China in 629 A.D. and came through Ferganah, Sumarkand, Bokhara, and Balk, to India, where he lived and travelled for many years, and finally returned to China in 645 A.D. At the commencement of his account of India, he gives a general description of the arts and manners of the Hindus, which we will consider further on. We proceed now with the traveller's account of the Hindu kingdoms he visited.

NAGARAHARA, the old capital of the Jelalabad district, was four miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, the manners of the people were simple and honest, and their disposition ardent and courageous. Buddhism was the prevailing religion, but Hinduism was also followed, and there were five Diva temples and about a hundred worshippers in the city. To the east of the city was a Stupa 300 feet high, built by Asoka, and wonderfully constructed of stone beautifully adorned and carved. There were many Sangharamas, of which one, four miles to the south-west of the city, had a high wall and storeyed tower made of piled-up stone, and a Stupa 200 feet high.

The kingdom of GANDHARA had its capital at Peshawar, and both Nagarahara and Gandhara were then

* We rely on Beal's translation.

subject to the king of Kapisa (near the Hindu Kush) and were governed by his deputies. The towns and villages of Gandhara were deserted, and there were but few inhabitants. The country was rich in cereals, and the people were timid and fond of literature. The 1000 Sangharamas were deserted and in ruins, and there were about 100 Hindu temples.

While speaking of the kingdom of Gandhara, Houen Tsang gives us an anecdote of Manohrita, a great Buddhist writer. He lived in the town of Vikramaditya "of wide renown," but Vikramaditya was a patron of Hinduism and Hindu learning, and Manohrita was disgraced in a controversy in his court, and retired in disgust, saying, "In a multitude of partisans there is no justice." Vikramaditya's successor Siladitya, however, was a patron of Buddhist learned men, and he honoured Vasabandhu, the pupil of Manohrita, and the Hindu learned men "were abashed and retired." Elsewhere, in his account of Malwa, Houen Tsang says that Siladitya reigned sixty years before his time, *i. e.*, about 580 A.D., and Vikramaditya's long reign would therefore fall before 550 A.D., which corresponds with the date we have given him.

Near the town of POLUSHA, our traveller came to a high mountain on which he found a figure of Bhima Devi (Durga) carved out of bluish stone. Rich and poor assembled here from every part, near and distant, and saw the image after prayers and fasting. Below the mountain was a temple of Mahesvara, and the Hindu sect (Pasupata), who covered themselves with ashes, came here to offer sacrifice. From these places Houen Tsang came to Salatura, the birthplace of Panini the grammarian.

At UDYANA or the country round Cabul, where Fa Hian had found Buddhism flourishing two centuries before, Houen Tsang found the Sangharamas waste and desolate, and few monks residing in them. There were ten temples of Devas.

Crossing the Indus, the traveller ascended the river through mountain gorges to LITTLE THIBET. "The roads are craggy and steep, the mountains and the valleys are dark and gloomy. Sometimes we have to cross by ropes, sometimes by iron chains stretched (across the gorges). There are footbridges suspended in the air, and flying bridges across the chasms." From Little Thibet, Houen Tsang went to Takshasila and Sinhapura, both subject to Kashmir, and at Sinhapura he met with the sects of Jainas called Svetambaras and Digambaras. "The laws of their founder are mostly filched from the principles of the books of Buddha. . . . The figure of their sacred master (Mahavira) they stealthily class with that of Tathagata (Buddha); it differs only in point of clothing; the points of beauty are absolutely the same." There is no doubt Houen Tsang regarded the Jainas as separatists from Buddhism.

KASHMIR is said to have been 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was two and a half miles in length and a mile broad. The soil produced cereals and abounded in fruits and flowers. The climate was cold and stern. There was much snow, but little wind. The people wore leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They were light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. They were handsome in appearance, but were given to cunning. They loved learning, and were well instructed. There were both Hindus and Buddhists among them. There were about 100 Sangharamas and 5000 monks.

Kashmir was still redolent of the fame of Kanishka, and our traveller has, of course, something to say of that powerful king. Here and elsewhere Houen Tsang states that the Nirvana of Buddha took place a hundred years before the time of Asoka. When, therefore, Houen Tsang says that "in the four hundredth year after the Nirvana of Tathagata, Kanishka king of Gandhara having succeeded to the kingdom, his kingly renown

reached far, and he brought the most remote under his jurisdiction,"—we must understand him to say that Kanishka lived 300 years after Asoka, *i.e.*, about 78 A.D., and this corresponds with the date which has been given to him, and with the Saka Era.

In connection with Kanishka, our traveller gives an account of the great Council of Northern Buddhists which took place in his reign. We are told that the five hundred sages who assembled composed three commentaries, viz., the *Upadesa Sastra*, to explain the Sutra Pitaka; the *Vinaya Vibhasa Sastra*, to explain the Vinaya Pitaka; and the *Abhidarma Vidhasa Sastra*, to explain the Abhidarma Pitaka.

In connection also with Kanishka, our traveller informs us that tributary kings from China sent hostages to that powerful monarch, and he treated them with marked attention, and assigned for their residence the track of the country (between the Ravi and the Sutlej) which became thus known as Chinapati. Houen Tsang visited this country, 400 miles in circuit, with a capital three miles in circuit. The Chinese introduced the pear and the peach into India, "wherefore the peach is called Chinani, and the pear is called Chinarajaputra." When the people saw Houen Tsang, they pointed with their fingers, and said one to another, "This man is a native of the country of our former ruler."

Houen Tsang has also something to say about Mihirakula, the great persecutor of Buddhists. "Some centuries ago" Mihirakula established his authority in the town of Sakala (west of the Ravi). Houen Tsang says that this terrible Mihirakula "issued an edict to destroy all the priests through the five Indies, to overthrow the law of Buddha, and leave nothing remaining." The powerful king attacked Baladitya, king of Magadha, but was taken prisoner and was allowed to go, humiliated and disgraced. He returned to Kashmir, rose in rebellion, killed the king, and placed himself on the throne. He conquered

Gandhara, exterminated the royal family, overthrew Buddhism and Stupas and monasteries, and killed "three ten myriads of people" on the banks of the Indus. Some allowance must be made for exaggeration on the part of Buddhist chroniclers;—but there can be no doubt that Mihirakula of Kashmir was one of the first and greatest persecutors and destroyers of Buddhists.

Houen Tsang was pleased with the kingdom of SATADRU (Sutlej), 400 miles in circuit, and with a capital town three and a half miles in circuit. The country was rich in cereals and fruits, in gold and silver and precious stones. The people wore rich and elegant garments of bright silk. Their manners were soft and agreeable, they were virtuous, and believed in the law of Buddha. But nevertheless the halls of the Sangharamas were deserted and wild, and there were few priests.

The country of MATHURA was a thousand miles in circuit, and its chief town was four miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and the country produced white cotton and yellow gold. The manners of the people were soft and complacent, and they esteemed virtue and honoured learning. There were twenty Sangharamas and about 2000 priests. On the six fasting days of each of the three fast months (1st, 5th, and 9th months), the people honoured the Stupas with offerings. "They spread out their jewelled banners; the rich parasols are crowded together as network; the smoke of incense rises in clouds; the flowers are scattered in every direction like rain; the sun and the moon are concealed as by the clouds which hang over the moist valleys. The king of the country and the great ministers apply themselves to these religious duties with zeal."

The kingdom of THANESVARA was 1400 miles in circuit, and its capital was four miles round. The climate was genial, the soil rich and productive, but the people were cold and insincere, and given to luxury.

The capital was near the site of the old Kuru-kshetra battle-field, and our traveller has his version of the story to tell. Two kings divided the five Indies between them, and it was given out that whoever fell in the battle which was to be fought would obtain deliverance. "The two countries engaged in conflict, and the dead bodies were heaped together as sticks, and from that time till now the plains are everywhere covered with their bones."

The kingdom of SRUGHNA (north Doab), bounded by the Ganges to the east and the Himalayas to the north, was 1200 miles in circuit. Our readers need scarcely be told that this was the land of the ancient Kurus, two thousand years before the time of Houen Tsang. Our traveller was struck by the Ganges with its waves "wide rolling as the sea," and supposed to "wash away countless sins." After describing MATIPURA (west Rohilkund), 1200 miles in circuit, Houen Tsang describes Maya-pura, or HARIDVARA, the source of the Ganges. The town here was four miles round. "Not far from the town, standing by the Ganges river, is the great Deva temple, where very many miracles of divers sorts are wrought. In the midst of it is a tank, of which the borders are made of stone, joined skilfully together. Through it the Ganges river is led by an artificial canal.* The men of the five Indies call it the gate of the Ganga river (Gangadvara). This is where religious merit is found and sin effaced. There are always hundreds and thousands of people gathered together here from distant quarters to bathe and wash in its waters." Already then in the seventh century, Haridvara was one of the most famed Hindu shrines, and a great gathering place of devout pilgrims.

Our traveller goes right into the sub-Himalayas, and speaks of a kingdom BRAHMAPURA (identified with Garhwal and Kumaon), which produced gold, and where "for ages a woman has been the ruler, and so it is called the

* The canal still exists.

kingdom of the women. The husband of the reigning woman is called king, but he knows nothing of the affairs of the state. The men manage the wars and sow the land, that is all." This no doubt has reference to an old custom among the hill tribes of the sub-Himalayan regions. Polyandry prevails among them to this day.

After passing through some other countries, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of KANYAKUBJA, that ancient tract of country which boasted of a civilisation two thousand years old in the time of Houen Tsang. For it was here that the Panchalas developed their early civilisation when Magadha was still a realm of aboriginal barbarians. And although Magadha eclipsed the glory of its western neighbour under Ajatasatru and Chandragupta and Asoka the Great, yet, a few centuries after the Christian Era, Kanyakubja seems again to have attained its supremacy, and was a principal seat of the Gupta emperors. And in the time of Houen Tsang, Siladitya II., the lord of Northern India, had his court in the ancient town of Kanyakubja.

Houen Tsang found the kingdom of Kanyakubja 800 miles in circuit, and the wealthy capital four miles in length and one in breadth. The city had a moat around it, and strong and lofty towers facing each other. The flowers and woods, the lakes and ponds, bright and pure and shining like a mirror, were seen on every side. Valuable merchandise was collected here in great quantities. The people were well off and contented; the houses were rich and well found. Flowers and fruits abounded in every place, and the land was sown and reaped in due seasons. The climate was agreeable and soft, the manners of the people honest and sincere. They were noble and gracious in appearance. For clothing they used ornamented and bright shining fabrics. They applied themselves much to learning, and in their travels were very much given to discussion on religious subjects. The fame of their pure language was far spread. The

believers in Buddha and the Hindus were equal in number. There were some hundred Sangharamas with 10,000 priests. There were 200 Deva temples with several thousand followers.

For once, Houen Tsang departs from his usual rule, and gives us some account of the history of the country he visits. He says that Prabhakara Vardhana was the former king of Kanyakubja, and on his death, his eldest son Rajyavardhana succeeded; but he was defeated, and was killed by Sasanka (Narendra Gupta), king of Karna Suvarna (in Bengal); and his ministers selected his younger brother Harshavardhana, under the title of Siladitya, to the throne. Houen Tsang saw this king Siladitya, and was kindly received by him. This was Siladitya II.; for as we have seen before, and will find again when we come to speak of Malwa, Siladitya I. reigned sixty years before the time of Houen Tsang. Siladitya II. reigned from 610 to 650 A.D.

Siladitya II. was not slow to assert his power. He assembled a body of 5000 elephants, 2000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot, and in six years "he had subdued the five Indies."

He was inclined towards Buddhism, forbade the slaughter of living animals, built Stupas, and erected hospitals in all the highways throughout India and stationed physicians there, and provided food and drink and medicines. Once in five years he held a great religious assembly,—the quinquennial celebration of the Buddhists,—and gave alms in profusion.

Houen Tsang was staying in the convent of Nalanda with the Raja of Kamarupa, when Siladitya sent an order to the Raja,—"I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sraman you are entertaining at the Nalanda convent." On this the traveller came with the Raja of Kamarupa, and was introduced to Siladitya. The latter made many inquiries about the country of the traveller, and was well pleased with his replies.

Siladitya being about to return to Kanyakubja, convoked a religious assembly, and, followed by hundreds of thousands of people, proceeded by the southern bank of the Ganges, while the Raja of Kamarupa proceeded by the northern bank. In ninety days they reached Kanyakubja.

Then the kings of the twenty countries, who had received instructions from Siladitya, assembled with the Sramans and Brahmans, the most distinguished of their country, with magistrates and soldiers. It was indeed a religious imperial assemblage, and Siladitya constructed on the west of the Ganges a great Sangharama, and to the east of it a tower 100 feet high, and between them he placed a golden life-size statue of Buddha. From the 1st to the 21st of the month,—the second month of spring,—he fed and feasted the Sramans and Brahmans alike. The entire place from the Sangharama to the king's temporary palace was decorated with pavilions and stations for musicians, who poured forth music. A small image of Buddha was led forth on a gorgeously caparisoned elephant, Siladitya dressed as Indra marching to the left, and the Raja of Kamarupa going to the right, each with an escort of 500 war elephants, while a hundred elephants marched in front of the statue. Siladitya scattered on every side pearls and various precious substances, with gold and silver flowers. The statue was washed, and Siladitya carried it on his own shoulders to the western tower, and bestowed on it silken garments and precious gems. After a feast, the men of learning were assembled, and there was a learned discussion. In the evening the king retired to his temporary palace.

In this way the statue was carried every day, and at length, on the day of separation, a great fire broke out in the tower. If Houen Tsang can be relied on, the Brahmans, envious of the king's leaning towards Buddhism, had not only set fire to the tower, but had actually attempted to have him murdered. But Houen Tsang

was a staunch Buddhist, and his charges against Brahmans must be accepted with caution.

The account given above shows us the kind of supremacy which the Emperor of India assumed over the kings and chiefs of the numerous states into which India was always divided. It further shows us that Buddhism had degenerated into idolatry, and gives an idea of the pomp and circumstance with which Buddhist festivals were celebrated, and which have been borrowed by later Hinduism. It also shows us that princes and kings, whether they leaned towards the Buddhist or the Hindu religion, took a pleasure in honouring the learned and religious men of both sects, and that controversies between the two sects were generally of a friendly character. And lastly, it shows us with what jealous impatience the Brahmans at the close of the Buddhist Period watched the triumphs of Buddhism, a religion which they contrived finally to overcome in another century or two.

Our traveller found the kingdom of AYODHYA a thousand miles in circuit, and abounding in cereals, flowers, and fruits. The climate was temperate and agreeable, and the manners of the people virtuous and amiable. As elsewhere, the people were partly Hindus and partly Buddhists, and there were 100 Sangharamas and 3000 monks in the country.

Passing through the HAYAMUKHA kingdom, Houen Tsang came to PRAYAGA or Allahabad. The kingdom was a thousand miles in circuit, the produce of the land was abundant, and fruits grew in great luxuriance. The people were gentle and compliant, and fond of learning; but Buddhism was not honoured here, and a large proportion of the people were orthodox Hindus. Houen Tsang speaks of the great tree of Allahabad, which is still shown to visitors as the Akshaya Bata or the immortal fig-tree.

"At the confluence of the two rivers, every day there are many hundreds of men who bathe themselves and

die. The people of this country consider that whoever wishes to be born in heaven ought to fast to a grain of rice, and then drown himself in the waters." There was also a high column in the middle of the river, and people went up this column to gaze on the setting sun until it had gone under the horizon.

KAUSAMBI, where Gautama had often preached, was still a flourishing place. The kingdom was 1200 miles in circuit; rice and sugar cane grew plentifully; and the people, though said to be rough and hard in their manners, were earnest and religious.

SRAVASTI, the ancient capital of Kosala, where Gautama had preached, was deserted and in ruins. The country was 1200 miles in circuit, and the people were honest and pure in manners, and fond of religion and learning.

KAPILAVASTU, the birthplace of Gautama, was in ruins. There were some ten deserted towns in the country, which was 800 miles in circuit. The royal palace, in ruins, was three miles round, and was of brick. There was no king in the country, each town appointed its own ruler, and the manners of the people were soft and obliging.

KUSHINAGARA, where Gautama died, was similarly in ruins, and the brick foundations of the old walls were two miles in circuit.

BENARES, like Allahabad, like Hurdwar, was a tower of strength for Hinduism, even in the days of Houen Tsang. The country was 800 miles in circuit, and the capital was nearly four miles by one mile. The families were rich, and possessed in their dwellings objects of rare value. The people were soft and humane in disposition and were given to study; most of them were Hindus, a few reverenced the law of Buddha. There were in the country thirty Sangharamas with about 3000 priests, but about a hundred temples of Devas with 10,000 sectaries. The god Mahesvara was chiefly worshipped

in Benares. Some cut off their hair and went naked, and covered their bodies with ashes, and by the practice of all kinds of austerities sought to escape future births.

In the town of Benares there were twenty Deva temples, the towers and halls of which were of sculptured stone and carved wood. Trees shaded the temples, and pure streams of water encircled them. There was a copper statue of Mahesvare 100 feet high. "Its appearance is grave and majestic, and appears as though really living."

To the north-east of the town was a Stupa, and in front of it a stone pillar, bright and shining as a mirror, its surface glistening and smooth as ice. About two miles from the River Varana was the great Sangharama of the "Deer Park." Buddha had first proclaimed his religion in this deer park. The Sangharama was divided into eight portions, and the storeyed towers, with projecting caves and balconies, were of very superior work. In the great enclosure there was a Vihara 200 feet high, and above the roof was a golden covered figure of the mango fruit. The foundations of the Vihara were of stone, but the towers and stairs were of brick. In the middle of the Vihara was a life-size figure of Buddha, represented as turning the wheel of law. A fit representation, on the very spot where the great preacher had set the wheel of his religion rolling.

Passing through other places, Houen Tsang came to VAISALI, 1300 miles round, but the capital of the country was in ruins. The soil of the country was rich and fertile, the mango and the banana were plentiful, the climate was agreeable and temperate, and the people were pure and honest. Hindus and Buddhists lived together. The Sangharamas were mostly in ruins, and the three or four which remained had but few monks in them. The Deva temples were many.

Houen Tsang speaks separately of the kingdom of the Vajjians, 800 miles in circuit; but originally the

Lichchavis, and the Vajjians were the same, or rather the Lichchavis formed one of the eight Vajjian tribes. It is scarcely necessary to add that Houen Tsang speaks also of the Council of Vaisali, which according to him, took place 110 years after the death of Gautama, and the Council "bound afresh the rules that had been broken, and vindicated the holy law."

Our traveller then paid a visit to NEPAL, and was not favourably impressed with the people. Their manners, he says, were false and perfidious, and their temperament hard and fierce, with little regard to truth or honour; and their appearance was ungainly and revolting. From Nepal, Houen Tsang returned to Vaisali, and thence crossing the Ganges to the country of Magadha, which for him was replete with holy associations. No less than two books out of his twelve books are devoted to the legends and sights and holy relics which the pilgrim found in Magadha.

The kingdom of MAGADHA was 1000 miles in circuit. The walled cities had few inhabitants, but the towns were thickly populated. The soil was rich, and produced grains in abundance. The country was low and damp, and towns were therefore built on uplands. The whole country was flooded in the rains, and communication was kept up by boats. The people were simple and honest; they esteemed learning, and revered the religion of Buddha. There were fifty Sangharamas with 10,000 monks, and ten Deva temples with numerous followers.

The old town of PATALIPUTRA, which was still inhabited when Fa Hian visited it, was now entirely deserted, the foundation walls only being visible. The traveller has much to say about Asoka and his half-brother Mahendra, about the Buddhist writers Nagarjuna and Asvaghosha, and about the numerous Stupas and Viharas and sites connected with Buddha's life which he saw; but we pass them by. He went to GAYA, which had a thousand families of Brahmans only for its inhabi-

tants. Thence he went to the famous Bodhi Tree, and to the neighbouring Vihara, 160 or 170 feet high, and covered with beautiful ornamental work, "in one place figures of stringed pearls, in another figures of heavenly Rishis," and the whole being surrounded by a gilded copper Amalaka fruit. Not far from this was the grander structure of the Mahabodhi Sangharama, built by a king of Ceylon. It had six walls, with towers of observation three storeys high, and was surrounded by a wall of defence thirty or forty feet high.

"The utmost skill of the artist has been employed; the ornamentation is in the richest colours. The statue of Buddha is cast of gold and silver, decorated with gems and precious stones. The Stupas are high and large in proportion, and beautifully ornamented."

The entire place near the Bodhi Tree was considered sacred by Buddhists in Houen Tsang's time, and as long as Buddhism prevailed in India. "Every year when the Bhikshus break up their yearly rest of the rains religious persons come here from every quarter in thousands and myriads, and during seven days and nights they scatter flowers, burn incense, and sound music as they wander through the district and pay their worship and present their offerings." Buddhist celebrations are now a thing of the past in India; and it is important for the historian to note, from the pages of contemporaneous witnesses, that those celebrations were in their day marked with as much pomp and circumstance, and as much joyousness and outward demonstration, as the Hindu festivals of later times.

Houen Tsang came to RAJAGRIHA, the old capital of Magadha at the time of Ajatasatru and Bimbisara. The outer walls of the city had been destroyed, the inner walls still remained, in a ruined state, and were four miles round. The traveller visited the great cave or stone house in which the first Council was held immediately after the death of Gautama. Kasyapa was the president

of the Council, and said, "Let Ananda who ever heard the words of Tathagata, collect by singing through the *Sutra Pitaka*. Let Upali who clearly understands the rules of discipline, and is well-known to all who know, collect the *Vinaya Pitaka*; and I Kasyapa will collect the *Abhidarma Pitaka*. The three months of rain being past, the collection of the *Tripitaka* was finished."

Our traveller now came to the great NALANDA university, if we may call it by that name. The monks of this place, to the number of several thousands, were men of the highest ability, talent, and distinction. "The countries of India respect them and follow them. The day is not sufficient for asking and answering profound questions. From morning till night they engage in discussion; the old and the young mutually help one another. Those who cannot discuss questions out of the *Tripitaka* are little esteemed, and are obliged to hide themselves for shame. Learned men from different cities, on this account, who desire to acquire quickly a renown in discussion, come here in multitudes to settle their doubts, and then the streams (of their wisdom) spread far and wide. For this reason, some persons usurp the name (of Nalanda students) and in going to and fro receive honour in consequence."

Dr. Fergusson justly remarks that what Cluny and Clairvaux were to France in the Middle Ages, Nalanda was to Central India, the depository of true learning, the centre from which it spread over to other lands. And "as in all instances connected with the strange parallelism which existed between the two religions, the Buddhists kept five centuries in advance of the Christians in the invention and use of all the ceremonies and forms common to both the religions."*

The great Vihara of Nalanda, where the university was located, was worthy of it. It is said that four kings, viz., Sakraditya, Buddhagupta, Tathagatagupta, and

* *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, p. 137.

Baladitya successively laboured at this great architectural work, and when it was completed men came from a distance of 2000 miles at the great assembly that was held. Many other Viharas were built in the vicinity by succeeding kings. One great Vihara, built by Baladitya, was conspicuous among them. It was 300 feet high, and "with respect to its magnificence, its dimensions, and the statue of Buddha placed in it, it resembles the great Vihara built under the Bodhi Tree."

Leaving Magadha, Houen Tsang came to the kingdom of Hiranya Parvata, which General Cunningham identifies with MONGHYR. The kingdom was 600 miles round, the soil was largely cultivated and rich in its produce, the climate was agreeable and the people simple and honest. By the side of the capital were the hot springs of Monghyr, which gave out volumes of smoke and vapour.

CHAMPA, the ancient capital of Anga or East Behar, was situated near modern Bhagalpur. The kingdom was 800 miles in circuit, the soil level and fertile and regularly cultivated, the temperature was mild and warm, and the manners of the people were simple and honest. The walls of the capital were several tens of feet high, and the foundations of the wall were raised on a lofty embankment, so that by their high escarpment, they could defy the attack of their enemies.

Passing through other places, our traveller came to PUNDRA or Pundra Vardhana, corresponding with Northern Bengal. The kingdom is described as 800 miles in circuit, and was thickly populated. The tanks and public offices and flowering woods were regularly connected at intervals. The soil was flat and loamy, and rich in all kinds of grain produce. The bread fruit, though plentiful, was highly esteemed. There were about twenty Sangharamas and 300 priests, and some hundred Deva temples with sectaries of various schools. The naked Nirgranthas were the most numerous.

To the east, and beyond a great river (the Brahmaputra) was the powerful kingdom of KAMARUPA, 2000 miles in circuit. It apparently included in those times Modern Assam, Manipur, and Kachar, Mymensing and Sylhet. The soil was rich and was cultivated, and grew cocoanuts and bread fruit in abundance. Water led from rivers or banked-up reservoirs flowed round towns. The climate was soft and temperate, the manners of the people simple and honest. The men were of small stature, of a dark yellow complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Mid-India. They were, however, impetuous, with very retentive memories, and very earnest in their studies.

The people had no faith in Buddha, and adored and sacrificed to the Devas, and there were about a hundred Deva temples. Of Buddhist Sangharamas, there were none. The king was a Brahman by caste, Bhaskara Varman by name, and had the title of Kumara. Our readers will remember that Houen Tsang was introduced by this king to the great Siladitya of Kanouj.

South of the Kamarupa kingdom was SAMATATA (*literally* level country) or East Bengal. The kingdom was 600 miles in circuit; the lands were low and rich and regularly cultivated, and produced crops and fruits in plenty. The capital was four miles in circuit. The men were small in stature and black in complexion, but hardy, and fond of learning and diligent in its acquisition; —a description which applies to the people of East Bengal to the present day. There were some thirty Sangharamas and about 2000 monks, and some hundred Deva temples. The naked ascetic Nirgranthas were numerous.

Next to Samatata was the kingdom of TAMRALIPTI, *i.e.*, Tumlook country or South-West Bengal, including modern Midnapur. The country was 300 miles in circuit, and the capital was a seaport. The people were hardy and brave, but quick and hasty. The coast of the country was formed by a recess of the sea, and wonderful

articles of value and gems were collected here, and the people were rich. There were ten Sangharamas and fifty Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then speaks of the KARNA SUVARNA kingdom, supposed to be Western Bengal, including modern Murshedabad. We have seen that it was Sasanka, the king of this country, who defeated and killed the elder brother of the great Siladitya of Kanouj. The country was 300 miles in circuit and thickly populated, and the people were fond of learning, and honest and amiable. The soil was regularly cultivated, and the climate was agreeable. There were ten Sangharamas and fifty Deva temples.

The reader will perceive from the foregoing account that Bengal proper (*i.e.*, excluding Behar and Orissa) was divided in those days into five great kingdoms. Northern Bengal was *Pundra*; Assam and the North-East formed *Kamarupa*; Eastern Bengal was *Samatata*; South-West Bengal was *Tamralipti*; and Western Bengal was *Karna Suvarna*. Houen Tsang's account of Northern India ends with Bengal; we will now accompany our esteemed guide to Southern India.

The kingdom of Udra or ORISSA was 1400 miles in circuit, and had its capital near modern Jajpur, five miles round. The soil was rich and fertile, and produced every variety of grain and many strange shrubs and flowers. The people, however, were uncivilised, of a yellowish black complexion, and spoke a language different from that of Central India. They were, however, fond of learning, and their country was a stronghold of Buddhism, declining elsewhere in India. It had some hundred Sangharamas with about 10,000 monks, and only fifty Deva temples.

Already Orissa was a great place of pilgrimage, though the temple of Puri had not yet been built. There was a Sangharama called Pushpagiri on a great mountain on the south-west frontiers of the country, and it is said a stone Stupa of this Sangharama emitted a strange light.

Buddhists from far and near came to this place and presented beautifully embroidered umbrellas, and placed them under a vase at the top of the cupola, and let them stand as needles in the stone. The custom of planting flags prevails in Jagannatha to the present day.

To the south-east there was a great seaport called Charitra. "Here it is that merchants depart for distant countries, and strangers come and go and stop here on their way. The walls of the city are strong and lofty. Here are found all sorts of rare and precious articles."

South-west of Orissa was the kingdom of KANYODHA, on the Chilka Lake. The people were brave and impulsive, but black and dirty. They had some degree of politeness and were tolerably honest, and used the same written characters as in Mid-India, but their pronunciation was quite different. Buddhism was not much followed here; Hinduism prevailed.

The nation was a powerful one; their cities were strong and high, their soldiers brave and daring, and they ruled neighbouring provinces by force, and no one could resist them. As their country bordered on the sea, the people obtained many rare and valuable articles, and used cowrie shells and pearls in commercial transactions. Elephants were used in drawing conveyances.

To the south-west of this, and beyond a vast jungle, lay the ancient kingdom of KALINGA. The kingdom was 1000 miles in circuit, and its capital five miles round. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, but there were many jungles with wild elephants in them. The people, though impetuous and rough and uncivilised, were trustworthy and kept their word.

Such was Kalinga when Houen Tsang saw it, but our readers will remember that in the time of Megasthenes the power and the empire of Kalinga stretched along the entire seaboard from Bengal to the mouths of the Godavari. The memory of its greatness still survived, for

Houen Tsang says: "In old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population; their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot wheels girded together." But the palmy days of Kalinga were gone, and new kingdoms in Bengal and Orissa had arisen out of the fragments of their ancient empire. Such has always been the history of India. Kingdoms and races have risen in power and civilisation and declined again by turns; but still the vast confederation of Hindu nations had a political unity, a cohesion in religion, language, and civilisation, which made India one great country in ancient times.

To the north-west of Kalinga, through forests and crags, the way lay to Kosala, corresponding to modern BERAR. The kingdom was 1000 miles round, and the capital eight miles. The towns and villages were close together, and the population was dense. The people were tall, black, violent, impetuous, and brave, and were partly Buddhists and partly Hindus. In connection with these southern Kosalas (who must be distinguished from those of Oude), Houen Tsang speaks of the famous Buddhist writer Nagarjuna, and of the king Sadvaha, who tunnelled out a rock and fixed therein a Sangharama for his dwelling. Neither Fa Hian nor Houen Tsang personally visited this rock-cut monastery, but both speak of it, and it must have been very celebrated in their times. The king Sadvaha, we are told, "tunnelled out this rock through the middle, and built and fixed therein a Sangharama. At a distance of some 10 li (two miles), by tunnelling, he opened a covered way. Thus by standing under the rock we see the cliffs excavated throughout, and in the midst of long galleries, with caves for walking under and high towers, the storeyed building reaching to the height of five stages, each stage with four halls, with Viharas enclosed." We are told that in this Sangharama the Buddhist priests fell out among themselves, and went away to the king, and the Brahmans took advantage of

this, and destroyed the Sangharama and barricaded the place.

Our traveller next came to the ancient country of the ANDHRAS, who had developed their civilisation and extended their empire in Southern India several centuries before Christ, and who had at a later period held the supreme power in Magadha and in India. The Guptas and the Ujjayini kings had since assumed that supremacy, and the Andhras of the seventh century were a feeble power. Their kingdom was only 600 miles in circuit, and was regularly cultivated. The people were fierce and impulsive. There were twenty Sangharamas and thirty Deva temples.

South of this country was Dhanakataka or the GREAT ANDHRA country, 1200 miles in circuit, with a capital town eight miles round, which has been identified with modern Bejwada. The soil was rich and produced abundant harvests, but there was much desert in the country, and the towns were thinly populated. The people were yellowish-black, fierce and impulsive, but fond of learning. The old monasteries were mostly deserted and in ruins; only about ninety were inhabited, while a hundred Deva temples had numerous followers.

Houen Tsang speaks of two great monasteries, to the east and to the west of the city, called Purvasila and Aparasila, built by a former king in honour of Buddha. "He hollowed the valley, made a road, opened the mountain crags, constructed pavilions and long galleries; and wide chambers supported the heights and connected the caverns. . . . But for the last hundred years there have been no priests." Dr. Fergusson identifies the western convent with the great Amaravati tope which has been discovered and excavated since 1796 A.D. Dr. Burgess concludes, from an inscription on the stones, that the Amaravati Stupa was either already built or was being built in the second century A.D., if not earlier.

South-west from Great Andhra was the kingdom of

CHOLA, 500 miles in circuit, but deserted and wild. The population was sparse, troops of brigands ravaged the open country, and the people were dissolute and cruel.

Further to the south was the kingdom of DRAVIDA, 1200 miles in circuit, with its capital, the famed town of Kanchi-or Kanchipura, which has been identified with modern Conjiveram. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, and the people were brave, truthful, honest, and fond of learning, and used the language of Middle India. There were some hundred Sangharamas and 10,000 priests.

Further south from Dravida was the kingdom of MALAKUTA, which Dr. Burnell identifies with the delta of the Kaveri river. The men were dark in complexion, firm and impetuous, not fond of learning, but wholly given to commercial pursuits. South of this country were the famed Malaya mountains, the southern portions of the Malabar Ghats, which produced sandal-wood and camphor. To the east of this range was Mount Potalaka, where the Buddhist spirit or saint Avalokitesvara, worshipped by Northern Buddhists in Thibet, China, and Japan, was supposed sometimes to take his abode.

Houen Tsang did not visit CEYLON, but nevertheless gives an account of that island, with its rich vegetation, its extensive cultivation, and its teeming population. He narrates legends about Sinha or lion, about Rakshassas, and about Mahendra the brother of Asoka, who introduced Buddhism into the island; and there were 100 convents and 20,000 priests in Houen Tsang's time. He speaks of the coast as being rich in gems and precious stones, and of Mount Lanka, to the south-east of the island.

Travelling northwards from Dravida, Houen Tsang came to KONKAN, 10,000 miles in circuit, fertile, and regularly cultivated. The people were black, fierce and ardent in disposition, but esteemed learning.

North-west from Konkan, and across a great forest infested by wild beasts and robbers, was the great country

of MAHARAŚHTRA, 1000 miles in circuit. The soil was rich and regularly cultivated, and the people were honest, but stern and vindictive. "To their benefactors they are grateful, to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their lives to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning, then, each being armed, they attack each other with spears. If a general loses a battle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with woman's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. . . . The king is of the Kshatriya caste, and his name is Pulakesi. His plans and undertakings are widespread, and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Siladitya Maharaja (of Kanouj) has conquered the nations from east to west, and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of this country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies, and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people, but he has not yet conquered their troops." Nor was Siladitya destined to conquer Pulakesi, who defeated him in battle, and maintained the independence of the proud Maharattas; even as a successor of Pulakesi, a thousand years later, defied Aurungzebe, the Emperor of Northern India, and restored to the Maharattas their lost independence and greatness. And when Mogul and Rajput had alike declined in power, it was the countrymen of Pulakesi who struggled with the English for the mastery of India.

On the eastern frontier of the Maharashtra country was a great mountain, with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up and scarped precipice. "In this there is a Sangharama constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the

face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley." This is the famous Ajanta system of caves, cut in the lofty and almost perpendicular rocks that hem in a wild secluded glen. Modern readers have been made familiar with this most wonderful work of architecture through the plates and descriptions of Fergusson and Burgess. Houen Tsang says further on that the great Vihara was about 100 feet high, and in the middle was a stone figure of Buddha 70 feet high. Above was a stone canopy of seven stages, towering upwards apparently without support.

To the west or north-west from Maharashtra was the country of Bharukachha or Broach, 500 miles in circuit. The soil was impregnated with salt, trees were scattered and scarce, and the people boiled sea water to manufacture salt, and had all their gain from the sea.

Thence Houen Tsang went to the classic land of MALAVA. "Two countries," he says, "are remarkable for the great learning of the people—Malava on the south-west, and Magadha on the north-east." Further on Houen Tsang says, "The records of the country state: Sixty years before this flourished Siladitya, a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound." This was Siladitya I., who reigned probably from 550 A.D. to 600 A.D., and was probably the immediate successor of Vikramaditya the Great. The prince whom Houen Tsang saw in Kanouj, and who was trying to humiliate and subjugate Pulakesi and the Maharattas, was Siladitya II., who reigned from about 610 to 650 A.D.

In Malava both the religions prevailed in Houen Tsang's time, and there were about a hundred Sangharamas and a hundred Deva temples.

Houen Tsang then visited ATALI and Kachha or CUTCH, and then came to VALABHI, the seat of the great Valabhi dynasty. "The character of the soil, the climate, and the manners of the people are like those of the

kingdom of Malava. The population is dense; the establishments rich. "There are some hundred families who possess a hundred lakhs."

After visiting SAURASHTRA and GURJARA, SINDH and MULTAN, the great traveller left India. But before we take leave of him, we must make a few more extracts from his diary, describing the administration of the country and the manners of the people.

"As the administration of the country is conducted on benign principles, the executive is simple. . . . The private demesnes of the crown are divided into four principal parts; the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings; the second is for providing subsidies for the ministers and chief officers of state; the third is for rewarding men of distinguished ability; and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated. In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate. Each one keeps his own worldly goods in peace, and all till the ground for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions. The river passages and the road barriers are open on payment of a small toll. When the public works require it, labour is exacted, but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

"The military guard on the frontiers go out to punish the refractory. They also mount guard at night round the palace. The soldiers are levied according to the requirements of the service; they are promised certain payments, and are publicly enrolled. The governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support."

It will be seen from the above account that, according to the ancient custom of India, all the officials were paid by assignments of land. What Houen Tsang calls the

king's private estates was, in fact, the entire kingdom, except such villages and lands as were given away in perpetuity to private persons, to temples or monasteries, or such other lands as were assigned to officials. All the expenses of the state, in peace and war, and those of the royal household were defrayed from the proceeds of the king's estates and of taxes.

With regard to the manners of the people, Houen Tsang bears honourable testimony to their simplicity and their rectitude. "Although," says the traveller, "they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises."

Such has been the candid opinion of all observant travellers, from the time of Megasthenes downwards, who have seen the Hindus in their homes and villages, mixed with them in their everyday work, and entered into their daily transactions. Such an observer was Colonel Sleeman among the modern Englishmen who have lived in India and mixed with the people. Villagers, says the Colonel, adhere habitually to the truth in their own Panchyets; and "I have had before me hundreds of cases in which a man's property, liberty, and life has depended upon his telling a lie, and he has refused to tell it."

CHAPTER III.

THE VALABHIS AND THE RAJPUTS.

GUJRAT was subject to the Gupta emperors during the palmy days of that dynasty; and when, in the latter half of the fifth century, the Valabhis of Gujrat rose to independence and power, they naturally adopted the Gupta Era, reckoned from 319 A.D. When the power of the Guptas, then emperors of India, was slowly decaying, an enterprising military commander, Senapati Bhatarka by name, asserted his independence in Gujrat, and was the founder of the Valabhi dynasty of Saurashtra.

The genealogy and history of the Valabhi family are elucidated by numerous inscriptions which have been discovered. Among the earliest of them are two copper-plates which were found over fifty years ago in making excavations in Gujrat.* They were published by W. H. Wathen in 1835, and are of considerable importance.

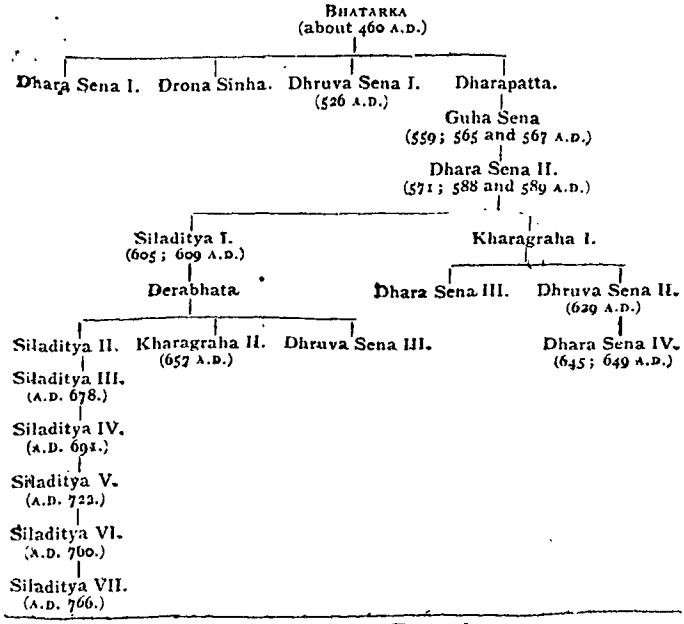
Senapati Bhatarka, the originator of the family, is stated to have "earned glory in hundreds of battles fought in the countries of his foes," and must have been, like all beginners of dynasties, a great warrior and able administrator. He had four sons, Dharasena, Dronasinha, Dhruvasena, and Dharapatta. The first of these brothers is styled Senapati, and had apparently not yet assumed the title of king; but his younger brother "received his inauguration to the throne from the great sovereign himself" (probably of Kanouj), and is styled Sri Maharaja Dronasinha. His two brothers are similarly styled Sri Maharaja Dhruvasena and Sri Maharaja Dharapatta.

* See Prinsep's Essays, ed. Thomas, vol. i. p. 252, *et seq.*

Dharapatta's son was Guha Sena, "the destroyer of multitudes of foes," and his son Dhara Sena II. made the gift.

In the second plate published by Wathen, the successors of Dhara Sena II. are called Siladitya Khara Graha, Dhara Sena III., Dhruva Sena II., Dhara Sena IV., Siladitya II. (two or three names illegible here), Khara Graha II., Siladitya III., and Siladitya IV.

An inscription* discovered by Haribhallabh in 1878 brings down the list of kings to Siladitya VII., who reigned at the close of the eighth century. We have thus in a single inscription a complete list of the kings of this dynasty for three centuries, from Bhatarka, who commenced the line in the latter half of the fifth century, to Siladitya VII., who reigned in the latter half of the eighth century. The genealogical table and dates given below will show the names at a glance:—



* *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, vol. iii.; Texts, &c., p. 171.

We have only to add that when Houen Tsang visited Valabhi, he found the people a rich, powerful, and flourishing nation, holding Saurashtra under subjection. Rich and valuable products of distant regions were stored within their capital in great quantities, and showed the brisk maritime trade which the Valabhis carried on. The decline of this great people is involved in mystery, but there can be little doubt that the Rajputs arose in power and glory in Western India as the Valabhis declined.

For many reasons the Rajputs may be considered the successors of the Valabhis to supreme power in Western India, as the Valabhis themselves were the successors of the Guptas. And the haughtiest of the Rajputs, viz., the Ranas of Mewar, traced a fictitious descent from the Valabhis. While the Rajputs immediately succeeded the Valabhis in Guzrat, and Puttun arose as Valabhipur declined in the latter half of the eighth century, there was no such continuity in the history of Northern India. There, the great dynasties of Ujjayini and Kanouj disappear from view, as we have seen before, about the middle of the eighth century. From that time to the tenth century, the history of Northern India is an absolute blank. We have accounts of the Chalukyians in the South, of the kings of Kashmir in the extreme North-West, of those of Bengal and Orissa in the extreme East; but the centre of Hindu civilisation and culture, the Madhyadesa stretching from Kanouj to Magadha, has no history! No dynasty rose to sufficient distinction to leave a record, no event transpired which lived in the traditions or writings of the people, no great invasions or great revolutions took place of which any trace can be found. These two centuries have left us no literature to speak of, as we have seen in the last chapter, and no great works of art or industry in the shape of buildings in Northern India. A mysterious cloud hangs over these dark centuries, which historians have not yet been able to lift.

When the dark and impenetrable cloud is removed at the close of the tenth century, we find new actors and new scenes. Puranic Hinduism is supreme in India, and its supremacy is contemporaneous with the political supremacy of a new and brave nation, the Rajputs. The Rajputs have issued out of their kingdoms in Gujrat and Southern India, and are the masters in Delhi, in Kanouj, in Ajmir, in the most distant parts of India! Everywhere they favoured Puranic Hinduism. And the Brahmans rewarded them for their toil, and recognised the new race as the Kshatriyas of modern times.

From these results, then, we are enabled to know the history of the two dark centuries, from the eighth to the tenth. That unhappy period was a period of internecine wars, and of the crumbling down of old institutions and dynasties. Ancient houses fell, from senile decay or through violence; a new and sturdy race stepped forward in their places. It was a repetition of a scene which had taken place at least once before in the history of India. Thus, in the fourth century before Christ the vigorous and young Magadhas, considered in the Epic Age as outside the pale of Aryans, rose in power, extended their conquests, and established their supremacy over the ancient kingdoms of the Kasis, the Kosalas, the Kurus, and the Panchalas. And when Megasthenes came to India, he found the Prachyas or Magadhas supreme in Northern India. In the same way, during the obscure eighth to tenth centuries A.D., the Rajput races, scarcely considered within the pale of Aryan Hindus before, stepped forward in the midst of the struggle of races and nations, and, by their superior might and bravery, made room for themselves on the empty thrones of Kanouj, Delhi, Lahore, and other places. As in the fourth century B.C., so in the tenth century A.D., it was not a question of dynastic supremacy, but of racial supremacy,—a new, brave, and vigorous race stepping

forward in each case to the places vacated by ancient and cultured but effete races. And as if to make the parallel complete, each political revolution was accompanied by a religious revolution. The spread of the Magadha power over the ancient and cultured races of India facilitated the spread of a new religion like Buddhism against the ancient and learned creed of the land. And the rise of the Rajputs finally secured the triumph of Puranic Hinduism in India.

We have, in the Introduction to this work, seen that the History of Europe from the fifth to the tenth century A.D., affords a still more remarkable parallel to the history of India from the eighth to the tenth century. Both in Europe and in India, ancient rule and ancient institutions were destroyed; new races asserted their rule and their authority over the land; and these new races, again,—the German masters of Europe and the Rajput masters of India,—had to face the rising power of the Mussalmans. Europe maintained her independence; India struggled, but fell.

We have seen that the Rajputs were scarcely reckoned among Aryan Hindus before the eighth century. We find no mention of their name in the literature of the country or in the records of foreign travellers, and no traces of their previous culture. Conjectures have been made as to their origin. Dr. H. H. Wilson has held that they were the descendants of the Sakas and other invaders who swarmed into India for centuries before the time of Vikramaditya, who were defeated by that king, but nevertheless spread themselves and settled down in India, specially in Western and Southern India. Dark hints are thrown out in the Puranas to indicate that the Rajputs were new comers. Thus the primitive Parihara, Pramara, Chalukya, and Chohan races are fabled to have sprung from four warriors conjured into existence by the sage Vasishtha, from a sacrificial fire he had kindled on Mount Abu. And the thirty-six Rajput

tribes are said to have been derived from these four primitive races.

The Chalukyas established themselves in Gujrat, founded the new capital Pattan, and indeed usurped the supreme power so long held by the Valabhis. The Parihara branch settled down in Marwar, the Pramaras established themselves in Western Malwa, and the Chohans came more to the east towards Delhi and Ajmir. There were other Rajput tribes for whom other descents have been imagined. Thus the Ghelote Ranas of Mewar claimed descent from Rama, through the Valabhi princes of Gujrat. There is a tradition, on the other hand, connecting the Rathores of Marwar with Hiranya Kasipu of Indian mythology.

Whatever the origin of the Rajputs may be, there is no doubt that they were new comers within the pale of Hindu civilisation and religion. Like all new converts, they were fired with an excessive zeal to revive the religion they embraced. Brahmans worked on the zeal of this new race of Kshatriyas, and the Chohan and the Rathore vindicated their claims to be regarded as Kshatriyas by establishing the supremacy of Brahmans. By the close of the tenth century, Puranic Hinduism was everywhere re-established and triumphant, and Kanouj and Mathura, and a hundred other towns, were beautified with those noble buildings and temples which struck the Sultan of Ghazni, early in the next century.

CHAPTER IV.

BENGAL AND ORISSA.

In the second or Epic Period, the kingdoms of Magadha and Anga, *i.e.*, South and East Behar, were scarcely yet within the Aryan pale. It was in the Rationalistic Period, after 1000 B.C., that Magadha became completely Aryanised, and rose in power and civilisation, until it eclipsed and even subdued the more ancient Aryan kingdoms in the Gangetic valley. And it was then, probably in the fifth century B. C., that Bengal proper and Orissa received from the flourishing kingdom of Magadha the first rays of Aryan civilisation.

In the fourth century B. C., when the Greeks visited India, they found powerful kingdoms founded in Bengal and Orissa, which they called by the general name of Kalinga. In the third century B.C., Kalinga was conquered by Asoka the Great, as we learn from his inscriptions, and this conquest probably facilitated the spread of Buddhism in these provinces, and also brought Bengal and Orissa in closer connection with the civilisation of Northern India.

Slowly and obscurely Bengal rose in importance and in civilisation, and by the close of the Buddhist Period, Bengal was a recognised power in India. Sasanka (Narendra Gupta) king of Karna Suvarna, near Gaur, defeated and killed in war the elder brother of the great Siladitya about the commencement of the seventh century; and when about 640 A.D. Houen Tsang came to Bengal, he found civilised and powerful kingdoms in

Pundra or Northern Bengal, Samatata or Eastern Bengal, Kamarupa or Assam, and Tamralipti or Southern Bengal, as well as in Karna Suvarna or Western Bengal. These kingdoms correspond roughly with the present Rajshahi, Dacca, Assam, Burdwan, and Presidency divisions. Houen Tsang's account of these kingdoms has been given elsewhere, and need not be repeated here.

After this, we hear of Bengal again in the ninth century.

A number of copperplate grants which have been discovered in recent times show that races of kings known as the Pala kings and Sena kings ruled in Bengal for about three centuries before the Mahommedan conquest. Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has carefully condensed and arranged the information on this subject in his essay on the Pala and Sena Dynasties, now published in the second volume of his *Indo-Aryans*, and we take the following lists from that essay. It will be seen Dr. Mitra allows generally an average of twenty years for each reign :—

PALA KINGS.

In Western and Northern Bengal.

	A.D.
I. Gopala	855
II. Dharmapala	875
III. Devapala	895
IV. Vigrahapala	915
V. Narayanapala	935
VI. Rajapala	955
VII. ——Pala	975
VIII. Vigrahapala II.	995
IX. Mahipala	1015
X. Nayapala	1040
(Expelled from Bengal by the Senas.)	

SENA KINGS.

In Eastern and Littoral Bengal.

	A.D.
I. Vira Sena	986
II. Samanta Sena	1006
III. Hemanta Sena	1026
In the whole of Bengal.	
IV. Vijaya *alias* Sukha Sena	1046
V. Ballala Sena	1066
VI. Lakshmana Sena	1106
VII. Madhava Sena	1136
VIII. Kesava Sena	1138
IX. Lakshmaneya *alias* Asoka Sena	1142
Mahommedan conquests about	1204

Very little is known of the Pala kings except that they were Buddhists, but were tolerant towards Hindus,

employed Hindu officials, and gave lands for religious purposes to the Hindus. They never possessed East Bengal, but ruled, as Dr. Mitra says, "on the west of the Bhagirathi certainly as far as the boundary of Behar, and probably further, taking the whole of the ancient kingdom of Magadha. On the north it included Tirhut, Malda, Rajshahi, Dinapur, Rangpur, and Bagura, which constituted the great ancient kingdom of Pundra Vardhana. The bulk of the delta seems not to have belonged to them."

Of the first king, Gopala, a short inscription has been found in Nalanda proving that the great king had conquered Magadha; and this fact is confirmed by Taranath, who tells us that Gopala "began to reign in Bengal, and afterwards conquered Magadha." According to General Cunningham,* he began his reign in 815 A.D., which is forty years earlier than the date assigned by Dr. Mitra. Gopalas successor, Dharmapala, extended his dominions, and married Kanna Devi, daughter of Prabala, "Raja of many countries." Dharmapala's successor, Devapala, was a great conqueror; the inscriptions assign to him the conquest of Kamarupa and Orissa, and Taranath ascribes to him the subjugation of the whole of Northern India from the Himalaya to the Vindhya mountains. All the warlike expeditions of Devapala are said in one inscription to have been conducted by his brother Jayapala, whose son, Vigrahapala, eventually succeeded to the throne, after one or two short reigns omitted in Dr. Mitra's list. We learn from the Bhagalpur copper inscription that Vigrahapala married the Haihaya princess Lajja, and the Haihayas are believed to have been Rajputs. Vigrahapala seems in the end to have abdicated, saying to his son, "Let penance be mine, and the kingdom thine." So Narayanapala his son succeeded. And his successor, Rajyapala, was ruling all Northern India, from Bengal to Kanouj,

* Archæological Survey of India, vol. xv. p. 148.

when Mahmud of Ghazni appeared before Kanouj in 1017 A.D. Dr. Mitra's date for Rajyapala is evidently wrong.

Of the successors of Rajyapala little is known until we come to Mahipala, who, according to Taranath, reigned fifty-two years; and General Cunningham therefore dates his reign from 1028 to 1080 A.D. The king of Orissa is said to have been tributary to this powerful king. It was in the time of the immediate successors of this king, and in the eleventh century, that the Sena Rajas of Eastern Bengal rose in power, and wrested from them the eastern provinces, leaving them Magadha, where the Pala kings continued to reign till the dynasty came to a sudden end shortly after 1178, the date of the last inscription of this line of kings.*

Of the Sena Rajas, Dr. Rajendra Lala believes the first, Vira Sena, to be the same as the renowned Adi Sura, who is supposed to have brought five Brahmans and five Kayasthas from Kanouj, because Bengal was poor in learned men. General Cunningham, however, considers that Vira Sena was a remote ancestor of the later Sena kings, and reigned in the seventh century A.D. This is not unlikely, if we consider that the descendants of the ten Brahmans and Kayasthas, said to have been brought by Adi Sura, had so multiplied by the eleventh century as to require a classification by Ballala. To the reigns of kings Samanta Sena to Lakshaneya, General Cunningham assigns dates from 957 to 1198 A.D.

Of Samanta and his son Hemanta little is known. The next king was Vijaya, and his son was the celebrated Ballala Sena.

It is said that the Brahmanas and Kayasthas imported from Kanouj had multiplied by this time, and Ballala forbade all intermarriage between the original Brahmanas and Kayasthas of the country with the descendants of the new comers from Kanouj. Complicated rules were also

* Archæological Survey of India, vol. xv. p. 156.

framed by him and his successors to elevate the status of those who succeeded in securing the alliances of Kulins. It is probable, however, that Ballala only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Brahmans and Kayasthas.

Ballala was succeeded by Lakshmana Sena. His prime minister was Halayudha, the author of *Brahmana Sarvasva*. Mahommedan historians state that this king greatly embellished the city of Gaur.

He was followed successively by his two sons Madhava Sena and Kesava Sena. Then came Lakshmaneya, in whose reign Bengal was conquered by Bakhtiyar Khilji about 1204 A.D., or 1198 A.D. by other accounts.

The chief seat of the Sena family seems to have been Vikramapura near Dacca, where the supposed ruins of Ballala's palace are still shown to travellers. The Senas were Hindus, as the Palas were Buddhists, and the gradual substitution of the one dynasty by another really marks the decay of the Buddhist religion and the universal acceptance of modern Hinduism in Bengal. The cause of the rise and fall of dynasties often lies deeper than appears on the surface, and in India the rise of new dynasties during the eighth and ninth and tenth centuries is intimately connected with the rise of Puranic Hinduism over the ashes of Buddhism.

The race or caste to which the Pala and the Sena kings of Bengal belonged has formed the subject of much animated controversy in recent years, in which doughty scholars like Dr. Rajendra Lala and General Cunningham have taken part. It is not necessary that we should enter into the discussion; we will only state the conclusions which appear to us to be the most plausible.

The Palas ruled in Bengal when Jai Pala and Ananga Pala were ruling in Western India, and trying to oppose the march of Sabaktagin and Sultan Mahmud. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that the Bengal Palas were an offshoot from the same Rajput race

which founded new kingdoms all over India in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. They were Kshatriyas, of course, but only in the sense that they were a race of kings and warriors. So long as the Hindus were a living nation, the proud title of Kshatriya was frequently assumed by bold dynasties rising from the ranks, and Rajput kings and even the Mahratta chief Sivaji assumed the title of Kshatriya.

The Senas of Bengal in the present day are Vaidyas, *i.e.*, they belong to the medical caste; and they assume therefore that the early Sena kings of Bengal also belonged to the same caste. But before this assumption is made, it ought to be shown that the Vaidyas as a separate caste existed previously in Western or Southern India, from which the Bengal Sena dynasty must have come. We have shown elsewhere, and we will show again, that neither Kayasthas nor Vaidyas existed as separate castes in the time of Manu and for centuries afterwards. Professional clerks and medical men still belonged to the great body of the Aryan people forming the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes; and they have differentiated into separate castes only in modern times. How can we suppose, then, that the Sena kings were Vaidyas by caste?

Vaidyas as a separate caste do not exist to this day (so we are informed), in any province outside Bengal. What, then, are we to understand by the statement that the Sena kings who came to Bengal from Western or Southern India were Vaidyas by caste?

The real fact is that the Sena kings of Bengal were scions of some royal house of Western or Southern India, —probably the Valabhi Sena house of Saurashtra or some Sena house of Southern India. In any case, there can be no doubt that the founder of the Bengal dynasty came of some martial family—Valabhi, or Rajput, or Vaisya—who rightly assumed the title of Kshatriya, because he founded a kingdom.

The Sena Vaidyas of East Bengal may have good and

sufficient reasons for claiming kinship with Ballala Sena and his successors. But instead of declaring that the ancient kings were Vaidyas, and came to Bengal with pestle and mortar, ointments and drugs, it would be historically more intelligible to urge that the descendants of the ancient Vaisya or Kshatriya kings of the Sena dynasty have now become merged in the modern Vaidya or medical caste of Bengal.

It is of far greater importance to us to ascertain the race to which the people of Bengal belong. The proportion of Aryan population in Bengal has always been, and is to this day, very small. The Brahmans are of Aryan blood, except of course the Varna Brahmans, who belong to the castes whose religious rites they perform. The Kayasthas are also of Aryan blood, except the menial and cultivating classes (Bhandaris, &c.), who call themselves Kayasthas, but are generally known as Sudras. The Vaidyas are a small compact body, and are probably of pure Aryan blood, being descendants of the ancient Vaisyas. Of the trading castes, the Suvarna Vaniks and some other castes are more or less of Aryan descent. Potters, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and other artisans are partly of Aryan blood, descended from the ancient Vaisya stock, and differentiated into different modern castes by following different professions. At the same time, there is in these Aryan castes a large admixture of aborigines, —those who followed the trades which the conquering Aryans taught them, and thus finally came to belong to the same trade-castes with their conquerors. Beyond this pale, the large agricultural, pastoral, hunting, and fishing castes, the Kaivartas, the Chandalas, and the millions of agricultural Mahommedans, are undoubtedly descended from the non-Aryan aborigines of the soil. Beyond them, again, the Bagdis, Bauris, Doms, Haris, &c., are aborigines who have not yet been completely Hinduised.

We now turn to the history of Orissa. Orissa, like

Bengal, was probably first colonised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Period, but, unlike Bengal, Orissa has memorials of the early Aryan settlers in its rock-cut caves and palaces. Buddhist missionaries came to this land to spread that religion and spend their lives in calm and austere contemplation in caves; and some of the caves must be referred to a period before the time of Asoka. Half-way between Cuttack and Puri, two sandstone hills rise abruptly from the jungles, and the peaks and sides of these hills, the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri, are honeycombed with cells, caves, and edifices. The oldest of them consist of single cells, scarcely fit for the habitation of men, except of such who had determined to pass their lives in austere seclusion. In course of time larger caves were excavated and even ornamented with sculpture, and the last works were commodious residences, fit for assemblies of monks and even for kings and queens. There can be little doubt that Asoka's conquest of Kalinga fostered these fine Buddhist excavations; and we have seen before that some of Asoka's inscriptions have been found in Orissa.

We know little of the history of Orissa during the Buddhist Period. The history of that province was first explored by Stirling, who published the results of his labours in Vol. XV. of the "Asiatic Researches." The subject has since received the attention of Sir William Hunter and of Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra.

It would seem that the last of the Buddhist kings were called Yavanas; but it is not known if they were so called because descended from the Bactrian Greeks, or simply because they were Buddhists. Yayati Kesari expelled the Yavanas in 474 A.D., and began the Kesari or "Lion dynasty," and introduced Hinduism in its Puranic form. The Kesari dynasty reigned for nearly seven centuries, and the authentic history of Orissa begins with the commencement of this dynasty. The

following chronological list, taken from Dr. Hunter's work, may interest our readers :—

	A.D.		A.D.
Yayati Kesari	476	Madhusudana Kesari	904
Surya ,,	526	Dharma ,,	920
Ananta ,,	583	Jana ,,	930
Alabu ,,	623	Nripa ,,	941
Kanaka ,,	677	Makara ,,	953
Vira ,,	693	Tripura ,,	961
Padma ,,	701	Madhava ,,	971
Vriddha ,,	706	Govinda ,,	989
Bata ,,	715	Nritya ,,	999
Gaja ,,	726	Narasinha ,,	1013
Vasanta ,,	738	Kurma ,,	1024
Gandharva ,,	740	Matsya ,,	1034
Janamejaya ,,	754	Varaha ,,	1050
Bharata ,,	763	Vamana ,,	1065
Kali ,,	778	Parasu ,,	1078
Kamala ,,	792	Chandra ,,	1080
Kundala ,,	811	Sujana ,,	1092
Chandra ,,	829	Salini ,,	1099
Vira Chandra ,,	846	Puranjana ,,	1104
Amrita ,,	865	Vishnu ,,	1107
Vijaya ,,	875	Indra ,,	1119
Chandrapala ,,	890	Suvarna ,,	1123 to 1132

[Extinction of the Kesari line.]

The Kesari kings had their capital at Bhuvanesvara which they beautified with numerous temples and edifices, the remains of which are among the noblest specimens of Hindu architecture in India. The whole place is crowded with such buildings, and must have been, during the ascendency of the Kesari line, the most magnificent city in India for temples and beautiful edifices.

The first king, Yayati Kesari, is said to have founded this capital, the name of which implies that the Siva or Bhuvanesvara was then the most popular deity of the Orissa Hindus. Jajpur was another capital of Yayati, and the colossal statues there found also attest to the power and greatness of the dynasty, and to their devotion to Siva and his consort. Nripa Kesari, who reigned

from 941 to 953 A.D., is said to have founded the city of Cuttack.

A new dynasty, known as the Ganga Vansa, or the "Gangetic dynasty," succeeded the Lion dynasty.

The origin of this dynasty is still involved in obscurity, but the name of the family as well as traditions connect them with Bengal; and it is probable they came from near the ancient Tamralipta or Tumlook. The rise of this dynasty marks a religious revolution; and as the Lion dynasty had supplanted Buddhism by Siva worship, so the Gangetic house supplanted Siva worship by Vishnu worship. But nevertheless none of these creeds was altogether extinct in Orissa; on the contrary, the three religions ran in parallel streams, contracting or expanding in influence and power with the lapse of ages. Vishnu worship, in its modern form, is the prevailing religion in the present day.

We append the following list of the Gangetic kings from Dr. Hunter's work :—

	A.D		A.D.
Chor Ganga . . .	1132	Sankha Vasudeva . .	1337
Gangesvara . . .	1152	Bali " . .	1361
Ekjatakam Deva . .	1166	Vira " . .	1382
Madana Mahadeva .	1171	Kali " . .	1401
Ananga Bhima Deva .	1175	Neungatanta " . .	1414
Rajarajesvara Deva .	1202	Netra " . .	1429
Languhya Naraswha .	1237	Kapilendra Deva . .	1452
Kesari " .	1282	Purushottama Deva .	1479
Pratapa " .	1307	Prapata Rudra Deva .	1504
Ghati Kantha " .	1327	Kalinga Deva . .	1532
Kapila " .	1329	Kalharuga Deva	1533 to 1534
Sankha Bhasura . .	1330		

[Extinction of the Gangetic line.]

Some of the earlier kings of this line were among the most powerful monarchs of their time. Gangesvara (1152 to 1166) ruled from the Ganges to the Godavari, and Ananga Bhima Deva (1175 to 1202), also a most powerful king, is said to have built the present temple of

Jagannatha. Later on, Purushottama Deva (1479 to 1504) is said to have defeated the king of Kanchi in Southern India, and married his daughter; and his successor, Pratapa Rudra Deva, was on the throne when the great Vaishnava reformer Chaitanya visited Orissa.

Govinda Vidyadhara murdered the last king of the Gangetic house and ascended the throne; but conflict with the Mahommedans began in his reign, 1534 to 1541 A.D. Four kings then successively ascended the throne, Chakra Pratapa (1541 to 1549), Narasinga Jana (1549 to 1550), Raghurama Chotra (1550 to 1551), and Mukunda Deva (1551 to 1559 A.D.) It was in this last reign that the famous Mahommedan general Kalapahar invaded the province, defeated and slew the king in a battle near Jajpur, plundered the city of Jagannatha, and overthrew the Hindu monarchy.

Thus, after maintaining its independence for nearly four centuries after the conquest of Northern India and Bengal, Orissa was conquered by the Mahommedans about 1560 A.D.

CHAPTER V.

KASHMIR AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

WE have in a previous chapter brought down the history of Kashmir to the time of Matrigupta, the friend and contemporary of Vikramaditya the Great. We note down the names of Matrigupta's successors to the middle of the twelfth century, when Kahlana's history comes to a close.* There is a continuation of Kahlana's history by other writers.

We have only to premise that from the time of Durlabha Vardhana (the seventh king in succession from Matrigupta), Kahlana's dates are perfectly reliable. Durlabha Vardhana began his reign in 598 A.D. according to Kahlana. Six kings ruled between Matrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana, and if we give an average of fifteen years to each of these six reigns, Matrigupta's reign falls at the commencement of the sixth century A.D.

But Kahlana was misled by the Saka Era, and believed Vikramaditya and Matrigupta to have reigned about the beginning of that era. He had therefore to spin out the six reigns (between Matrigupta and Durlabha Vardhana) into five centuries. And this he does by allotting 300 years to one reign, viz., that of Ranaditya! Hence Kahlana's dates previous to Durlabha Vardhana's time are worthless.

* We rely as before, on Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's translation.

	A.D.
Matrigupta abdicated	50
Pravara Sena, Yudhisthira, Narendraditya, Ranaditya, Vikramaditya, Baladitya	550 to 598
Durlabha Vardhana (Kahlana's date)	598
Durlabhaka ,, ,,	634
Chandrapira ,, ,,	684
Tarapira ,, ,,	693
Lalitaditya ,, ,,	697
Kuvalayapira ,, ,,	733
Vajraditya ,, ,,	734
Prithivyapira ,, ,,	741
Sangramapira ,, ,,	745
Jayapira ,, ,,	745
Lalitapira ,, ,,	776
Sangramapira ,, ,,	788
Chippata Jayapira ,, ,,	795
Ajitapira ,, ,,	813
Anangapira ,, ,,	849
Utpalapira ,, ,,	852
Avantivarman ,, ,,	855
Sankaravarman ,, ,,	883
Gopalavarman ,, ,,	902
Sankata ,, ,,	904
Sugandha ,, ,,	904
Partha ,, ,,	906
Nirjitavarman	921
Chakravarman (Kahlana's date)	922
Suravarman ,, ,,	933
Partha (2d time) ,, ,,	934
Chakravarman (2d & 3d time) ,, ,,	935
Unmattavanti ,, ,,	937
Suravarma ,, ,,	939
Yasaskara ,, ,,	939
Varnata ,, ,,	948
Sangrama ,, ,,	948
Parvagupta ,, ,,	948
Kshemagupta ,, ,,	905
Abhimanyu ,, ,,	958
Nandigupta ,, ,,	972
Tribhuvanagupta ,, ,,	973
Bhimagupta ,, ,,	975
Didda ,, ,,	980
Sangrama ,, ,,	1003
Hariraja ,, ,,	1028
Ananta Deva ,, ,,	1028
Ranaditya ,, ,,	1063
Utkarsa ,, ,,	1089
Harsha ,, ,,	1089
Uchchala ,, ,,	1101
Rodda ,, ,,	1111
Salhana ,, ,,	1111
Sussala ,, ,,	1112
Bhikshachara ,, ,,	1120
Sassala ,, ,,	1121
Senha Deva ,, ,,	1127
Kahlana's account closes at the 22nd year of this reign.	

Thanks to Kahlana and his translator, the English reader is furnished with some interesting facts of the history of Kashmir. The episode of Matrigupta is one of the most interesting on record. He is said to have been a courtier and a poet of the court of Vikramaditya the Great, and that great emperor bestowed on him the kingdom of Kashmir as a reward for his merit. We do not know how the poet administered a kingdom; but

when he heard of his patron's death he abdicated in grief, and retired as a religious mendicant to Benares.

Pravara Sena, nephew of the previous king, succeeded Matrigupta; and the poet, before his departure, extolled in verses a wonderful bridge which the new king made on the Vitasta. Pravara Sena became a powerful king, extended his conquest as far as Saurashtra, and it is said defeated Siladitya I., the successor of Vikramaditya, and brought away from Ujjayini the throne which Vikramaditya had probably taken away as a trophy. Here we have a confirmation of the statement of Houen Tsang, that Siladitya I. succeeded Vikramaditya the Great.

The next great king was the renowned Lalitaditya, whose long reign of thirty-six years began in 697 A.D. He extended his conquests far and wide, and subdued Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj; and Bhavabhuti, the most renowned dramatist of India after Kalidasa, followed the conqueror from Kanouj. Lalitaditya then proceeded with his conquests further east and south, and is said to have subdued Kalinga, Gaur, and even Karnata, and then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." We do not know how much of this is fact, and how much is due to the poet's imagination. He returned towards his country, crossing the Vindhya, and coming through Avanti. He built numerous edifices, and is said to have lost his life in attempting to cross the Himalayas to conquer the unknown north.

Lalitaditya was the contemporary, not only of Bhavabhuti the poet, but of Muhammad Kasim, the Mahommedan conqueror of Sind. We are told that Lalitaditya defeated the Turashkas, and also "the wily king of Sindhu." This may have been the successor of Kasim, who held Sind down to 750 A.D.

Bajraditya, who reigned from 734 to 741 A.D., "had many females in his zenana, sold many people to the Mlechchas, and introduced their evil habits."

The powerful Jayapira reigned thirty-one years, from 745

to 776 A.D., and employed learned men to collect together Patanjali's Great Commentary on Panini. He is also said to have gone to Paundravardhana, the possession of Jayanta king of Gaur, and to have married the princess Kalyanadevi daughter of Jayanta. A restless conqueror, he penetrated into Nepal, and was beaten and imprisoned, but escaped. Jayapira trusted his Kayastha ministers and financiers, and the Brahman historian narrates that a Brahman's curse killed him !

Avantivarman commenced a new dynasty in 855 A.D. and reigned till 883 A.D. Great floods caused much injury, in his reign, and we are told that Suyyu, a benefactor of his country, cleared a passage for the water of the Vitasta, and also opened out canals to take out the superfluous water. Sindhu flowed to the left, Vitasta to the right, and were made to meet at Vainyasvamin. After thus diverting the course of the rivers, he raised a great embankment as a protection against the waters of the Mahapadma lake, and joined the lake also with the Vitasta.

Avantivarman was the first *Vaishnava* king that we read of. His successor, Sankaravarman, was a great conqueror, and extended his conquests to Gujrat, but disgusted the Brahmans of his country by trusting to his Kayastha financiers. Surendravati and two other queens perished with him *on the pyre*, 902 A.D.

Sugandha, a dissolute queen, reigned for two years, 904 to 906 A.D., by the help of the Tantris and the Ekangas, probably two religious sects. But she was soon deposed, and the Tantris set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted. We now read of a succession of worthless and dissolute kings, of whom Kshemagupta (950 to 958 A.D.), was about the most shameless and dissolute. His son Abhimanyu, a blameless prince, reigned for fourteen years, after which his mother Didda (the widow of Kshemagupta), commenced her long reign of twenty-three years (980 to

1003 A.D)., after successively murdering three infant kings. When these scenes were disgracing the court of Kashmir, a great enemy was nigh. Mahmud of Ghuzni had commenced his invasions before Didda's reign had come to close.

Her successor, Kshemapati, sent succour to the Shah king against the Turashka invader Hammira (Mahmud?), but in vain. The terrible invader defeated the army, consisting of Kashmirians and Rajputs, and annexed the "Shahiraya." Another expedition was sent out, but the army fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Ananta, after a long reign of thirty-five years, abdicated in favour of his son Ranaditya, a prince of dissolute habits. He, too, had a long reign of twenty-six years, and died in 1089 A.D. His son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler brother, Harsha. There was a great deal of civil war in this reign, which ended in the defeat of the king. He retired as a hermit, but was traced out and killed.

The secluded position of Kashmir enabled the kingdom to maintain its independence for some centuries after the reign of Harsha, but there is little in its annals to interest the reader. The country was at last invaded and conquered by a Mahommedan invader, and was ultimately united to the empire of Akbar.

We now turn to the history of Southern India.

We have seen that Southern India was Hinduised by the Aryans in the Rationalistic Age, after the tenth century B.C.; that the great Andhra kingdom was founded in the Deccan in that Age, and that some of the Sutra schools of learning and laws were founded there. After the Christian Era, the Andhras extended their power over Magadha and Northern India, and for centuries held the supreme power in India. When the Andhras and the Guptas fell, the Valabhis became the masters of Gujrat and Western India, and they were succeeded by the Rajputs.

In the meantime the CHALUKYAS, a Rajput tribe, had become a great power in the Deccan when the Valabhis rose in Gujrat, and held sway over the whole of the country between the Nurbudda and the Krishna rivers. The rule of the Chalukyas in the Deccan commenced about the close of the fifth century A.D., and continued to the close of the twelfth century, *i.e.*, to the time when Northern India was conquered by the Mahommedans. The western branch of the Chalukyas held sway in the Konkan and the Maharashtra country, and had their capital at Kalyan; while the eastern branch of the same race ruled over Eastern Deccan, and had their capital at Rajamandri, near the mouth of the Godavari river. Sir Walter Elliot published lists of the kings of the two houses in 1858, and the lists have since been copied by other writers.

CHALUKYA DYNASTIES.

WESTERN BRANCH. CAPITAL—KALYAN.

	A.D.
1. Jaya Sinha Vijayaditya I	470
2. Raja Sinha, Vishnu Vardhana.	
3. Vijayaditya II.	
4. Pulakesin I.	
5. Kritti Varma I.	
6. Mangalisa.	
7. Satyasraya Pulakesin II. (Contemporary of Siladitya II. and of Housen Tsang).	609
8. Amara.	
9. Aditya.	
10. Vikramaditya I.	
11. Vinayaditya.	
12. Vijayaditya III.	
13. Vikramaditya II.	
14. Kritti Varma II.	
15. Kritti Varma III.	709
16. Tailapa I.	
17. Bhima Raja.	
18. Kritti Varma IV.	
19. Vijayaditya IV.	
20. Vikramaditya III. or Tailap II. (Restored the monarchy after usurpation by Ratta Kula)	973
21. Satyasraya II.	
22. Vikramaditya IV.	
23. Jaha Sinha.	
24. Somesvara I.	
25. Somesvara II.	
26. Vikramaditya V.	
27. Somesvara III.	1127
28. Jagadeka	1138
29. Tailapa III.	1150
30. Somesvara IV.	1182

(Dethroned by Bijala of the Kala Churya line. The southern part of the dominions fell under the Ballala dynasty of Mysore).

EASTERN BRANCH. CAPITAL—RAJAMANDRI.

1. Vishnu Vardhana II. (605 A.D.)
2. Jaya Sinha I.
3. Indra Raja.
4. Vhisnu Vardhana III.
5. Manga Yuva Raja.
6. Jaya Sinha II. } Brothers.
7. Kokkili. } Brothers.
8. Vishnu Vardhana IV. } Brothers.
9. Vijayadita I.
10. Vishnu Vardhana V.
11. Narendra Mrigaraja.
12. Vishnu Vardhana VI.
13. Vijayaditya II. (conquered Kalinga).
14. Chalukya Bhima I.
15. Vijayaditya III.
16. Amma Raja.
17. *Vijayaditya IV.*
18. Talapa (usurper).
19. Vijayaditya V.
20. Yuddha Malla.
21. Raja Vima II.
22. Amma Raja II.
23. Dhanarnava (interregnum of twenty-seven years).
24. Kritti varma.
25. Vimaladitya.
26. Raja Narendra.
27. Rajendra Chola.
28. Vikrama Deva Chola.
29. Raja Raja Chola (viceroy for one year).
30. Vira Deva Chola (1079 to 1135 A.D.).

(After this the country fell under the sway of the Kakatya dynasty of Warangal.)

A list of kings conveys no ideas of a people's history to the reader, and, unfortunately, we are able to supply little more about the Chalukyas than the foregoing lists. The founder of the earlier or western branch is said to have been related to the founder of the Valabhi kings, Bhatarka Senapati. The fourth king, Pulakesin I., was the same who, a hundred years before Houen Tsang's time, harried the monastery at Amaravati, and abolished Buddhism in those parts. He also probably conquered Chola, burnt Conjeveram, and expelled the Pahavas, who were the dominant race in the Deccan before the Chalukyas rose in power. The seventh king, Pulakesin II., was the great rival whom Siladitya II. of Kanouj could never defeat, and we have already quoted a spirited account of the Maharattas under this great and warlike king, from Houen Tsang's travels. The dynasty seems to have flourished till about 750 A.D. After this the power of the family was alienated for a time, until the time of

Tailapa II., who restored the monarchy in 973 A.D. The dynasty enjoyed two centuries more of prosperity, after which it came to an end.

The eastern or junior branch extended their territories northwards to the frontiers of Cuttack, and fixed their capital at Raja Mahendri, the modern Rajamundri. More than one revolution occurred in the course of their history, but the old family always contrived to regain its power until the kingdom passed by marriage to Rajendra Chola, the then dominant sovereign of Southern India, in whose person the power of the Cholas reached its zenith.

The Chalukyas, like all the Rajput dynasties in Northern India, were staunch Hindus, and were inimical to Buddhism; and we shall in a future chapter give some account of the works of Hindu architecture which India owes to this dynasty.

To turn now to the south of the Krishna river, we come to the ancient Dravidian country stretching southwards to Cape Comorin. The ancient Dravidians appear to have had a civilisation of their own before Aryan civilisation was imported into their land. We have said something of the Pandyas, who founded their kingdom in the extreme south, many centuries before the Christian Era. Strabo speaks of an ambassador from King Pandion to Augustus, and it is conjectured that the ambassador was from the Pandya country. At the time of the "Piriplus," the Pandya kingdom included the Malabar coast; and from the frequent mention of this country by classical writers, we know that the Pandya kingdom was sufficiently civilised, in the centuries immediately before and after the Christian Era, to carry on a brisk trade with the western nations. The seat of government was twice changed, and was at last fixed at Madura, where it was in Ptolemy's time, and remained in subsequent ages.

The Pandya kingdom was situated in the extreme

south of India, including, roughly, the modern districts of Tinnivelly and Madura. To the north of this arose, before the Christian Era, another civilised kingdom, that of CHOLA, stretching along the Kaveri river and to the north of it. The capital of this country, Kanchi, has a name and a repute for learning in classical Sanscrit literature, and was a flourishing town when Houen Tsang visited India; and there must have been constant communications between this seat of learning and Ujjayini and Kanouj in the north. In the eighth and succeeding centuries, the power of the Chola kings extended over a great part of Karnata and Telingana.

A third ancient kingdom, called CHERA, included Travancore, Malabar, and Kaimbatur. It is mentioned by Ptolemy, and must have existed before the commencement of the Christian Era. Kerala also, including Malabar and Canara, was an adjoining kingdom, and was probably often under the rule, or under the protection, of the Pandyan kings.

It has been discovered that the second edict of Asoka speaks of the Choda, Pada, and Kerala Putra countries; and it has been conjectured that these names represent the Chola, the Pandya, and the Chera (or Kerala) kingdoms. It will thus appear that this triarchy of ancient Hindu kingdoms in the extreme south of India had already acquired a name before the third century B.C.

The possessions of this ancient triarchy of Southern India varied according to the powers of particular kings and dynasties. The Pandyas were the most ancient, but after the Christian Era the Chola or Kanchi kings were the most famed and the most powerful, and were often at war with the eastern branch of the Chalukya house. The reader will find, in the list of the eastern Chalukya kings, the names of Rajendra Chola and his three successors, who were then the masters of Southern India.

Towards the close of the tenth century A.D., a great Rajput house rose in Mysore, named the BALLALAS. In

the eleventh century they subjugated the whole of the Carnatic, and, as we have seen before, annexed the southern dominions of the western Chalukyan house. The powerful house remained supreme in the Carnatic and Malabar until it was subverted by the Mahommedans in 1310 A.D.

We have to speak of one more Hindu kingdom in the south, although its history falls within the Mahommedan period. After the fall of the Ballala kings of the Carnatic, a new family set itself up in the place of the Ballalas, and founded its capital at VIJAYANAGARA about 1344 A.D. The founding of Vijayanagara is ascribed to two princes, Bukkaraya and Harihara, with the aid of a learned Brahman, Madhava Vidyaranya. The earliest copper-plate grant of Bukkaraya is dated 1370 A.D. Madhava, otherwise called Sayana, was his prime minister, and is the most learned and elaborate commentator of the Hindu sacred works that India has ever produced. The founding of a great Hindu kingdom in the fourteenth century was attended with a temporary revival of Hindu learning, and to Sayana we owe the series of commentaries on the Vedas, philosophical systems, law, and grammar, which are to this day considered authoritative in all parts of India.

For over two hundred years the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara prospered. It held its place among the Mahommedan kingdoms which arose in the Deccan, formed treaties and alliances, and won or lost territories by war. A closer intimacy sprang up between Hindus and Mahommedans than before; the Bahmani kings employed Rajput troops, and the kings of Vijayanagara recruited Mahommedan troops, assigned lands to their chiefs, and built mosques in their capital for them.

A fanatical spirit was, however, developed in the course of centuries, and the Mahommedan chiefs of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golconda (states formed out of the old Bahmani kingdom), combined against the Hindu king-

dom. A great battle was fought on the Krishna river, near Telicota, in 1565 A.D., and the Mahommedans were victorious. The old and brave Raja was barbarously put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept in Bijapur for centuries as a trophy.

The monarchy of Vijayanagara was thus destroyed; it was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India. But the Mahommedans did not complete the conquest of Southern India; and the Carnatic, Travancore, and other places were occupied by petty chiefs, princes, zemindars, and polygars, who lived often in their hill forts, and came to notice in the time of the British wars in the Carnatic.

The brother of the last king of Vijayanagara settled at Chandragiri, and a descendant of his first granted the settlement of Fort St. George (Madras) to the English in 1640 A.D., *i.e.*, within a century after the fall of the old kingdom of Vijayanagara. This petty transaction is a curious and interesting link connecting the past with the present!

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGION.

THE form of Hinduism which prevailed in India previous to the spread of Buddhism is generally known as the Vedic religion, while the form of Hinduism which succeeded Buddhism is generally known as the Puranic religion. There are two cardinal distinctions between the Vedic and the Puranic religion,—one in doctrine, and the other in observance.

The Vedic religion was to the very last a religion of elemental gods; of Indra, Agni, Surya, Varuna, the Maruts, the Asvins, and others; and although the composers of the hymns and of the Upanishads rose to the conception of a Supreme and Universal Being, nevertheless sacrifices were still offered, by princes and the people alike, to the ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda. In the same way, the Puranic religion classed all these elemental gods as deities, and recognised, far above and beyond them, the Supreme Being in his triple form,—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Siva the Destroyer. The recognition of this Hindu Trinity is the distinctive feature of Puranic Hinduism in doctrine, and it is impossible not to suspect that this idea of a Trinity is borrowed from the Buddhist Trinity.

The distinctive feature of Puranic Hinduism in the matter of observance is image-worship. Vedic religion was a religion of sacrifice to the fire. From the most ancient times, whatever was offered to the gods was offered to the fire; and down to the last days of the Rationalistic Period, kings, priests, as well as humble

householders, offered sacrifices to the fire, and knew of no image worship. Buddhism degenerated into idol worship in the centuries after the Christian Era, and it is impossible not to suspect that modern Hinduism borrowed its image-worship from Buddhism. It is certain that when the Code of Manu was compiled, in the Buddhist Age, image-worship was gaining ground, and was condemned by that conservative lawgiver. The practice, however, steadily gained ground, until it became the essence of modern Hindu rites and celebrations. Sacrifice to the fire is now almost a thing of the past.

Such is the distinction in doctrine and in observances between Vedic Hinduism and Puranic Hinduism. With that conservative feeling, however, which has always marked each new development of the Hindu religion, the Puranic writers avoided the *appearance* of an innovation, and selected the names of the Trinity from the ancient names in the Vedic Pantheon. Brahma, or, rather, Brahmanaspati, was the god of prayer in the Rig Veda; and when the composers of the Upanishads conceived the idea of a Universal Being, they called that being Brahman. That name, therefore, was an appropriate one for the Creative function of the Divine Power. Vishnu was a name of the sun in the Rig Veda, the cherisher of all living beings; and his name therefore fitted the higher modern conception of the Preserving Divine Power. Rudra was a name of the thunder or thunder-cloud in the Rig Veda; and a happier name could not be selected for the Destroying Divine Power. And when these different functions of the Divine Power were thus separately named, they very soon assumed distinct individualities and characters. The Trinity, as Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer, was unknown to Manu about the commencement of the Christian Era; but the idea had become a national property by the time of Kalidasa in the sixth century A.D.

When the popular imagination had thus conceived

separate deities out of these functions of the Divine Power, the deities had to be mated with goddesses. Sarasvati was mated with Brahma, and the reason which underlies this union is that Brahma in the Rig Veda was the god of prayers, and Sarasvati was the goddess of hymns. Vishnu was mated with a new goddess, Lakshmi, of whom we find no trace in ancient Sanscrit literature; but there are some reasons for supposing that as Sita, the field furrow of the Rig Veda, assumed a distinctly human form and became the heroine of a national epic in India, Lakshmi stepped into her place as the goddess of crops and wealth, and was a fit spouse for the preserving deity. And, lastly, Uma in the Kena Upanishad is a mysterious female, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman. In the Satapatha Brahmana, Ambika is the sister of Rudra. And in the Mundaka Upanishad, Kali, Karali, &c., are the names of the seven tongues of the fire, Rudra being the fire or lightning. All these scattered hints are gathered together by the Puranic writers, and Uma and Ambika, Durga and Kali, are the different names of the consort of the dread destroyer,—Rudra, Siva, or Mahadeva.

But when we have spoken of the three supreme gods and their wives, we have said but little of modern Hinduism. A world of legends connect themselves with the incarnations of one of the Trinity,—Vishnu or the Preserver. Rama, the mythical hero of the Ramayana, was considered an incarnation of Vishnu; and Krishna, the son of Devaki, who was a pupil of the teacher Ghora Angirasa in the Chhandogya Upanishad, and was merely a Yadava chief in the older parts of the Mahabharata, assumed a divine character, and was considered another incarnation of Vishnu. And as Krishna became more and more a popular deity, new stories of his sports with the milkmaids of Vrindavana were multiplied in the Puranas.

Krishna, as we have seen before, is an ancient name in Sanscrit sacred literature. But his recent appearance as a Supreme Deity, and the stories about his birth, and about Kansa and the massacre of the innocents, and the resemblance between the Bible and the Bhagavat Gita, have led many European scholars to suppose that the Hindus have borrowed Christian legends and ideas, and applied them to Krishna. An interesting controversy was maintained for some years in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*. Dr. Lorisner, writing in 1869, asserted the indebtedness of the Hindus; Mr. Telang of Bombay, and Professor Windisch of Heidelberg, denied the indebtedness; Professor Bhandarkar pointed out references to the deification of Krishna in the Mahabhasya, a work of the second century B.C.; and Professor Weber, while admitting the reciprocal action and mutual influence of Gnostic and Indian conceptions in the first centuries of the Christian Era, considers Dr. Lorisner's attempt to be "overdone."

Siva is not as popular a deity now as Vishnu, but in the Puranic Age—in the times of Vikramaditya and of the Lion kings of Orissa—Siva was more popular. Strange stories have been blended together in the Puranic legends about Siva's consort. In the Satapatha Brahmana we are told of a sacrifice being performed by Daksha Parvati; but the story that Sati (Siva's consort and Daksha's daughter) gave up her life at the sacrifice, is a Puranic addition. Again, in the Kena Upanishad we find mention of Uma Haimavati, who explains to Indra the nature of Brahman; and this character of Uma Haimavati suggested the later Puranic legend that Sati was reborn as Uma, the daughter of the Himalaya mountains. How that mountain maiden attended on Siva during his meditations; how, though aided by the god of love, she failed to make any impression on the divine anchorite; and how she at last won him by her penances and devotions, —these are all lovely creations of the Puranic fancy

which have been embalmed in the immortal poetry of Kalidasa.

Such are the leading myths connected with the deities of the Hindu Trinity. The ancient elemental gods of the Rig Veda occupy a far lower rank in the modern Hindu Pantheon. Nevertheless, there are glowing accounts in the Puranas of Indra's heaven thronged by the bright Vedic gods, Agni, Vayu, &c.; by their celestial troops, chariots, and elephants; by graceful Apsaras, and by musical Gandharvas. But even these Vedic gods have changed their character. Indra is no longer the soma-drinking martial god who helps Aryans in their wars against aborigines. Times have changed, and ideas have changed with the times. Puranic Indra is a gorgeous king of a luxurious and somewhat voluptuous celestial court, where dance and music occupy most of his time. His queen, Sachi or Indrani, is a noble and spirited conception, and is honoured by all the gods. The Apsarases of the Veda have attained lovely individualities, and Rambha, Tilottama, and the Puranic Urvasi are the courtesans of heaven, and regale the leisure hours of Indra by their dance and their amours. Indra is said to have attained his proud position by his austere penances, and is in constant fear lest any mortals on earth should attain the same rank by the same means. Not unoften, therefore, are the heavenly nymphs sent down by Indra to earth to disturb severe pénances, and beguile the heart of anchorites by their irresistible charms. The Asuras are another source of his apprehension, and though expelled from heaven, they often return in force, and reconquer it by sheer fighting. On such occasions Indra and his followers have to ask the succour of some of the superior deities, Brahma, Vishnu, or Siva. These deities never condescend to help the minor gods against the Asuras; but they console the beaten gods, and suggest to them plans for recovering their position. On one such occasion the gods devised a marriage between Siva and the mountain

maid Uma, and Kumara, Skanda or Kartikeya, the issue of the union, led back the expelled gods to victory and to heaven. Both Kumara and his brother Ganésa, with his elephant head, are unknown to ancient Hindu religion, and are Puranic creations.

While the popular mind is thus engaged with the endless legends connected with these Puranic gods,—whose number, we are told, is 330 millions, (an obvious exaggeration of the thirty-three Vedic gods), the wise and the learned are constantly reminded of the cardinal principle of the Upanishads, that there is but One Deity, and that gods and Asuras and men, yea the whole universe, are but emanations from that Universal Soul, and will return to that Universal Soul.

Virtuous deeds lead to residence in heaven for long or short periods, and evil deeds lead to tortures in hell, also for stated periods; and then the soul returns again to animate new bodies in succeeding births. The doctrine of transmigration is as firmly ingrained in the Hindu mind as the doctrine of resurrection is in the Christian mind, and the lowest Hindu sees a possible relation or kinsman in a new-born babe, or even in a bird or animal. It is only by pious contemplation and learning, by sinlessness and freedom from all earthly feelings and passions, that the soul can at last shake off earthly trammels, and mingle with the Universal Soul, which is the Hindu's final salvation. We see how this idea, started in the Upanishads, was modified into the Buddhist doctrine of Nirvana, and was then accepted back again as the cardinal principle of Vedantism and of modern or Puranic Hinduism. The truly learned and wise, therefore, are recommended not to win a place in Indra's heaven by meritorious acts, but to seek final absorption into the Universal Soul by effecting freedom in this world from worldly feelings and passions.

Later developments of Hinduism have proceeded on the same recognition of One Deity, and some name from the modern Hindu Pantheon has been selected for the

purpose. Dr. Wilson, in his work on the religious sects of the Hindus, enumerates and describes nineteen classes of Vaishnavas or followers of Vishnu, eleven classes of Saivas or followers of Siva, and four classes of Saktas or followers of Sakti, the consort of Siva, besides other miscellaneous sects.

The Vaishnava religion in many of its forms seems to be only a survival of the Buddhist religion. There is the same theoretical equality of all men and of all castes, and the same prohibition against the destruction of animal life. But these principles are coupled with faith in one personal deity, Vishnu, who is often, however, adored by the common people as Krishna. Stories about the amours of Krishna with the milkmaids of Vrindavana have been conceived and spread among the people since the Puranic times. Bankim Chandra, the greatest living author in India, has lately proved to his countrymen that these stories find no mention in the Mahabharata. The followers of Siva and his consort Sakti have often adopted still more corrupt doctrines and practices.

Such are the doctrines and tenets of modern Hinduism in its various phases, but the character of a nation is shaped and influenced more by rites and observances than by tenets; and, as we have stated before, there has been a wide departure from the old Vedic days, in religious rites and observances.

The worship of images in temples was unknown to the Hindus before the Buddhist revolution, but seems to have come into fashion when Buddhism was the prevailing religion. We have seen before that Manu, who was a strong conservative in matters of religious rites, upheld the ancient system of offering sacrifices in the domestic or sacrificial fire, and indignantly classed temple priests with vendors of liquor and sellers of meat. Temples and images, however, had their attraction for the popular mind, and by the sixth century they were regarded with veneration, and had to a great extent

supplanted the ancient form of worship. In the literature of the sixth to eighth century A.D., we seldom read of sacrifices, except those performed by kings; while Kalidasa and other poets often speak of temples and the images worshipped there.

The change was undoubtedly one in the wrong direction. The worship of images has never an ennobling influence on a people's mind; but in India the practice was accompanied by other evils. Down to the time of Manu, the Vaisyas or the mass of the people could worship their gods in their own way, and could offer libations at their domestic hearths. When, however, the worship was transferred from the fireside to the temple, priests as custodians of such temples had an additional influence on the popular mind, and forged an additional chain round the necks of the people. Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstition of the populace; poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, and music lent their aid; and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on those gorgeous edifices and ceremonials which were the outward manifestations of the people's unlimited devotion and faith. Pilgrimages, which were rare or unknown in very ancient times, were organised on a stupendous scale; gifts in lands and money poured in for the support of temples; and religion itself gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their custodians. The great towns of India were crowded with temples; and new gods and new images found sanctuaries in stone edifices, and in the hearts of ignorant worshippers.

We will in the following chapter illustrate the foregoing remarks on Puranic Hinduism by a brief examination of the Puranic religious literature.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

I. Dharma Sastras.

The Dharma Sutras of Gautama, Vasishtha, Baudhayana, and Apastamba furnished us with the best available materials for an account of the manners and laws of the Rationalistic Period. The Dharma Sastra of Manu supplied us with equally valuable materials for an account of Hindu life in the Buddhist Period. Fortunately, the series of Dharma Sastras was continued in the Puranic times, and Yajnavalkya gives us a list of no less than twenty works. They are :—

1. Manu.
2. Atri.
3. Vishnu.
4. Harita.
5. Yajnavalkya.
6. Usanas.
7. Angiras.
8. Yama.
9. Apastamba.
10. Samvarta.
11. Katyayana.
12. Brihaspati.
13. Parasara.
14. Vyasa.
15. Sankha.
16. Likhita.
17. Daksha.
18. Gautama.
19. Satatapa.
20. Vasishtha.

Parasara gives us a list of the same twenty works, only substituting Kasyapa for Vishnu, Garga for Vyasa, and Prachetas for Yama. Of these twenty works, Gautama, Apastamba, and Vasishtha belong, as we have seen before, to the Rationalistic Period, and Manu belongs to the Buddhist Period. The remaining sixteen works are probably also based on ancient Sutra works, but belong

in their present form to the Puranic Age, or to the centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest of India.

And herein consists our difficulty. We cannot safely refer to these sixteen Dharma Sastras for an account of the manners of the Puranic Age, because we do not know which of them belong to the Puranic Age, and which to later times. Some of them undoubtedly belong to the Puranic times, or even earlier—but chapters have been interpolated in these works in recent times, after the Mahommedan conquest. Others have various recensions, and those which are most commonly used in India are not the older recensions, but are modern ones compiled under the Mahommedan rule. Others, again, appear wholly to have been composed in this recent age. An account of the manners of the Hindus, drawn from the Dharma Sastras, would therefore be an account of the Mahommedan times,—not of the Puranic Age which we are now seeking to describe. A few details about the sixteen Dharma Sastras will illustrate this.

1. *Atri.*—The recension we have seen is a short work of less than four hundred couplets written in continuous sloka metre. It insists on the necessity of perusing modern Sastras as well as the ancient Vedas (11); recommends bathing in the Falgu river and visiting Gadadhara Deva (57); recommends the drinking of the water with which the feet of Siva and Vishnu have been washed; despises all Mlechchhas (180, 183); refers to the rite of the burning of widows (209); and has all the marks of a work composed or recast after the Mahommedan conquest.

2. *Vishnu.*—Of the sixteen Dharma Sastras enumerated above, Vishnu is the only one in prose, and can therefore claim a high antiquity. Dr. Jolly points out its close resemblance with the Grihya Sutra of the Kathaka Kalpa Sutra, which undoubtedly belongs to the Rationalistic Period; and he maintains with Dr. Bühler that the

bulk of the Vishnu Dharma Sastra is really the ancient Dharma Sutra of that Kalpa Sutra. Nevertheless, this ancient work seems to have been repeatedly recast and modified. Dr. Bühler maintains that the whole work was recast by an adherent of Vishnu; and that the final and introductory chapters (in verse) were composed by another and a still later writer. The period in which the work was thus repeatedly recast is between the fourth and the eleventh century A.D.

As might be expected, the work has a very composite appearance. It contains chapters which are shown to have been quoted by Vasishtha and Baudhayana of the Rationalistic Period, while it contains other passages which it has borrowed from Harivansa and other modern works. Chapter LXV contains ancient and genuine Kathaka mantras transferred and adapted to a Vishnuite ceremony; chapter XCVII seeks to reconcile Sankhya and Yoga Philosophy with the Vaishnava creed; Chapter LXXVIII enumerates the modern week days (Sunday to Saturday) which find no mention in ancient Sanscrit works; Chapter XX, 39, and XXV, 14 allude to the self-immolation of widows; Chapter LXXXIV prohibits the performance of Sraddha in the kingdom of Mlechchhas; and Chapter LXXXV refers to some fifty modern places of pilgrimage. The introductory chapter, which is in continuous sloka, and in which the Earth in the shape of a beautiful woman is introduced to Vishnu reposing with his consort Lakshmi in the milky sea, is probably among the latest of the hundred chapters comprising the existing work.

It is thus that our ancient works have been altered, recast, and tampered with, to the delight of the supporters of every new creed and every modern custom, but to the despair of the historian!

3. *Harita.*—This is another ancient work which has been completely recast in recent times. Harita is mentioned by Baudhayana, Vasishtha, and Apastamba, who

are all writers of the Rationalistic Period. Extracts from Harita found in the Mitakshara and Dayabhaga are all in aphoristic prose. But nevertheless the work of Harita which we have seen is in continuous sloka, and its contents, too, are modern. In the first chapter we are told the Puranic story that Vishnu lay with his consort Sri on the mythical snake in the midst of waters; and that a lotus grew on his navel, from which sprang Brahma, who created the world. In Chapter II there is mention of the worship of Narasinha Deva, and in Chapter IV of the worship of Vishnu; while the seventh or concluding chapter speaks of Yoga Sastra.

4. *Yajnavalkya.**—Stenzler and Lassen place Yajnavalkya before the time of Vikramaditya, but after the rise of Buddhism. Later researches have enabled scholars to place Manu in the first or second century before or after the Christian Era; and as Yajnavalkya comes undoubtedly after Manu, his probable date is the fifth century after Christ, *i.e.*, about the commencement of the Puranic Age. An examination of the contents of the work goes to some extent to confirm this opinion. In II, 296, there is an allusion to Buddhist nuns, and there are many allusions to Buddhist habits and doctrines. Manu allows men of the higher castes to marry Sudra women; but Yajnavalkya objects to that ancient custom (I, 56). In many respects, however, Yajnavalkya is nearer to Manu than to the later Dharma Sastras, and on the whole Yajnavalkya is the only work among the sixteen alluded to above which can be wholly relied on as a picture of the Puranic Age. The work is divided into three chapters; and contains over a thousand couplets.

5. *Usanas.*—In its present form this work is a very modern compilation. It speaks of the Hindu Trinity (III, 50); alludes to the self-immolation of widows (III,

* The reader must distinguish between the ancient Yajnavalkya, the priest of Janaka, and the modern writer who has compiled the Dharma Sastra.

117); condemns those who make voyages by sea (IV, 33); and recommends self-immolation in fire or water for sinners (VIII, 34). A wearisome multiplication of rules, prohibitions, and penances characterises this modern work, which is divided into nine chapters, and contains nearly six hundred couplets.

6. *Angiras.*—The work of this name which is before us is one short chapter of seventy-three couplets. It is a modern work, and condemns the cultivation of indigo as an impure trade unfit for pure castes.

7. *Yama.*—Yama is mentioned by Vasishtha of the Rationalistic Period; but the Yama smritis which exist in the present day are modern works, and could not have been meant by Vasishtha. We have a short work of seventy-eight couplets before us. Along with Angiras, it alludes to washermen, workers in leather, dancers, Barudas, Kaivartas, Medas, and Bhils as impure castes.

8. *Samvarta.*—A modern metrical work of over two hundred couplets, and little importance. Along with Yama, it considers washermen, dancers, and workers in leather as impure.

10. *Katyayana* (whom the reader must distinguish from the ancient critic of Panini) undertakes to throw light,—like a lamp,—on such rules and rites as were left obscure by Gobhila, whose Grihya Sutra has been noticed by us in our account of the Rationalistic Period. Katyayana's Dharma Sastra, however, belongs to recent times, and is divided into twenty-nine chapters, with nearly five hundred couplets. In I, 11-14, we are told of the worship of Ganesa, and of the mothers,—Gauri, Padma, Sachi, Savitri, Jaya, Vijaya, &c.; and we are also told that the worship should be paid to their images or their likenesses painted on white canvas. In XII, 2 (which is in prose), there is a mention of the Hindu Trinity; in XIX, 7, Uma is named; and in XX, 10, there is an allusion to Rama having performed sacrifice with a golden image of Sita when the real Sita was banished.

11. *Brihaspati.*—We have seen a small fragment in eighty couplets, which is apparently modern, and dwells on the merit of the gift of lands to Brahmans, and tries to impress on its readers the terrible effects of a Brahman's wrath. But a translation of an older and more reliable recension of Brihaspati has appeared in the Sacred Books of the East series.

12. *Parasara* is admittedly one of the latest of the Dharma Sastras. The compiler himself informs us (I, 23) that Manu was for the Satya Yuga, Gautama for Treta Yuga, Sankha and Likhita were for Dvapara Yuga, and Parasara is for the present Kali Yuga. We have an allusion to the Hindu Trinity (I, 19), and an allusion to the self-immolation of widows (IV, 28 and 29). Nevertheless, widow-marriage was prevalent even in this late age, and Parasara allows a woman to marry again if her husband is not heard of or is dead, if he has become an ascetic or an outcast, or is impotent (IV, 26). The work is divided into twelve chapters, and has nearly six hundred couplets.

13. *Vyasa** is still more recent. It mentions the Hindu Trinity, of course (III, 24), and commends the self-immolation of widows (II, 53); and the degradation of the different guilds and professions which composed the bulk of the nation is more complete in Vyasa than in most other Dharma Sastras. For a picture of the manners of the Hindus under Mahomedan rule, Vyasa would furnish excellent materials. It is a short work divided into four chapters, and comprising over two hundred couplets.

14. *Sankha*, like Vishnu, is an ancient work but recast in verse in recent times, although two passages in prose are still embedded in it. Dr. Bühler supposes that the

* The reader must distinguish Parasara and Vyasa, the compilers of the modern Dharma Sastras, from the ancient astronomer and the ancient compiler of the Vedas. The modern compilers had a weakness for assuming ancient names, probably to invest their works with a semblance of antiquity.

prose portion consists of genuine Sutras taken from the original edition of Sankha, which belonged to the Rationalistic Period, and was entirely in aphorisms. There can be little doubt, however, that this edition is a comparatively modern one. In III, 7, we find mention of temples and of the image of Siva. In IV, 9, we find a prohibition against men of the upper castes marrying Sudra women, a practice which is allowed by Manu. In VII, 20, the author speaks of Vasudeva, a name of Vishnu. In XIV, 1–3, the author enumerates sixteen holy places; and in XIV, 4, there is a prohibition against performing Sraddha, or even journeys in Mlechchha countries. But even in this recent work, widow marriage is allowed (XV, 13). The work is divided into eighteen chapters, and contains over three hundred couplets.

15. *Likhita*, as we find it, is a short modern work in ninety-two couplets, and alludes to temples of gods (4), and to living in Benares (11), and offering cakes at Gaya.

16. *Daksha* is also a modern work in seven chapters, and gives a pleasing picture of the domestic life and the duties of men and women. The picture is somewhat marred, however, by an allusion to the barbarous rite of the self-immolation of widows (IV, 20).

17. *Satatapa* in its present shape is, like Vyasa, one of the most recent of the sixteen Dharma Sastras enumerated, and alludes to Rudra, with his three eyes (I, 19); to the worship of Vishnu (I, 22); to the image of Brahma, with his four faces (II, 5); and also to the image of Yama, mounted on a buffalo, and with a staff in his hand (II, 18). Vishnu claims worship here under the names of Srivatsalanchhana, Vasudeva, and Jagannatha; his image of gold is to be covered with garments, and after worship is to be given away to Brahmans (II, 22–25). Sarasvati, who is now the consort of Brahma, also claims worship (II, 28); and we are told that the Harivansa and the Mahabharata should be heard (II, 30 and 37) to wipe away sins. Further on we hear of the image of Ganesa

(II, 44), of the two Asvins (IV, 14), of Kuvera (V, 3), of Prachetas (V, 10), and of Indra (V, 17); all these golden images are to be made and worshipped only to be given away to Brahmans; and indeed the object of this work seems to be to recommend profuse gifts to Brahmans. There is no sin, no incurable disease, no domestic calamity, and no loss or injury to property which cannot be washed away by such gifts. As a picture of the form which Hindu religion assumed after the Mahommedan conquest, this work is valuable.

It will appear from the foregoing remarks that, with the exception of Yajnavalkya and probably one or two others, the sixteen Dharma Sastras are valueless as a picture of Hindu manners in the Puranic Age. Most of them have some value as pictures of the religion and manners of the Hindus living under the Mahommedan rule.

Unfortunately, the same remarks apply to some extent to the Puranas in the shape in which we have them now. They do not give us a natural and pleasing picture of the Hindu creeds of the Puranic Age, but rather enter into sectarian disputes about the supremacy of particular gods, —Vishnu, Siva, &c. And we know that these sectarian disputes prevailed most when the Mahommedan ruled India. To a brief account of the Puranas we now turn.

II. PURANAS.

Amara Sinha, the lexicographer of the court of Vikramaditya, describes a Purana as Panchalakshana, or having five characteristic topics; and scholiasts agree that these five topics are—I. Primary creation or cosmogony; II. Secondary creation, or destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; III. Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; IV. Reigns of Manu or periods called Manvantaras; V. History of the Solar and Lunar races and their modern descendants. The

Puranas which now exist, and which were recast after the Mahommedan conquest of India, very imperfectly conform to this definition.

The Puranas are divided into three classes, namely, those sacred to Vishnu, Siva, and Brahma respectively. Their names and the number of stanzas which they are supposed to contain, aggregating to 400,000, are given below :—

VAISHNAVA.		SAIVA.		BRAHMA.	
Vishnu .	23,000	Matsya .	14,000	Brahmanda . .	12,000
Naradiya .	25,000	Kurma .	17,000	Brahma Vaivarta	18,000
Bhagavata.	18,000	Linga .	11,000	Markandeya .	9,000
Garuda .	19,000	Vayu .	24,000	Bhavishya . .	14,500
Padma .	55,000	Skanda .	81,100	Vamana . .	10,000
Varaha .	24,000	Agni .	15,400	Brahma . .	10,000

It is impossible to make room in the present work for the barest outline of the contents of these voluminous books, the work of generations of priests labouring for centuries together to recast ancient mythology, history, and traditions, and also to preach modern cults and sectarian beliefs. We will only mention in a few words the salient features of each work.*

1. *Brahma Purana.*—The early chapters give a description of the creation and an account of the solar and lunar dynasties to the time of Krishna. A brief description of the universe succeeds, after which we have an account of Orissa, with its holy temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Siva, and to Jagannatha. To this succeeds a life of Krishna, which is word for word the same as in the Vishnu Purana, and the work ends with an account of the Yoga.

2. *Padma Purana.*—This most voluminous of all the Puranas (excepting Skanda only) is divided into five books, namely,—(1) Srishti or Creation, (2) Bhumi

* The reader will find a fuller account of the contents of the Puranas in Wilson's Preface to his Vishnu Purana, pages xxvii to lxxxvi, from which our account is mainly taken.

or Earth, (3) Svarga or Heaven, (4) Patala or the Lower Regions, and (5) Uttara Khanda, or Supplementary Chapter. The Srishti Khanda narrates the cosmogony and the genealogy of patriarchal families and also regal dynasties, and then comes to an account of the holiness of Lake Pushkara in Ajmir as a place of pilgrimage. The Bhumi Khanda deals, in 127 chapters, with legends mostly relating to Tirthas, which include persons entitled to honour, and also holy places of pilgrimage. This is followed by a description of the earth. The Svarga Khanda places Vaikuntha, the sphere of Vishnu, above all the heavens. It contains also rules of conduct for the several castes and the different stages of life, and also various legends, mostly modern. The Patala Khanda takes us to the snake-world. There Sesha (serpent) narrates the story of Rama, and this is followed by an account of Krishna's juvenilities and the merits of worshipping Vishnu. The Uttara Khanda, which is probably later than the other portions of the Purana, is intensely Vaishnava in its tone; the nature of Bhakti or faith in Vishnu, the use of the Vaishnava marks on the body, the legends of Vishnu's incarnations, and the construction of images of Vishnu, are all explained by Siva to his consort Parvati, and they both finish by adoring Vishnu! We are also told that of the Hindu Trinity, Vishnu alone is entitled to respect! There can be no doubt much of this sectarian controversy has been added after the Moslem conquest of India. There is mention, even in the earlier books of this Purana, of Mlechchhas flourishing in India, while to the last portions of the work Dr. Wilson gives the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D. as the probable date.

3. *Vishnu Purana*, divided into six books.—The first book speaks of the creation of Vishnu and Lakshmi, and many legends, including those of Dhruva and Prahlada. The second book describes the earth, with its seven islands and seven seas, and also describes Bharatavarsha

and the nether regions, the planetary system, the sun, the moon, &c. The third book speaks of the Veda and its division into four Vedas by Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa in the Dvapara Yuga. It also names the eighteen Puranas, details the duties of the four castes and the four orders of life, and dwells on domestic and social ceremonies and sraddhas. The last chapter condemns Buddhists and Jainas. The fourth book gives us a history of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, and concludes with lists of the kings of Magadha, which we have quoted in Book IV, Chapter III. The fifth book is specially devoted to an account of Krishna, his boyish tricks, his sports with Gopis, and his various deeds in life. The sixth and last book, again, inculcates devotion to Vishnu as sufficient to earn salvation for all castes and persons, and ends with chapters on Yoga and final emancipation.

4. *Vayu Purana*, otherwise called the Siva or Saiva Purana, is divided into four books. The first speaks of creation and the first evolution of beings. The second continues the subject of creation, and describes the various kalpas, gives us genealogies of the patriarchs, a description of the universe and the incidents of the Manvantaras, mixed up with legends and praises of Siva. The third book describes the different classes of creatures, and furnishes us with accounts of the Solar and Lunar dynasties and other kings. The fourth and last book speaks of the efficacy of the Yoga and the glory of Siva, with whom the Yogin is to be finally united.

5. *Bhagavata Purana*, better known as Srimat Bhagavata, is considered the holiest of the Puranas, at least in the estimation of the Vaishnava sects. The work begins as usual with cosmogony. Vasudeva is the supreme and active creator; the creation, the world is Maya, or illusion. We are also told that all castes, and even Mlechchhas may learn to have faith in Vasudeva—a purely Vaishnava doctrine. In the third book we have an account of the creation of Brahma, of the Varaha incarnation of Vishnu,

and of his incarnation as Kapila, the author of Sankhya philosophy! The traditions of Dhruva, Vena, Prithu, and Bharata are given in the fourth and fifth books; a variety of legends, intended to inculcate the worship of Vishnu, fill the sixth; the legend of Prahlada is given in the seventh; while numerous other legends are narrated in the eighth. The ninth book narrates the Solar and Lunar dynasties; while the tenth book, which is the characteristic part of the work, is entirely appropriated to the life of Krishna. The eleventh book describes the destruction of the Yadavas and the death of Krishna; and the twelfth and last book gives lists of later kings, like what we have in the Vishnu Purana.

6. *Narada Purana.*—This work contains a variety of prayers to Vishnu, and legends inculcating devotion to Hari. Another work, called Brihat Naradiya Purana, contains similar prayers to Vishnu, injunctions to observe various rites, and to keep holy seasons in honour of him, as well as various legends. Both these works are very recent, and Dr. Wilson conjectures they are not the original works mentioned in the list of eighteen Puranas.

7. *Markandeya Purana* occupies itself mainly with a narration of legends. Legends of Vritra's death, of Baladeva's penance, of Harischandra, and of the quarrel between Vasishtha and Visvamitra are followed by a discussion about birth, death, sin, and hell. Then follows a description of creation and of the Manvantaras. An account of the future Manvantara leads to a narrative of the actions of the goddess Durga, which is the special boast of this Purana, and is the text-book of the worship of Chandi or Durga. It is the famous Chandi Patha; and this portion of the work is read to the present day in Hindu households, as well as in temples of Durga.

8. *Agni Purana.*—The early chapters describe the incarnations of Vishnu. This is followed by accounts of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tantrika

ritual, and some to mystical forms of Saiva worship. Interspersed with these are chapters descriptive of the earth and the universe. These are followed by chapters on the duties of kings, on the art of war, and on laws, after which we have an account of the Vedas and Puranas. The genealogical lists are meagre. Medicine, Rhetoric, Prosody, and Grammar conclude the work.

9. *Bhavishya Purana*, with its continuation the *Bhavishyottara Purana*.—The first treats of creation, explains the Sanskaras and the duties of the different castes and orders of life, and describes various rites. All this, which occupies about one-third of the work, is followed by conversations between Krishna, his son, Samba, Vasishtha, Narada, and Vyasa, on the power and glory of the sun. "There is some curious matter in the last chapters relating to the Magas, silent worshippers of the sun, from Sakadvipa; as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term Magh; and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India."* The Bhavishyottara is, like the Bhavishya, a sort of manual of religious offices.

10. *Brahma Vaivarta Purana*.—It is divided into four books, describing the acts of Brahma, Devi, Ganesa, and Krishna respectively. The original character of the work has, however, been much altered; the present work is decidedly sectarian, and prominence is given to Krishna over all other deities. The great mass of the existing work is taken up with descriptions of Vrindavana, with endless prayers to Krishna, and with tiresome descriptions of the loves of Radha and the Gopis.

11. *Linga Purana*.—The work begins with an account of creation, and Siva is the creator. The appearance of the great fiery Linga takes place in the interval of a creation, and Brahma and Vishnu are humbled. The Vedas proceed from the Linga, by which Brahma and Vishnu become enlightened, and acknowledge the superior glory of Siva. Another creation follows, Siva repeats the

* Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, lxiv.

story of his twenty-eight incarnations (intended, no doubt, as a counterpart of the twenty-four incarnations of Vishnu* in the Bhagavata Purana), and this is followed by a description of the universe and of the regal dynasties to the time of Krishna. Legends, rites, and prayers to Siva succeed. It is noticeable that even in the Linga Purana "there is nothing like the phallic orgies of antiquity; it is all mystical and spiritual."†

12. *Varaha Purana.*—The work is almost wholly occupied with forms of prayer and rules for devotional observances addressed to Vishnu, interspersed with legendary illustrations. A considerable portion of the work is taken up with accounts of various Tirthas or places of Vaishnava pilgrimage.

13. *Skanda Purana.*—This work, the most voluminous of all the Puranas, is not a work in a collective form, but exists in fragments, the aggregate of which exceeds the limit of 81,100 stanzas of which the Purana is said to consist. The Kasi Khanda is a minute description of the temples of Siva in Benares, mixed with directions for worship and a variety of legends. The Utkala Khanda gives an account of the holiness of Orissa and of Jagannatha, and is no doubt a later appendage by Vaishnava writers, who thus added an account of a Vaishnava Tirtha to an eminently Saiva Purana. Besides the different Khandas, there are several Sanhitas and numerous Mahatmyas included in this very composite Purana.

14. *Vamana Purana.*—Contains an account of the dwarf-incarnation of Vishnu. The worship of Linga is also treated of, but the main object of the work is to celebrate the sanctity of holy places in India, and the Purana therefore is little else than a succession of Mahatmyas. Legends of Daksha's sacrifice, of the burning of Kama-

* The idea of Vishnu's twenty-four incarnations was probably originally borrowed from the story of the twenty-four Buddhas who were born before Gautama Buddha.

† Wilson, Preface to *Vishnu Purana*, lxix.

deva, of the marriage of Siva and Uma and the birth of Kartikeya, of the greatness of Bali and his subjugation by Krishna as a dwarf—all come in apparently as reasons for particular sites and Tirthas being considered holy.

15. *Kurma Purana.*—The name of this, as of the preceding Purana, is that of an incarnation of Vishnu, but nevertheless Kurma is classed with Saiva Puranas, and the greater portion of it inculcates the worship of Siva and Durga. The first part of the Purana deals with creation, the incarnations of Vishnu, the solar and lunar dynasties up to the time of Krishna, the universe, and the Manvantaras; and with these are mixed up hymns to Mahasvara, and various Saiva legends. The second part deals with the knowledge of Siva through contemplation and through Vedic rites.

16. *Matsya Purana.*—The work opens with an account of the Matsya or fish—incarnation of Vishnu. The story is no doubt a development of the simpler legend in the Satapatha Brahmana, which bears so curious a resemblance to the story of Noah and the Deluge in the Old Testament. In the Purana it is Vishnu who, in the shape of a fish, preserves Manu with the seeds of all things in an ark from the waters of an inundation. Whilst the ark floats, fastened to the fish, Manu enters into conversation with him, and his questions and Vishnu's replies form the main substance of the Purana. The creation, the royal dynasties, and the duties of the different orders, are successively dealt with. Legends about Siva's marriage with Uma and the birth of Kartikeya follow, and these are mixed up with Vaishnava legends. Some Mahatmyas are introduced, including the Narmada-Mahatmya; and there are chapters on law and morals, on the making of images, on future kings, and on gifts.

17. *Garuda Purana.*—It contains a brief notice of the creation, but is mainly occupied with religious observances, holidays, prayers from the Tantrika ritual, astrology, palmistry, medicine, &c. The last portion of the

work is taken up with directions for the performance of obsequial rites. There is no account in the existing work of the birth of Garuda, and it is possible that the original Garuda Purana has been lost to us.

18. *Brahmanda Purana.*—This work, like the Skanda, is no longer to be found as a collective work, but exists in fragments; and later writers have taken advantage of this to attach various independent treatises from time to time to the non-existent original. A very curious work, called the Adhyatma Ramayana, is considered to be a part of the Brahmanda Purana.

The above rapid review of the contents of the eighteen voluminous Puranas sufficiently indicates the nature of the works. The eighteen works were originally composed or recast in the Puranic Period, and existed when Alberuni visited India in the eleventh century; but there can be no doubt that they have been considerably modified and enlarged since, specially by Saiva and Vaishnava writers, who were anxious to establish the supremacy of their respective creeds. Siva was the first popular god of the Puranic Period, as we find in the annals of Orissa and some other provinces, as well as in the classic literature of the Puranic Age. Krishna, who is scarcely much known to Kalidasa, Bharavi, Banabhatta, Bhavabhuti, and other classic authors, became the popular god of the Hindus at a later date; Magha and Jayadeva celebrated his deeds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and all through the Musalman rule, Krishna was no doubt the most favourite deity of the Hindus. Much of the Puranas dwelling on the sports and loves of Krishna, as well as all the portions dealing with the worship of Siva or Sakti according to the Tantrika ritual, appear to be productions of centuries subsequent to the Mahommedan conquest. It is because the Puranas have been so much changed and recast after the Moslem conquest, that they are unsafe and unreliable as a picture of Hindu life and manners in the Puranic Age.

Beside these eighteen Puranas, an equal number of Upa-Puranas are mentioned, but the lists given by different authorities vary. The Upa-Puranas are certainly more recent than the Puranas, and have probably all been composed since the Mahommedan conquest. The best known among the Upa-Puranas is the Kalika, dedicated to the worship of Siva's wife, and essentially a Sakta work. It describes the sacrifice of Daksha and the death of Sati, and proceeds to narrate that Siva carried his wife's corpse about the world, that the different portions of the corpse were scattered in different parts of India, and that these places accordingly became sacred. Lingas erected in these spots draw hundreds of thousands of pilgrims year after year to the present day. Such are the myths believed, and such are the religious rites practised by the descendants of those who sang the hymns of the Veda, and started the deep and earnest inquiries of the Upanishads!

III. TANTRAS.

But Hindu literature in the period of the Mahommedan rule presents us even with a stranger aberration of human fancy and human credulity. The Yoga system of philosophy degenerated into various strange practices, by which supernatural powers, it was believed, could be obtained. We have evidence of this even in Bhavabhuti, who lived in the eighth century A.D.; but, later on, the system was developed into stranger forms. The works known as the Tantras—creations of the last period of Hindu degeneracy under a foreign rule—give us elaborate accounts of dark, cruel, and obscene practices for the acquisition of supernal powers. And, by an audacious myth, these strange products of "the mind diseased" were ascribed to the deity Siva himself! The number of Tantras is said to be sixty-four; we have seen some of them which have been published in Calcutta.

Ignorance is credulous, and feebleness hankers after

power. And when a superstitious ignorance and a senile feebleness had reached their last stage of degeneracy, men sought by unwholesome practices and unholy rites to acquire that power which Providence has rendered attainable only by a free and healthy exercise of our faculties,—moral, intellectual, and physical. To the historian, the Tantra literature represents, not a special phase of Hindu thought, but a diseased form of the human mind, which is possible only when the national life has departed, when all political consciousness has vanished, and the lamp of knowledge is extinct.

CHAPTER VIII.

CASTE.

We have seen in the last Book that the great Aryan population of India (except priests and kings) was still a united body in the Buddhist Period, and had not yet been disunited into the profession-castes of modern times. The tendency to disintegration was greater in the Puranic Period, and we have frequent allusions to different professions distinctly marked off from each other. But nevertheless an impartial examination of the evidence available will convince a candid reader that the profession-castes of the modern times were not completely formed even in the Puranic Period, and that the body of the people was still one united caste,—the Vaisya,—engaged in various professions. The complete disintegration of the nation into numerous and distinct profession-castes was subsequent to the Moslem conquest of India and the national death of the Hindus.

It is scarcely necessary to premise that we will, in this chapter, refer only to Yajnavalkya and one or two other Dharma Sastras which are of the Puranic Age. On the Dharma Sastras composed or completely recast after the Mahommedan conquest, we cannot safely place any reliance.

All the Dharma Sastras of the Puranic Period refer to the four great castes, viz., the Brahmans, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, and the Sudras. The first three castes were still entitled to the performance of religious rites, and to the study of the Veda. Their respective duties were to teach the Veda, to practise arms, and to tend cattle ;

and their modes of livelihood were for a Brahman to sacrifice for others and to receive alms; for a Kshatriya to protect the people; and for a Vaisya, tillage, keeping cows, traffic, money-lending, and growing seeds. (*Vishnu*, II.)

The duty of the Sudra was to serve the other castes, and his mode of livelihood was to follow different branches of art (*Vishnu*, II). He could also trade (*Yajnavalkya*, I, 120), and no doubt followed various other professions.

Yajnavalkya tells us the old story of the production of mixed castes by the union of men and women of different parent castes. His thirteen mixed castes are here enumerated :—

Father.	*Mother.*	*Caste formed.*
Brahman	Kshatriya.	Murdhabhishikta.
Do.	Vaisya.	Ambashta.
Do.	Sudra.	Nishada or Parasava.
Kshatriya.	Vaisya.	Mahishya.
Do.	Sudra.	Ugra.
Vaisya.	Sudra,	Karana.
Kshatriya.	Brahman.	Suta.
Vaisya.	Do.	Vaidehaka.
Sudra.	Do.	Chandala.
Vaisya.	Kshatriya.	Magadha.
Sudra.	Do.	Kshattri.
Do.	Vaisya.	Ayogava.
Mahisya.	Karana.	Rathakara.

(*Yajnavalkya*, I, 91-95.)

It is scarcely necessary to point out once again that these so-called mixed castes are not the modern profession-castes of India, but are, most of them, names of aboriginal tribes who were gradually assuming Hindu rites and civilisation, without, however, being completely merged in the recognised Sudra caste. It would almost seem that Yajnavalkya had some notion of these tribes being gradually fused with the Hindus, for immediately after the enumeration given above, he informs us that

inferior castes can rise in the seventh, or even in the fifth Yuga, according to works (I, 96).

The so-called "mixed castes," then, do not reveal to us the origin of the profession-castes of modern India. How have these modern castes originated? The Puranic Dharma Sastras will throw some light on the subject.

Kayasthas find no mention in Manu, because the practice of appointing scribes for every law court and public office did not generally prevail in the Buddhist Period. In the Puranic Period the scribes were already a numerous and influential body, attended judges in court, attested documents, and performed all the clerical work connected with the administration of law. Not unoften they were engaged in more ambitious duties, and were appointed by kings to administer finances, raise taxes, keep the accounts of the State, and perform all the duties which devolve on a finance minister in the modern day. We read, in a dramatic work called the Mrichchhakati, that a Kayastha or record-keeper attended the judge in court; and Kahlana, in his history of Kashmir, frequently speaks of Kayasthas as accountants and tax-gatherers, and financiers under kings. They soon incurred the wrath of the priests, for they raised their taxes from all, and exempted none, and we accordingly find that Kahlana himself condemns them in no measured terms. Passing over such pardonable ebullition of the priestly taxpayer's anger, we are grateful to learn, from passages in the works of the Puranic Period, how the profession arose in India, and what its original duties were. It is probable that the class was recruited mainly from the people—the Kshatriyas and the Vaisyas; Brahmans would scarcely condescend to take up such appointments, and Sudras had not the necessary qualification.* After the Moslem conquest, the profession was formed into an inviolable and distinct caste.

* In this chapter and elsewhere we have stated that Kayasthas and Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. A

Yajnavalkya tells us (I, 336), that the king should protect his people from deceivers, thieves, violent men, robbers, and others, and especially from Kayasthas. If we take the word in its modern sense of caste, the passage has no sense, and the necessity for protection from a particular caste is not obvious. If, on the other hand, we take the word to mean rapacious tax-gatherers, we can well understand the feeling of the writer who classed them with thieves and robbers. Such compliments are paid to tax-gatherers to the present day. And it is significant that although Yajnavalkya speaks of the Kayasthas, he does not mention them in his list of mixed castes. This fact demonstrates that the Kayasthas were only a profession, not a distinct caste, in the Puranic Age.

Our next quotation will be from Vishnu. In his celebrated chapter on documents, he classifies them under three heads, viz., (1) those attested by the king, answering to the registered documents of the present day; (2) those attested by other witnesses; and (3) those not attested at all. And the writer goes on to say that "a document is said to be attested by the king when it has been prepared in the king's office by the Kayastha appointed by the king, and marked by the hand (or signature) of the head of the office." Here, again, the word Kayastha has little sense if it means

controversy is going on since many years past, and reasons have been advanced to show that Kayasthas are Kshatriyas. We have not entered into the merits of this controversy, and we are unable to give an opinion on the subject. Our main contention is that the modern Kayasthas and Vaidyas are not Sudras, nor the product of a hybrid mixture of castes; that they are the sons of the ancient Aryan population of India, and have formed separate castes, because they have embraced separate professions. It is possible that Kayasthas have been mainly recruited from the Kshatriya stock, and that poor relation of kings gladly accepted the posts of accountants and record-keepers in the royal courts. We are informed that to the present day the period of impurity for Kayasthas in Northern India, on the death of relations, is the same as is prescribed for Kshatriyas.

a particular caste. Dr. Jolly translates it simply as "scribe," and he is right. Kayasthas meant in the Puranic Period what we now mean by "Muharrars," and nothing more.

We next come to the Vaidyas or physicians, to whom the Dharma Sastras are scarcely more complimentary than to the Kayasthas. If scribes have been classed with thieves and robbers, physicians have been classed by Yajnavalkya with thieves, prostitutes, and others, whose food cannot be taken (I, 162). But what we wish to point out distinctly is that Yajnavalkya has not included Vaidyas in his list of mixed castes; and this demonstrates that the Vaidyas were a profession, not a caste, in the Puranic Age. Upholders of the modern caste-system seek to identify Vaidyas with the Ambashthas of the ancient Sutra-writers, and of Manu and Yajnavalkya. The Ambashthas are described by Vasishtha as a mixed caste, a cross between Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and by Manu and Yajnavalkya as a cross between Brahmans and Vaisyas. And Manu further adds that the Ambashthas practised medicine (X, 47). On this slender ground, the modern Vaidyas are all identified with this mixed caste;—as if the Aryan Hindus did not practise the healing art until amorous Brahman youths pursued and embraced girls of a humbler class,—as if the science of medicine was unknown among Aryan Hindus until the production of a hybrid mixed caste! The modern reader will brush aside such idle myths, and will unhesitatingly recognise the fact that the modern Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Aryan *people*, the Vaisyas, and have formed a separate caste, because they have followed a separate profession. And as in the case of Kayasthas, so in the case of Vaidyas, it is possible that descendants of royal Kshatriya races, like the Sena kings of Bengal, have become merged in the modern profession-caste.

But although the different professions were not formed into separate castes in the Puranic Age, yet, as we have

seen in the case of Kayasthas and Vaidyas, the different professions and trades came to be looked upon with disfavour. The caste-system, which unduly exalted the powers and privileges of priests, had the inevitable result of degrading all honest trades and industries other than that of priests. We noted this in the pages of Manu himself; we note this still more prominently in the pages of Yajnavalkya. In a passage which we have referred to before (I, 160-165), he condemns a large class of professions as impure, and classes physicians, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, weavers, dyers, armourers, and oil manufacturers with thieves and prostitutes! Thus the caste-system in its later phase has served a twofold object, as our readers will note from passages like these. It has served to *divide the nation* and create mutual ill-feeling. And it has served to *degrade the nation* in order to exalt the priests.

CHAPTER IX.

HINDU AND JAINA ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE.

WE have in a previous chapter spoken of Buddhist architecture in India. The history of Buddhist architecture closes with the fifth century, and there are few specimens of any importance after 500 A.D. On the other hand, Hindu temple architecture, judging from existing specimens, begins at this date and continues down to long after the Mahommedan conquest of India. These facts, which are recorded on imperishable stone all over India, confirm and justify the division which we have made between the Buddhist Period and the later Hindu or Puranic Period.

NORTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

The earliest specimens of Hindu temple architecture, then, date from 500 A.D., and these specimens are to be found in their purity, as well as in the greatest profusion, in Orissa. The student who has paid a visit to the town of Bhuvanesvara, in Orissa, knows more of Hindu temple architecture in its purity than pages of description are likely to teach him.

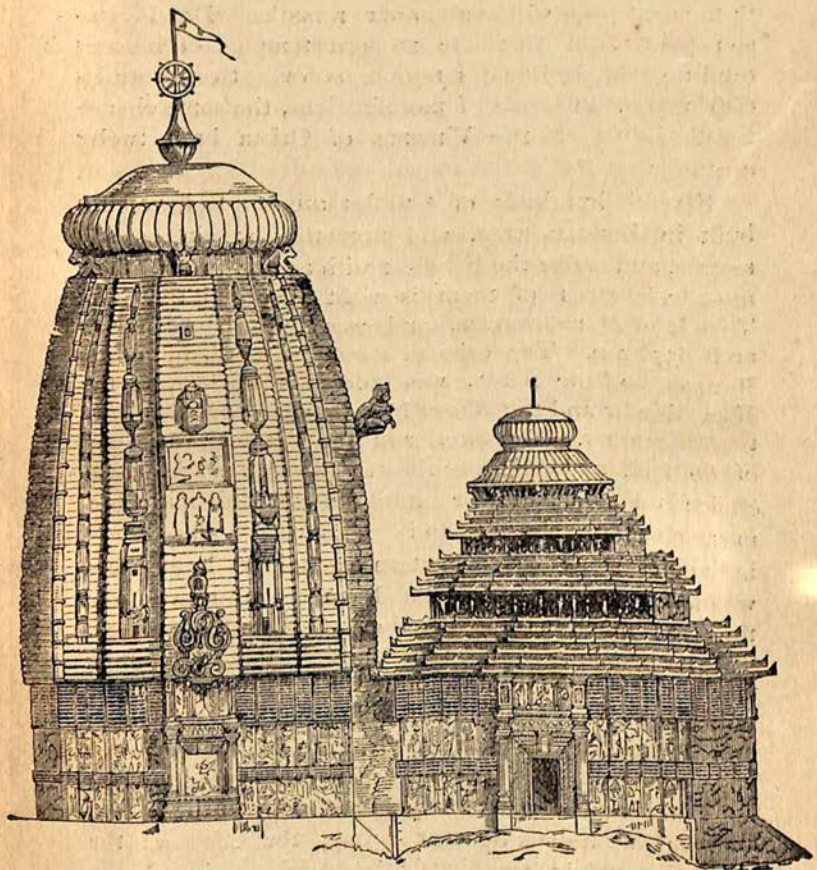
The North Indian style has some distinct and well-defined features, which are noticeable in all the earlier structures all over Northern India. The outline of the high tower of Vimana is curvilinear, and it is surmounted by what is called an *Amalaka*, from the name of a fruit which it is supposed to resemble. No trace of division

into storeys is observable, and there are no pillars or pilasters anywhere. The porch, on the other hand, has a conical top with a series of cornices. The illustration in the next page will explain our remarks. Dr. Fergusson points out that the modern temples of Benares (and no existing Benares temple is over two centuries old) retain, in spite of modifications, the same characteristic features as the Vimanas of Orissa built twelve centuries ago.*

Several hundreds of temples are said to have been built in Bhuvanesvara, and numerous specimens still remain, and strike the beholder with astonishment. The most celebrated of them is what is called the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, and was built between 617 and 657 A.D. The original structure, consisting of the Vimana and the porch, was 160 feet in length; the Nata Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir were added in the twelfth century. The interior of the Vimana is a square of 66 feet, and the tower rises to 180 feet. The whole edifice is of stone, and the exterior is covered with the most elaborate carving and sculpture work. Every individual stone has a pattern carved on it, and this wonderful carving is estimated to have cost three times as much as the erection of the building itself. "Most people would be of opinion that a building four times as large would produce a greater and more imposing effect; but this is not the way a Hindu ever looked at the matter. Infinite labour bestowed on every detail was the mode in which he thought he could render his temple most worthy of the Deity; and, whether he was right or wrong, the effect of the whole is certainly marvellously beautiful. . . . The sculpture is of a very high order and great beauty of design" (*Fergusson*, p. 422).

* It is scarcely necessary to inform our readers that all the facts embodied in this chapter are from Dr. Fergusson's excellent and exhaustive work on the *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*.

The far-famed "Black Pagoda" of Kanarak, of which



THE GREAT TEMPLE OF BHUVANESVARA.

the porch now alone remains, is supposed to have been

built in 1241 A.D.; but Dr. Fergusson maintains, with good reason, that it was built in 850 or 873 A.D. The floor is 40 feet square; the roof slopes inward till it contracts to about 20 feet, where it is ceiled with one flat stone roof supported by wrought-iron beams 21 or 23 feet long, showing a knowledge of forging iron which has been lost to the Hindus since. The exterior is carved "with infinite beauty and variety on all their twelve faces, and the antefixœ at the angles, and bricks are used with an elegance and judgment a true Yavana could hardly have surpassed" (*Fergusson*, p. 428).

Next we come to the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri, built after the Vaishnava faith had supplanted the Saiva religion as the prevailing creed of Orissa. It is not merely the change in creed, but the degeneracy in the spirit of Hinduism that is stamped on this later edifice of 1174 A.D. "It is not, however, only in the detail, but the outline, the proportions, and every arrangement of the temple show that the art, in this province at least, had received a fatal downward impetus from which it never recovered" (*Fergusson*, p. 430).

The Vimana of this temple is 85 feet across the centre, and rises to a height of 192 feet; with the porch the total length is 155 feet; while with the Nata Mandir and the Bhoga Mandir it is, like the Great Temple of Bhuvanesvara, 300 feet in length.

The province of Bundelkund is rich in ancient Hindu temples, richer than any other province in Northern India, except Orissa. Khajuraho in Bundelkund boasts of a group of some thirty great temples, nearly all of which belong to the century from 950 to 1050 A.D.; the first century, as our readers will remember, of Rajput supremacy succeeding to the dark age of political convulsions. An excellent woodcut given in Dr. Fergusson's work, of one of these temples, shows the modification which the Orissa style had undergone. The one tall Vimana is surrounded by a number of smaller Vimanas, adjoining to it on all

sides. The basement is high, and is surrounded by three rows of sculptured figures. General Cunningham counted 872 statues, mixed up with a profusion of vegetable forms and conventional details. The height of the temple is 116 feet, *i.e.*, 88 feet above its floor, and the outward appearance is elaborately ornate and rich.

In Bhopal territory there is a perfect example of a temple of the eleventh century. It was built by a king of Malwa in 1060 A.D. The Vimana is ornamented by four flat bands of great beauty and elegance, and the *Amalaka* surmounting it is also exquisite in design. The carving on the temple is marked throughout by precision and delicacy.

Pass we on to Rajputana. Among the celebrated ruins of Chittore we have seen the temples built by the queen of Kumbhu. Kumbhu was a great conqueror, and was a Jaina by faith, and erected the Jaina temple at Sadri and the marble pillar of victory at Chittore. His queen, Meera Bye, seems to have been an orthodox Hindu, and built two temples (1418-1468 A.D.), which are now in ruins, and overgrown with trees. The style both of the Vimana and of the porch is, of course, that of the Orissa temples. There is a colonnade round the temple, with four little pavilions at the four corners, and this is repeated in the portico.

There are specimens of ancient temples in the Maharashtra country, but neither so rich nor so numerous as in Orissa. The interest of the Maharatta temples consists in the fact that here the Orissa or North Indian style struggles with the Dravidian or South Indian style for supremacy. The Mahrattas are a people of the Dravidian race, but their early contact with the Aryans and assumption of Aryan civilisation inclined them to adopt the Aryan or North Indian style. Hence traces of both styles are observable in their structures.

While specimens of early temple architecture are thus numerous in Orissa, in Bundelkund, in Malwa, in Maha-

rashtra, and in Rajputana, why are they so rare in the very home of the Indo-Aryans, in the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna? The reply is obvious. In the twelfth century the Mahommedans conquered the basin of the Ganges and the Jumna, and not only demolished the old existing temples to raise mosques and minars with the stone, but effectually stopped the further progress of temple architecture. A vigorous progress in arts is not possible when political life is extinct; and such feeble attempts as might otherwise have been witnessed were stopped by the bigoted conquerors. Hindu independence still lingered in Rajputana, Maharashtra, Malwa, Bundelkund, and Orissa; and hence in those provinces we find older temples left uninjured, and later temples erected.

A great temple was built at Vrindavana by Man Sing, under the tolerant emperor Akbar; but it is said the lofty spire of the temple offended the eyes of the very devout Aurungzebe, and the temple was knocked down. Every visitor to Vrindavana has seen what remains of this temple, which has to some extent been restored by the British Government.

Temple architecture still adhered, though with considerable modifications, to the old Orissa style, but adopted new designs from the Saracenic style. We see this in the modern temples of Benares, in the temple of Visvesvara, for instance. The original Vimana of the Orissa temple is attenuated, and multiplied so as to form a number of small Vimanas round the central one; and the porch, instead of having the conical roof of Orissa, has a dome of the Saracenic style, very elegant, but not in keeping with the style of the temple. In Bengal a new element of beauty was borrowed from the gracefully bent roofs of the ordinary thatched huts of the people. Temples built of stone are almost unknown in Bengal, but brick temples dedicated to Siva are built, with their cornices gracefully bent in imitation of thatched roofs, and the walls are sometimes covered with elaborate designs in

terra-cotta. The pointed arches in these temples are borrowed from the Saracenic style, and altogether the modern Bengal temples of Siva are about as wide a departure from the original North Indian style as could well be imagined.

Jaina architecture in Northern India adopted the Orissa type of Vimana, but in course of time resorted to the graceful Saracenic dome also. The practice of grouping temples is more largely resorted to by Jainas than by the followers of any other religion. Rich individuals, belonging to the middle classes, contribute temple after temple from century to century; and while each individual temple lacks the grandeur of Hindu temples built by royal command, the collection of temples in course of time converts a hill-side or a sacred spot into a city of temples. Such are the temples of Palitana in Gujrat, some of which are as old as the eleventh century, and the latest of which have been constructed in the present century. The shrines in hundreds cover the summits of two extensive hills and the valley lying between, and the general effect of the entire collection of edifices is superb.

Girnar is a spot celebrated in Indian history. Asoka the Great carved a copy of his Edicts there, and kings of the Shah and the Gupta lines recorded their inscriptions. Groups of Jaina temples have been erected here since the tenth century, one of them by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala, builders of one of the famous temples of Abu. Not far from the hill of Girnar was the ancient temple of Somnath, destroyed by Mahmud of Guzni.

But the pride of Jaina architecture are the two unrivalled temples at Abu.* Alone among the temples

* Abu is not far from the nearest railway station. The present writer visited the spot in 1883, proceeding by a winding path up the hill, sixteen miles in length. But another road less than half as long was under construction.

of India, they are built entirely of white marble, which must have been quarried and taken from a distance of over 300 miles. One of these temples was built by Vimala Shah about 1032, and the other, as stated above, by the brothers Tejpala and Bastupala between 1197 and 1247. The porch is supported on elegant pillars exquisitely carved, and the inside of the dome is ornamented with elegant and exquisite designs unequalled in India.

SOUTHERN INDIAN STYLE.

We now turn to the Southern Indian or Dravidian style, which is entirely distinct from the Northern style. Roughly speaking, the structures of the Peninsula south of the Krishna river are built in this style.

No connection between the Buddhist style and the style of the structural edifices in Northern India has been traced. The style of the earliest temples in Orissa shows no traces of the Buddhist style. The oldest of those temples are perfect structural edifices—perfect in their design and execution—and the history of the style can be traced no further backwards.

The Dravidian or Southern style, however, is shown to have grown out of the Buddhist style of excavation. The earliest existing specimens of Dravidian temples were excavated, not built. And in their latest developments, the Dravidian built edifices still bore marks of their origin.

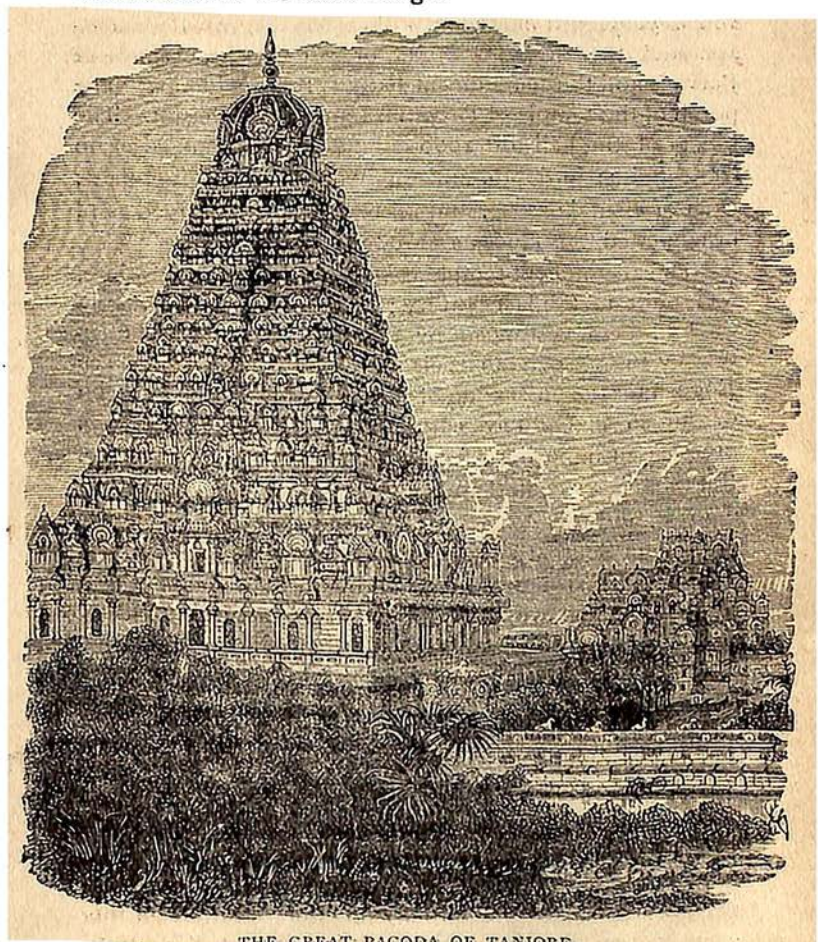
Ellora is far to the north of the river Krishna. There can be little doubt, however, judging from the design and construction, that the edifices at Ellora belong to the Dravidian type. The temple of Kailasa was erected in the eighth or ninth century, and the Dravidians of the south, the mighty Cholas, are supposed to have extended their conquests northward about this period, during the eclipse of the power of the Chalukyas. This explains the existence of this remarkable

specimen of the Dravidian style so far to the north of the Krishna river.

An extensive pit 270 feet by 150 feet is excavated in the solid rock. In the centre of this rectangle stands the temple, with a Vimana 80 to 90 feet high, a large porch supported by sixteen columns, a detached porch connected by a bridge, and a Gopura or gateway. There are besides two dipadans or lamp-posts, and cells all round. It is on the model of a complete structural temple, but carved out of solid rock; and the monolithic character of these vast edifices gives to them an air of solidity, strength, and grandeur which strikes all beholders. The cells all round are in imitation of Buddhist edifices, but each of the seven cells is devoted to a separate Hindu deity. The arrangement shows the Hindu style emerging out of the older Buddhist style.

When we turn from the rock-cut temples to the structural temples of Southern India, we are struck with the very recent dates which must be assigned to all the greatest and best among them. Temple architecture in the Southern style was carried on with remarkable vigour and assiduity in the south of the Krishna river, during the long centuries when Northern India and even the Deccan were under the Musalman rule. And the temple builders of the south did not rest from their labours until the English and the French were struggling for mastery in the Carnatic in the last century! One of the oldest of the great structural temples in the south is the Great Pagoda of Tanjore; but no earlier date than the fourteenth century can be claimed for it, and it is supposed to have been built by a king of Conjeveram—the classic Kanchi. The perpendicular base is two storeys in height, and above this the construction tapers like a pyramid, rising in thirteen storeys to the summit, which is crowned by a dome said to consist of one single massive stone. The total height is 190 feet, and the appearance of this magnificent struc-

ture is elegant and graceful. Sufficiently removed in style from the rock-cut temples of Ellora, it nevertheless bears traces of the same design.



THE GREAT PAGODA OF TANJORE.

One of the most venerated and most ancient of the temples of Southern India is that of Chillambaram, on the sea-coast, a little to the north of the mouth of the

Kaveri river. It was certainly commenced in the tenth or eleventh century, but the most imposing edifices of the temple have been built in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. To these centuries must be assigned the great Gopuras or gateways, the temple of Parvati, and the magnificent hall of 1000 columns. The porch of the temple of Parvati is remarkably elegant. The pillars of the hall of 1000 columns are arranged 24 in front and 41 in depth, and this "forest of granite pillars, each of a single stone, and all more or less carved and ornamented," produces a grandeur of effect.

The magnificent temple at Seringham, close to Tanjore, was built in the last century; and indeed the progress of the building was stopped by its being occupied and fortified by the French in their ten years' struggle with the English for the possession of Trichinopoly. The fourteen or fifteen elaborately carved and ornamented gateways produce an imposing effect when viewed from a distance. But there is no central and superior structure rising above the rest, and this is a want common to nearly all the great temples of Southern India. They are all more or less collections of structures, bewildering in their richness and beauty, but the eye does not rest on any central imposing structure, as in the temples of Northern India.

Madura boasts of a great temple, commenced, it is said, in the sixteenth century, but the temple itself was built by Trimulla Nayak in the seventeenth century. It is a great rectangle, about 720 feet by 840 feet, possessing nine Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns, whose sculptures and elaborate designs excel those of most other edifices of the class. Besides the temple, Madura also has a far-famed Choultrie, also built by the same Nayak for the reception of the presiding deity on the occasion of his visit of ten days to the king. It is a great hall 333 feet by 105 feet, consisting of four ranges of columns, all of which are different, and most elaborately carved.

In one of that chain of islands which seem to connect

India with Ceylon, stands the celebrated temple of Rameseram, exhibiting all the beauties of the Dravidian style in their greatest perfection. Like the structures of Madura, this temple (with the exception of a humble and ancient Vimana) was built in the seventeenth century. Externally the temple is enclosed by a wall 868 feet by 672 feet and 20 feet high, with four great Gopuras on the four sides,—one of which alone has been finished. The glory of the temple, however, is in its corridors, extending to a total length of nearly 4000 feet. The breadth varies from 20 to 30 feet, and the height is 30 feet. "No engraving . . . can convey the impression produced by such a display of labour when extended to an uninterrupted length of 700 feet. None of our cathedrals are more than 500 feet, and even the nave of St. Peter's is only 600 feet from the door to the apse. Here the side corridors are 700 feet long, and open into transverse galleries as rich in detail as themselves. These, with the varied devices and modes of lighting, produce an effect that is not equalled certainly anywhere in India. . . . Here we have corridors extending to 4000 feet, carved on both sides, and in the hardest granite. It is the immensity of the labour here displayed that impresses us much more than its quality, and that, combined with a certain picturesqueness and mystery, produce an effect which is not surpassed by any other temple in India, and by very few elsewhere" (*Fergusson*, p. 358).

The classic town of Conjeveram or Kanchi possesses temples as picturesque and nearly as vast as any that are found elsewhere. In Great Conjeveram there is the Great Temple, with some large Gopuras and a hall of 1000 columns, fine Mantapas, and large tanks with flights of stairs.

Our readers will remember that the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara was the last great Hindu kingdom in Southern India, and maintained its independence for over two centuries, from 1344 to 1565 A.D. Architecture flourished, together with learning, and the study of the

Vedas ; and there is hardly a town in all India in which ruins exist in such profusion as in this last seat of Hindu learning and glory.

The temple of Vitopa has an elegant and tasteful porch, wholly in granite, and carved with a boldness and power nowhere surpassed in buildings of this class. Numerous other edifices and temples of great beauty and extent attest to the power and activity of the Vijayanagara kings.

The master works of these kings, however, are not in the town, but in a place called Tarputry, about 100 miles to the south-east of Vijayanagara. Two Gopuras belonging to a now deserted temple stand there, one of them quite finished, and the other not carried beyond the perpendicular part. "The whole of the perpendicular part is covered with the most elaborate sculpture, cut with exquisite sharpness and precision in a fine close-grained hornblende stone, and produces an effect richer, and on the whole, perhaps, in better taste than anywhere else in this style." (*Fergusson*, p. 375).

Turning now to the architecture of the Southern Jainas, we find that they generally adopted the Dravidian style, as the Northern Jainas adopted the Orissa style. On the Chandragiri hill there is a group of fifteen temples. Inside each temple is a court surrounded by cloisters, at the back of which rises the Vimana over the cell containing the principal image of the Tirthankara.

Besides the temples, the Southern Jainas have in some places erected colossal statues such as are wholly unknown in the north. They are said to be statues of a Gomata Raja, and it is supposed that some vague recollections of Gautama Buddha as a prince or raja have given rise to the construction of these images. One of them at Sravana Belgula attracted the attention of the Duke of Wellington, then Sir A. Wellesley, when he commanded a division at the siege of Seringapatam. It is a statue 70 feet 3 inches in height, hewn, it

is supposed, out of a solid hill which formerly stood there. "Nothing grander or more imposing exists anywhere out of Egypt, and even there no known statue surpasses it in height" (*Fergusson*, p. 268).

Deccan Style.

We have spoken of two distinct styles of Hindu architecture, one the Orissa or Northern Indian style, prevailing in the country north of the Vindhya mountains, and the other the Dravidian or Southern Indian style, prevailing in the country south of the Krishna river. There is a third style, however, which Dr. Fergusson calls the Chalukyan style, and which prevails between the Vindhya range and the Krishna river, *i.e.*, in the country now known as the Deccan. The style has not been thoroughly studied yet, as the Nizam's dominions are comparatively speaking yet unexplored; and it is probable, too, that few ancient Hindu monuments have there survived the uninterrupted reign of Musalmans during several centuries. The best examples of that style yet known are preserved in the province of Mysore, which, though south of the Krishna, developed the Chalukyan style.

The peculiar feature of this style is that the temples have a polygonical or star-shaped base; the walls rise perpendicular to some height, and then the roof is pyramidical, tapering to a point.

Our readers will remember that the Ballalas ruled supreme in Mysore and the Carnatic from about 1000 A.D. to 1310 A.D., and three remarkable groups of temples were erected by this great dynasty. The first one, at Somnathpur, was built by Vinaditya Ballala who ascended the throne in 1043. The height of this temple is only 30 feet, but it is characterised by a remarkable elegance of outline and elaboration of detail. The second, at Baillur, was erected by Vishnu Vardhana about 1114, and consists of a principal temple surrounded by four or five others, and numerous subordinate buildings, enclosed by a high wall, with two fine Gopuras. The richness and variety of

pattern displayed in the twenty-eight windows are remarkable: and the richly carved base on which they rest is still more so. The third and last group of temples of the Ballala kings is at Hullabid. A temple here, called Kaet Isvara, was probably erected by Vijaya, the fifth king of the dynasty. "From the basement to the summit it is covered with sculptures of the very best class of Indian art, and these so arranged as not materially to interfere with the outlines of the building, while they impart to it an amount of richness only to be found among specimens of Hindu art. If it were possible to illustrate this temple in anything like completeness, there is probably nothing in India which would convey a better idea of what its architects were capable of accomplishing" (*Fergusson*, p. 397).

The temple of Kaet Isvara is, however, surpassed in magnificence by its neighbour, the great double temple at Hullabid. Had this double temple been completed, it is one of the buildings on which, as Dr. Fergusson puts it, the advocate of Hindu architecture would desire to take his stand. Unfortunately the work was never completed, having been stopped by the Mahommedan conquest in 1310 A.D., after it had been in progress for eighty-six years.

"It is of course impossible to illustrate completely so complicated and so varied a design . . . The building stands on a terrace ranging from 5 feet to 6 feet in height, and paved with large slabs. On this stands a frieze of elephants, following all the sinuosities of the plan, and extending to some 710 feet in length, and containing not less than 2000 elephants, most of them with the riders and trappings sculptured as only an Oriental can represent the wisest of brutes. Above these there is a frieze of "Shardulas," or conventional lions, the emblems of the Hoisala Bellalas who built the temple. Then comes a scroll of infinite beauty and variety of design; over these a frieze of horsemen and another scroll, over which is a bas-relief of scenes from the Ramayana, representing the conquest of Ceylon and all the varied incidents of the epic. This,

KAET ISVARA TEMPLE.

like the other, is 700 feet long. . . . Then come celestial beasts and celestial birds, and all along the east front a frieze of groups from human life, and then a cornice with a rail divided into panels, each containing two figures. Over these are windows of pierced slabs, like those of Baillur, though not so rich or varied. . . . In the centre, in place of the windows, is first a scroll, and then a frieze of gods and heavenly Apsaras, dancing girls, and other objects of Hindu mythology. This frieze, which is about 5 feet 6 inches in height, is continued all round the western front of the building, and extends to some 400 feet in length. Siva, with his consort Parvati seated on his knee, is repeated at least fourteen times. Vishnu in his nine Avatars, even oftener. Brahma occurs three or four times, and every god of the Hindu Pantheon finds his place. Some of these are carved with a minute elaboration of detail which can only be reproduced by photography, and may probably be considered as one of the most marvellous exhibitions of human labour to be found even in the patient East" (*Fergusson*, p. 401).

We have made this long extract from Dr. Fergusson's work to give our readers an idea of the sculptures and elaborate carving of which we have spoken so often in describing almost every temple and Vimana, porch and Gopura. A Hindu temple is nothing if not profusely ornate and elaborately carved; and that wonderful and endless carving and sculpture work covers every religious edifice in India, from Orissa and Rajputana to Mysore and Ramesseram. We will now conclude this chapter with some thoughtful observations which the elaborate carving of the Hullabid temple suggests to our author, whom we have so often quoted in this chapter.

"If it were possible to illustrate the Hullabid temple to such an extent as to render its peculiarities familiar, there would be few things more interesting or more instructive than to institute a comparison between it and the Parthenon at Athens. Not that the two buildings are at all like

one another; on the contrary, they form the two opposite poles, the alpha and omega of architectural design; but they are the best examples of their class, and between these two extremes lies the whole range of the art.

"The Parthenon is the best example we know of pure refined intellectual power applied to the production of an architectural design. Every part and every effect is calculated with mathematical exactness, and executed with a mechanical precision that never was equalled. . . . The sculpture is exquisitely designed to aid the perfection of the masonry, severe and god-like, but with no condescension to the lower feelings of humanity.

"The Hullabid temple is the opposite of all this. It is regular, but with a studied variety of outline in plan and even greater variety in detail. All the pillars of the Parthenon are identical, while no two facets of the Indian temple are the same; every convolution of every scroll is different. No two canopies in the whole building are alike, and every part exhibits a joyous exuberance of fancy scorning every mechanical restraint. All that is wild in human faith or warm in human feeling is found portrayed on these walls; but of pure intellect there is little, less than there is of human feeling in the Parthenon. . . .

"For our purpose, the great value of the study of these Indian examples is that it widens so immensely our basis for architectural criticism. It is only by becoming familiar with forms so utterly dissimilar from those we have hitherto been conversant with, that we perceive how narrow is the purview that is content with one form or one passing fashion. By rising to this wider range, we shall perceive that architecture is as many-sided as human nature itself, and learn how few feelings and how few aspirations of the human heart and brain there are that cannot be expressed by its means" (*Fergusson*, p. 403).

These thoughtful and philosophical observations on architecture naturally suggest some reflections to the student of history. Why is it that the architecture of

India displays what Dr. Fergusson calls a lack of "pure intellect"? Why is it, again, that the same architecture displays such a joyous exuberance of fancy and "pure feeling"—such an uncontrollable desire to represent on religious edifices the teeming millions of living creatures, with all their humble feelings and hopes and fears, their every-day occupation, their wars and triumphs, their toil and their sorrows, and even their sins?

The first question is easily answered. There was no lack of "pure intellect" in the land of Kapila and Kalidasa, but there was a disinclination, unfortunately, among the upper classes to apply themselves to vocations requiring manual exertion. And when the caste-system was once fully formed, this disinclination to physical exertion became a part of the social rules for the upper castes. It was impossible that the thinking population, the Kshatriyas and the Brahmans, should apply themselves to carving and sculpture, and intellect of the higher order was thus divorced for ever from these fine arts. The artisan classes possessed that wonderful skill in decorative art which characterises the Hindus in all branches of industry, and they acquired that facility in workmanship which the experience of centuries teaches. No labour was too gigantic for them to attempt; no design was too minute or elaborate for them to accomplish. But, nevertheless, to the very close of the Hindu period they remained artisans—generations of skilled workers, and nothing more. The wonderful edifices with which they have covered India, under the bidding of the priest or the king, are remarkable, more for the gigantic labour and the minute and endless elaboration which they display, than for any lofty intellectual conception, any design of a creative mind. And among the thousands of graceful, pleasing, and natural figures and faces of men and women, which simple observation of nature taught the artisans to copy in stone in every temple and porch, we shall in vain seek for that high order of intellectual conception which

marks the marbles of Greece and Rome. A Phœdias and a Michael Angelo were impossible in India.

For a reply to the second inquiry, we must seek for deeper causes. Not only in the temples of Greece, but in the churches of mediæval and modern Europe, religious designs and subjects have been thought appropriate for religious edifices. Painted windows, representing scenes from the life of Christ and other holy subjects, beautify the churches of Protestant nations; and marble images of the Virgin and the Child, of saints and of holy persons, decorate and fill Catholic cathedrals. In India the countless temples of gods are sculptured, not only with the images of gods and goddesses, but with a representation of the whole universe, animate and inanimate; of men and women in their daily occupations, their wars, triumphs, and processions; of aerial and imaginary beings, Gandharvas and Apsaras, and dancing girls; of horses, snakes, birds, elephants, and lions; of trees and creepers of various kinds; of all that the sculptor could think of and his art could depict.

To the Hindu the problem suggest its own solution. The idea of religion in Europe is connected with the glory of God and the teachings of Christ, with sermons in churches and pious acts. To the Hindu, his whole life in all its minute acts is a part of his religion. Not only moral precepts, but the rules of social and domestic life, of eating and drinking and behaviour to fellow-men and fellow-creatures, are a part of his religion. It is his religion which teaches the warrior to fight, the learned man to prosecute his studies and contemplation, the artisan to ply his trade, and all men to regulate their conduct towards each other. The very conception of *Brahman* in the Upanishads, and in all later religious writings, is the all-embracing universe: all is an emanation from Him; all returns to Him. The very signification of the word *Dharma* in the ancient Dharma Sastras is not religion in the modern sense of the word, but the totality

of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits, and daily actions. Dharma regulates studies, occupations, and trades. Dharma regulates eating and drinking and the enjoyments of life. Dharma lays down civil and criminal law and the rules of inheritance. Dharma rules men and the animal and vegetable kingdoms below, and saints and gods above. So comprehensive is this term, that it denotes even the qualities of inanimate objects; it is the Dharma of the fire to burn, of trees to grow, of water to seek the lowest level. And though the modern Hindu is far removed in ideas from his ancestors, yet even to this day the whole life of an orthodox and religious Hindu is controlled by rules and sanctions which he calls his Dharma, rules regulating every act and every word in political, social, and domestic life. The distinction between the sacred and the secular is foreign to the spirit of Hinduism. Every rule of conduct is a part of Dharma.

Such being the absorbing notion of religion among the Hindus, they endeavoured to represent this idea in their architecture and sculpture. Nothing was excluded from the sacred precincts of temples, not even the humblest occupation of the daily labourer, not even sorrows, sufferings, and sins. The universe has emanated from the Deity to whom the architects dedicated their temples, and, as far as their humble skill and untiring industry permitted, they sought to represent the universe on those temples. The proud and the lowly, the rational and the irrational, the animate and the inanimate, yea the whole world with its joys and sorrows, are comprehended in the notion of Hindu religion; and the Hindu sought to realise that all-embracing notion, and to depict the universe on the imperishable monuments of his industry and his faith!

CHAPTER X.

ASTRONOMY, ALGEBRA AND ARITHMETIC.

COLEBROOKE was the first European writer who thoroughly inquired into the subject of Hindu algebra, arithmetic, and astronomy; and no more careful or impartial writer has written since on the subject, though it has been repeatedly discussed by later scholars. We make no apology, therefore, in quoting some remarks which Colebrooke recorded over seventy years ago on Hindu algebra.

"The Hindus had certainly made distinguished progress in the science so early as the century immediately following that in which the Grecians taught the rudiments of it. The Hindus had the benefit of a good arithmetical notation; the Greeks the disadvantage of a bad one. Nearly allied as algebra is to arithmetic, the invention of the algebraic calculus was more easy and natural where arithmetic was best handled. No such marked identity of the Hindu and Diophantine systems is observed as to demonstrate communication. They are sufficiently distinct to justify the presumption that both might be invented independently of each other.

"If, however, it be insisted that a hint or suggestion, the seed of their knowledge, may have reached the Hindu mathematicians immediately from the Greeks of Alexandria or mediately through those of Bactria, it must, at the same time, be confessed that a slender germ grew and fructified rapidly, and soon attained an approved state of maturity in Indian soil." *

Algebra, &c., from the Sanscrit. London, 1817, p. xxii.

Equally worthy of our consideration are the same author's remarks on Hindu astronomy. "The Hindus had undoubtedly made some progress at an early period in the astronomy cultivated by them for the regulation of time. Their calendar, both civil and religious, was governed chiefly, not exclusively, by the moon and sun; and the motions of these luminaries were carefully observed by them: and with such success, that their determination of the moon's synodical revolution, which was what they were principally concerned with, is a much more correct one than the Greeks ever achieved. They had a division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts,* suggested evidently by the moon's period in days; and seemingly their own: it was certainly borrowed by the Arabians. Being led to the observation of the fixed stars, they obtained a knowledge of the position of the most remarkable; and noticed for religious purposes, and from superstitious notions, the heliacal rising with other phenomena of a few. The adoration of the sun, of the planets, and of the stars, in common with the worship of the elements, had a principal place in their religious observances enjoined by the *Vedas*; and they were led constantly by piety to watch the heavenly bodies. They were particularly conversant with the most splendid of the primary planets, the period of Jupiter being introduced by them, in conjunction with those of the sun and moon, into the regulation of their calendar, sacred and civil, in the form of the celebrated cycle of sixty years." †

While Hindu astronomy is as old as the Vedas, there can be little doubt that after the Christian Era the science received much development from Greek sources. We have seen in the last Book that the *Siddhantas* of the Buddhist Age were greatly indebted to Greek astronomy.

* This Lunar Zodiac was fixed, as we have seen before, in the Epic Period, about 1200 B.C.

† *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxii. *et seq.*

The Solar Zodiac, for instance, adopted by the Hindus, was undoubtedly of Greek origin. This Hindu "division of the zodiac into twelve signs, represented by the same figures of animals, and named by words of the same import with the zodiacal signs of the Greeks," leaves little doubt that the Hindus after the Christian Era "received hints from the astronomical schools of the Greeks."*

Aryabhatta is the first Hindu writer on algebra and astronomy in the Puranic Age. He was born, as he tells us himself, in A.D. 476. He wrote the Aryabhattiya, consisting of the Gitikapada, the Ganitapada, the Kalakriyapada, and the Golapada.

The work has now been edited by Dr. Kern, and in this work the astronomer boldly maintains the theory of the revolution of the earth on its own axis, and the true cause of solar and lunar eclipses. "As a person in a vessel, while moving forward," says Aryabhatta, "sees an immovable object moving backward, in the same manner do the stars, though immovable, seem to move daily." Aryabhatta's explanation of the eclipses seems to have been generally known to his contemporaries, for we find Kalidasa in his Raghuvansa (XIV, 40) weaving the astronomical discovery into one of his apt similes, and stating "what in reality is only the shadow of the earth is regarded by the people as an impurity of the pure moon." In his Golapada, Aryabhatta gives us the names of the twelve divisions of the Solar Zodiac. Aryabhatta's calculation of the earth's circumference (3300 Yojanas of four Krosas each) is not wide of the mark.

Aryabhatta was born in Pataliputra, the ancient capital of Asoka the Great, and wrote early in the sixth century. The revival of learning in that century was not confined to Ujjayini, although that city carried away the palm under the auspices of the illustrious Vikramaditya.

* *Hindu Algebra, &c.*, p. xxiv.

Aryabhatta's successor, Varahamihira, was a true-born son of Avanti. He was born in Avanti, and was the son of Aditya Dasa, himself an astronomer. The Ujjayini list compiled by Dr. Hunter, as well as Alberuni, give A.D. 505 as Varahamihira's date, and it is probable that this was the date of his birth. We have already stated before that he was one of the "nine gems" of Vikrama's court, and it has been ascertained by Dr. Bhao Daji that the astronomer died in 587 A.D.

He compiled in his famous Panchasiddhantika five older Siddhantas, viz., Paulisa, Romaka, Vasishtha, Saura, and Paitamaha. We have spoken of these Siddhantas in the last Book.

Varahamihira is also the author of Brihat Sanhita, which has been edited by Dr. Kern. It is a work consisting of no less than 106 chapters, dealing with various subjects. The first twenty chapters relate to the sun, moon, earth, and planets; chapters 21 to 39 deal with rain, winds, earthquakes, meteors, rainbow, dust-storms, thunderbolts, &c.; chapters 40 to 42 treat of plants and vegetables, and commodities which are available in different seasons; chapters 43 to 60 speak of various miscellaneous matters, including portents, house-building, gardening, temples, images, &c.; chapters 61 to 78 deal with various animals, and with men and women, &c.; chapters 79 to 85 treat of precious stones, furniture, &c.; chapters 86 to 96 treat of various omens; and chapters 97 to 106, of various matters, including marriages, the divisions of the zodiac, &c.

The above enumeration of contents carries no adequate idea of the encyclopædic nature of this great work. The amount of general information which it contains, apart from its merit as an astronomical work, is of the utmost value to the historian. Thus, chapter 14 is a complete geography of India of the sixth century, and mentions the names of numerous provinces and towns. Chapters 41 and 42 contain an enumeration of a vast number of com-

modities, vegetable and manufactured, which is of the utmost value for a detailed examination of the civilisation of the age. So chapters 61 to 67 speak of various animals, and chapters 79 to 85 of various articles, from a diamond to a toothbrush! Chapter 58 is of special interest to us, because it lays down rules for the construction of various images, viz., Rama, Bali, Vishnu with 8 or 4 or 2 hands, Baladeva, a goddess between Krishna and Baladeva, Samba, Brahma with four faces, Indra, Siva and his consort, Buddha, the god of the Arhats (Buddhist saints), the Sun, the Linga, Yama, Varuna, Kuvera, and Ganesa with his elephant head. And in chapter 60 we are told that Bhagavatas worship Vishnu, the Magas worship the Sun, and the twice-born, smeared with ashes, worship Siva; the Matris are worshipped by those who know them, and Brahmans worship Brahma. The Sakyas and the naked Jainas worship the all-benevolent and calm-souled god (Buddha). "Each sect should worship, according to its peculiar rules, the deity whom it worships." These passages attest the toleration of the sixth century A.D.; a Hindu after the time of Sankaracharya would not thus enumerate the "all-benevolent" and "calm-souled" Buddha in the list of deities.

In the following century Brahmagupta wrote (in 628 A.D.) his Brahma Sphuta Siddhanta. The work comprises twenty-one chapters. The first ten contain an astronomical system, describing the true places of the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclipses, the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions of planets and stars, &c. The next ten chapters are supplementary; and the last chapter explains the astronomical system in a treatise on spherics. The twelfth and eighteenth chapters have been translated by Colebrooke.

After Brahmagupta came the long period of the dark age and political convulsions. When these ended in the establishment of Rajput power in India, another great mathematician arose. The renowned Bhaskaracharya was

born, as he tells us, in 1114 A.D., and completed his great work known as the Siddhanta Siromani in 1150 A.D. The preliminary portions of this work are the Vijaganita (algebra) and the Lilavati (arithmetic), and have been translated by Colebrooke; and the Goladhyaya portion on spherical trigonometry has been translated by Wilkinson and revised by the renowned mathematician, Pundit Bapudeva Sastri.

There are solutions of remarkable problems in Bhaskaracharya which were not achieved in Europe till the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* The science of algebra indeed received a remarkable degree of development in India; the application of algebra to astronomical investigations and to geometrical demonstrations is a peculiar invention of the Hindus; and their manner of conducting it has received the admiration of modern European mathematicians.

While such was the progress made in India in astronomy, algebra, and arithmetic, the science of geometry was lost! The Hindus has discovered the first elementary laws of geometry in the eighth century before Christ, and imparted it to the Greeks; but as the construction of altars according to geometrical rules fell into disuse, geometry was neglected, and geometrical problems were solved by algebra.

Arabian writers translated Hindu works on algebra in the eighth century A.D., and Leonardo of Pisa first introduced the science into modern Europe. In trigonometry,

* A striking history has been told of the problem, to find x so that $ax^2 + b$ shall be a square number. Fremat made some progress towards solving this ancient problem, and sent it as a defiance to the English algebraists in the seventeenth century. Euler finally solved it, and arrived exactly at the point attained by Bhaskara in 1150! A particular solution of another problem given by Bhaskara is exactly the same as was discovered in Europe by Lord Brounker in 1657; and the general solution of the same problem given by Brahmagupta in the seventh century A.D. was unsuccessfully attempted by Euler, and was only accomplished by De la Grange in 1767 A.D. The favourite process of the Hindus known as the *Kuttâka* was not known in Europe till published by Bachet de Mezeriac in 1624 A.D.

too, the Hindus seem to have been the earliest teachers in the world; and in arithmetic they invented that system of decimal notation which the Arabians borrowed from them and taught in Europe, and which is now the property of the human race.

CHAPTER IX.

MEDICINE.

THE Hindu medical science unfortunately received less attention from the earlier antiquarians than the other Indian sciences, and the facts collected even up to the present date are not nearly exhaustive. As early as 1823, Professor H. H. Wilson published in the *Oriental Magazine* a brief notice of Hindu medicines and medical works. The indefatigable traveller and devoted scholar Csoma de Koros gave a sketch of Hindu medical opinions as translated into the Thibetan language in the Journal of the Asiatic Society for January 1835. Heyne and Ainslie also collected much information on the subject of Hindu medicines. And in 1837, Dr. Royle, of the King's College, London, combined all the information available from the above works, with many original researches of his own, in his celebrated essay on the antiquity of Hindu medicine. Our distinguished countryman, Madhusudan Gupta, who first broke through modern prejudices against dissection, and was Lecturer of Anatomy to the Medical College of Calcutta, edited the ancient work on Hindu surgery known as Susruta, and proved that the ancients had no silly prejudices against the pursuit of science in a scientific way. Dr. Wise, late of the Bengal Medical Service, published in 1845 a commentary on the ancient Hindu system of medicine; and later on he treated the subject ably and fully in his Review of the History of Medicine published in London in 1867. The subject has received more attention from

our countrymen since this date, and the patriotic physician, Abinas Chandra Kaviratna, is now editing valuable editions of Charaka and Susruta with commentaries.

In Europe the antiquity of Hindu medicine is not yet generally known and recognised, and the habit of tracing the origin of all Aryan culture to the Greeks still impedes an impartial inquiry. As Dr. Wise justly remarks, "Facts regarding the ancient history of medicine have been sought for only in the classical authors of Greece and Rome, and have been arranged to suit a traditional theory which repudiated all systems which did not proceed from a Grecian source. We are familiar from our youth with classical history, and love to recall events illustrated by the torch of genius and depicted on our memories; and it requires a thorough examination of a subject, a careful weighing of new evidence, and a degree of ingenuousness not always to be found, to alter early impressions. Still candour and truth require us to examine the value of new facts in history as they are discovered, so as to arrive at just conclusions." *

The Greeks themselves did not lay claim to the honour (which is now often claimed for them by modern writers) of originating ancient culture generally, or the science of medicine in particular. Nearchus (*apud* Arrian) informs us that "the Grecian physicians found no remedy against the bite of snakes, but the Indians cured those who happened to incur that misfortune." Arrian himself tells us that the Greeks "when indisposed applied to their sophists (Brahmans), who, by wonderful, and even more than human means, cured whatever would admit of cure." Dioscorides, who lived in the first century A.D., is the most copious author on the Materia Medica of the ancients, and Dr. Royle has in an exhaustive inquiry shown how much of his Materia Medica was taken from the more ancient Materia Medica of the Hindus.† The same remark

* *Review of the History of Medicine, Introduction.*

† *Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*, pp. 82 to 104.

holds good with regard to Theophrasus, who lived in the third century B.C., while even the physician Ctesias, who lived in the fifth century B.C., wrote an account of India which, Dr. H. H. Wilson has shown,* contains notices of the natural products of India. But the chain of evidence is complete when Hippocrates, called the "Father of Medicine," because he first cultivated the subject as a science in Europe, is shown to have borrowed his Materia Medica from the Hindus. We refer our readers for evidence to Dr. Royle's excellent essay. "It is to the Hindus," says Dr. Wise, "we owe the first system of medicine."

Unfortunately, of the earliest system of Hindu medicine, which was cultivated from the time of the Kurus and the Panchalas to the age when all Hindu learning received a scientific treatment (B.C. 1400 to 400), very little has been left to us. Ancient medical science is generally spoken of in later treatises as the *Ayurveda*. The word probably never meant any particular treatise or work, but was a collective name for ancient medical science, as the *Dhanurveda* is a collective name for the ancient science of archery and arms. The ancient Ayurveda or medical science is said to have been divided into the following sections or branches, which we take from Dr. Wilson's analysis :—

(1.) *Salya*, the art of extracting extraneous substances, like arrows, wood, earth, &c., with the treatment of the inflammation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses.

(2.) *Salakya*, the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. The word is derived from *Salaka*, a thin sharp instrument, which must have been in use from ancient times.

(3.) *Kaya Chikitsa*, the treatment of the body answer-

* In a paper read to the Ashmolean Society of Oxford.

ing to the modern science of medicine, while the two preceding sections constitute surgery.

(4.) *Bhuta vidya*, or the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state supposed to be induced by demoniacal possession.

(5.) *Kumara bhritya, i.e.*, the care of infancy, comprehending the management of infants and the treatment of disorders in mothers and nurses.

(6.) *Aagda*, the administration of antidotes.

(7.) *Rasayana* or chemistry.

(8.) *Bajikarana*, professing to promote the increase of the human race.

Medical science, like all other sciences, made considerable progress in course of time, and exhaustive and scientific works were written in the Buddhist Age. But nevertheless, with that loyalty to the past which has ever characterised Hindu writers, the authors of these later works alluded reverently to the earlier science under the collective name of Ayurveda, the gift of the gods, and professed only to explain that ancient knowlede and wisdom to the less favoured men of later ages. Among these later and more scientific works, those of Charaka and Susruta are the best known, and their works are now the most ancient works extant. There are reasons to believe that these eminent authors lived in the Buddhist Age, but that their works were recast in the Puranic Age, when there was a general revival of Hindu learning and science. The fame of their works travelled into foreign countries, and the Arabs were acquainted with the translations of the works at the time of Haroun-al-Rashid in the eighth century. One of the earliest of the Arab authors, Serapion, mentions Charaka by name as *Xarch*. Another Arab writer, Avicenna, quotes him as *Scirak;* while Rhazes, who was prior to Avicenna, calls him *Scarac*.* It was thus that Hindu medical works, compiled as early as the Buddhist Age, were

* Royle, p. 37.

first published to the world by the Arabs in the Puranic Age.

Charaka's work is divided into eight books, which are enumerated below.

(1.) *Sutra Sthana*, explaining the origin of medicine, the duty of the physician, the use of medicine, the cure of disease, materia medica, diet, &c.

(2.) *Nidana Sthana*, containing a description of diseases, as fever, discharges of blood, tumours, diabetes, leprosy, consumption, mania and epilepsy.

(3.) *Vimana Sthana*, treating of epidemics, the nature of food, the symptoms and diagnosis of disease, the use of medicines, and the peculiarities of the fluids of the body.

(4.) *Sarira Sthana*, treating of the nature of the soul, conception, the varieties of species, the qualities of elements, a description of the body and the connection of the body and soul.

(5.) *Indriya Sthana*, describing the organs of sense and their diseases, the colour of the body, defects of speech, diseases of the body and of organs, loss of strength and death.

(6.) *Chikitsa Sthana*, considering the treatment of disease and the means of improving the health and enjoying long life. It also treats of fever, dropsy, swelling, piles, diarrhœa, jaundice, asthma, cough, dysentery, vomiting, erysipelas, thirst, and the effects of poisons. It speaks of remedying the effects of drinking, of inflammation, diseases of vital parts, abscesses, rheumatism and paralysis.

(7.) *Kalpa Sthana*, treating of emetics and purgatives, and of antidotes and medical charms.

(8.) *Siddhi Sthana*, treating of evacuating medicines, of injections for the urethra, vagina, and rectum, of abscesses, of the use of clysters, of the vital parts, &c.

The whole work is in the form of instruction imparted by the Rishi Atreya to Agnivasa. We are told in the introduction that Brahma first imparted the Ayurveda to

Prajapati, that Prajapati imparted it to the two Asvins, and the Asvins imparted it to Indra. Bharadvaja learnt it from Indra, and imparted it to six Rishis, of whom Agnivasa was one.

Susruta is probably a later work than Charaka, and a similar story is told that Indra imparted the knowledge to Dhanvantari, the medical practitioner of the gods, and Dhanvantari imparted it to eight Rishis, among whom Susruta was chosen to record the instructions correctly.

The divisions of Susruta's work are very similar to those of Charaka. Charaka, however, treats mainly of medicines, while Susruta treats mainly of surgery in his six divisions, which are enumerated below.

(1.) *Sutra Sthana* treats of medicines, of the elements of the body and various forms of disease, of the selection of surgical instruments and medicines, and of the practice to be followed after surgical operations. Then follows the description of the humours and the surgical diseases, the removal of extraneous substances, and the treatment of wounds and ulcers. Various other matters are touched upon.

(2.) *Nidana Sthana* treats of the symptoms and diagnoses of diseases. The causes of rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes, and ascites are spoken of. The symptoms of unnatural presentations in midwifery, internal abscesses, erysipelas, scrofula, hydrocele, and diseases of the organs of generation and of the mouth are considered.

(3.) *Sarira Sthana*, or anatomy, treats of the structure of the body. The soul and the elementary parts of the body, puberty, conception, and growth of the body are considered. Bleeding and the treatment of pregnancy and of infants are also considered.

(4.) *Chikitsa Sthana* describes the symptoms and treatment of diseases, wounds, ulcers, inflammations, fractures, rheumatism, piles, stone, fistula in ano, leprosy, diabetes,

and dropsy. The manner of extracting the child from the uterus in unusual positions and other matters are described. The use of clysters, of errhines, and of the smoke of medicinal substances is also described.

(5.) *Kalpa Sthana* speaks of antidotes. The means of preparing and preserving food and drink, and of distinguishing poisoned food are explained, and the different mineral, vegetable, and animal poisons and their antidotes are explained.

(6.) *Uttara Sthana*, or supplemental section, treats of various local diseases, like those of the eye, ear, nose, and head. The treatment of various other diseases, like fever, dysentery, consumption, tumours, diseases of the heart, jaundice, discharges of blood, fainting, intoxication, cough, hiccough, asthma, hoarseness of voice, worms, stertorous vomiting, cholera, dyspepsia, dysuria, madness, demoniacal possession, epilepsy and apoplexy, are described.

The above brief enumeration of the contents of Charaka and Susruta will indicate the progress of the Hindu medical science and the nature of the diseases which engaged the attention of Hindu physicians in ancient days. Many of the ancient theories are of course now shown to be fanciful, and many of the views then held are now shown to be mistaken. But nevertheless the exhaustive treatment of diseases in medical works compiled two thousand years ago shows the progress of the science in Ancient India; and the medicines and preparations prescribed in these works are equally numerous and varied. It is not our intention to give anything like a complete account of the Hindu system of medicine and treatment of diseases; we will only here mention a few of the medicinal preparations and surgical instruments which were known to the ancient Hindus.

The Hindus were early familiar with *Rasayana*, *i.e.*, chemistry, and with the preparation of various chemical compounds. Nor is this surprising, as the materials for preparing many chemical products have abounded in

India. Rock-salt was found in Western India; borax was obtained from Thibet; saltpetre and sulphate of soda were easily made; alum was made in Cutch; and sal ammonia was familiar to the Hindus; with lime, charcoal, and sulphur they were acquainted from time immemorial.

The alkalies and acids were early known to the Hindus, and were borrowed from them by the Arabians. The medicinal use of metals was also largely known. We have notices of antimony and of arsenic, of medicines prepared with quicksilver, arsenic, and nine other metals. The Hindus were acquainted with the oxides of copper, iron, lead, tin, zinc, and lead; with the sulphurates of iron, copper, antimony, mercury, and arsenic; with the sulphates of copper, zinc, and iron; with the diacetate of copper and the carbonates of lead and iron. "Though the ancient Greeks and Romans used many metallic substances as external applications, it is generally supposed that the Arabs were the first to prescribe them internally .... But in the works of Charak and Susruta, to which, as has been proved, the earliest of the Arabs had access, we find numerous metallic substances directed to be given internally." *

From positive directions respecting the formation of several substances, it is clear that the ancient Hindus were familiar with several chemical processes, as solution, evaporation, calcination, sublimation, and distillation.

With regard to drugs and plants, we find that Susruta arranges them under the following heads:—tuberous and bulbous roots; roots; bark of roots; bark of large trees; trees possessing a peculiar smell; leaves; flowers; fruits; seeds; acrid and astringent vegetables; milky plants; gums and resins. Susruta probably contains the earliest notice respecting botanical geography, mentioning the sites and climates where the plants grow. He also prescribes the weights and measures to be used,

* Dr. Royle's Essay, p. 45.

and gives directions for expressing juice from fresh vegetables, making powder of well-dried plants, and preparing infusions and decoctions of various kinds. The vegetable resources of India are practically unlimited, and it is needless to add that Hindu physicians were acquainted with a vast variety of vegetable medicines. Most of them are assuaging and depuratory medicines, suited to the climate of the country and the unexcitable constitution of the nation. For sudden and severe cases there were drastic and mild purgatives, emetics, diaphoretics, and baths; while acrid poisons were used with arsenic and mercurial preparations, as well as stimulants, sedatives, and narcotics.

Turning now to the subject of surgery, it will no doubt excite surprise (says Royle) "to find among the operations of those ancient surgeons those of lithotomy and the extraction of the fœtus ex utero; and that no less than 127 surgical instruments are described in their works." Surgery was divided into *Chhedana*, scission; *Bhedana*, excision; *Lekhana*, scarification and inoculation; *Vyadhana*, puncturing; *Eshyam*, probing; *Aharya*, extraction of solid bodies; *Visravana*, extraction of fluids; and *Sevana*, sewing. These various operations were performed by a large variety of surgical instruments, which Dr. Wilson classifies under the following heads:—*Yantras*, implements; *Sastras*, instruments; *Kshara*, alkaline solutions or caustics; *Agni*, actual cautery; *Salaka*, pins; *Sringa*, horns; *Alabu*, gourds used for cupping; and *Jalauka*, or leeches. Besides these, we have thread, leaves, bandages, pledgets, heated metallic plates for erubescents, and a variety of astringent or emolient applications.

We are told that the instruments should be of metal, always bright, handsome, polished, and sharp, sufficiently so "to divide a hair longitudinally." And the young practitioner is recommended to acquire proficiency in the use of such instruments by making incisions, not only on

vegetable substances, but also on the fresh hides of animals and on the vessels of dead animals.

It will be of some interest to Hindu readers to know, when foreign scientific skill and knowledge are required in every district in India for sanitary and medical work, that twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and that eleven centuries ago Haroun-al-Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians, known in Arabian records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians.

CHAPTER XII.

DRAMA.

MORE remarkable than the progress made in science in this period is the wonderful development which poetry and the drama received in this the Augustan Era of Sanscrit Literature. Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti stand higher in the estimation of the Hindus and of the world than Aryabhatta and Charaka.

It is neither possible nor desirable to attempt within our limits to write a history of later Sanscrit literature. All that we shall attempt to do will be to indicate the names of the most illustrious writers, and describe as briefly as possible their most remarkable work. This will give our readers a bird's-eye view of the literary character of the epoch; and this is all that we can venture to attempt within our limits. We will speak of dramatic literature in this chapter, and of poetry and fiction in the following chapters.

The brilliant period of which we are speaking opens with the illustrious Kalidasa, and that gifted son of the Muses, although the author of several works of great excellence, is known to the civilised world chiefly as the author of *Sakuntala*. He who has read this drama in Sanscrit need not necessarily be a Hindu to hold the opinion that no sweeter or lovelier creation has emanated from the human fancy than the gentle and tender-souled forest maiden, Sakuntala.

King Dushyanta goes on a hunting expedition, and arrives at the hermitage of Kanva. Walking in a humble

attire among the groves, he espies three damsels engaged in watering plants; needless to say that these maidens are Sakuntala, daughter of a nymph by a human parent, and her two companions. Sakuntala had been brought up by the sage Kanva from her infancy, and had attained the bloom of her youthful loveliness in these woodland retreats among her rustic companions, her plants, and her pet animals. Dushyanta, accustomed to the artificial grace of court beauties, is ravished at the sight of this simple child of nature, dressed in bark, which almost heightens her charms, like a veil of leaves enfolding a radiant flower. He finds a suitable occasion to appear before the maiden and her companions; some words are interchanged, and the gentle Sakuntala feels an emotion unknown to her simple life before.

Love tells on her gentle frame, and when he comes to meet her again, "she resembles a Madhavi creeper whose leaves are dried by a sultry gale; yet even thus transformed she is lovely and charms my soul." The lovers meet, and a marriage ceremony, the Gandharva rite, seals their union. Dushyanta then departs, leaving a signet-ring with his bride, and promising to convey her to his capital almost immediately after.

Then begins the interest of the drama. Sakuntala, when deeply musing on her absent lord, forgets to pay proper homage to an irritable sage who had come to the hermitage as a guest. The angry sage resents the neglect, and utters a curse that he of whom she thinks so abstractedly will forget her. Pacified by the entreaties of her companions, the sage modifies his sentence, and says that he will call her back to mind on her showing the signet-ring. Dushyanta accordingly forgets his rustic love, and poor Sakuntala, then gone with child, pines and droops in her lonely retreat.

Her foster-father Kanva comes to know all, and arranges to send the girl to her lord. Touching as this drama is throughout, there is no part of it so truly tender and touch-

ing as Sakuntala's parting with her companions and pets in the peaceful hermitage where she had lived so long. The heart of Kanva himself is big with grief and his eyes overflow with tears. The invisible wood-nymphs bid her a sad adieu; the two gentle companions of Sakuntala can scarcely tear themselves from their loved and departing friend. Sakuntala herself is almost overpowered as she takes her farewell from all she had so long loved and cherished so well.

"*Sak.* Father! when yon female antelope, who now moves slowly from the weight of the young ones with which she is pregnant, shall be delivered of them, send me, I beg, a kind message with tidings of her safety—Do not forget.

"*Kanva.* My beloved, I will not forget it.

"*Sak.* (advancing and then stopping). Ah! what is it that clings to the skirts of my robe and detains me? (She turns round and looks.)

"*Kanva.* It is thy adopted child, the little fawn whose mouth, when the sharp point of the kusa grass has wounded it, has been so often smeared by thy hand with the healing oil of Ingudi; who has been so often fed by thee with a handful of Syamaka grains, and now will not leave the footsteps of his protectress.

"*Sak.* Why dost thou weep, tender fawn, for me, who must leave our common dwelling-place? As thou wast reared by me when thou hadst lost thy mother, who died soon after thy birth, so will my foster-father attend thee, when we are separated, with anxious care—Return, poor thing, return. We must part. (She bursts into tears.)"—SIR WILLIAM JONES.

The plot thickens. Sakuntala's lord has forgotten her, and the ring which would alone have called her back to his mind is lost in the way. Dushyanta receives Sakuntala and her party politely, but declines to receive as a bride a woman whom he cannot recognise and who is with child. Poor Sakuntala almost sinks under this calamity, for she knows not its cause. She did not hear the curse which was uttered by the sage, nor the partial modification of it to which he consented on the entreaty of her companions. She tries in vain to bring to Dush-

yanta's recollection those too-well remembered events which marked their brief days in the hermitage, and at last breaks out in mortification and grief. Her companions leave her in the palace, and separate quarters are allowed to her, but she is saved further humiliation by a miracle. A celestial nymph descends in the form of light, and carries her away from the earth, where her fate had been sad and bitter indeed.

An accident now brings the past to the king's recollection. A fisherman caught a fish which had swallowed the ring, which Sakuntala had dropped in a stream; and on sight of that gem the past comes thronging into the king's recollection! The love he bore for Sakuntala flames forth tenfold, and the cruel injustice he had done to that gentle and loving and confiding soul maddens him with pain. He relinquishes his royal duties, forgets food and sleep, and loses himself in bitter agony.

He is roused from his stupor by the god Indra's charioteer, who on behalf of Indra asks the king's succour against Danavas. The king mounts the celestial car and conquers, and is then taken to the celestial hermitage of Kasyapa, father of the gods, residing there in holy retirement with his consort Aditi.

While waiting there the king sees a powerful little boy playing with a lion's whelp.

"Ah! (he thinks) what means it that my heart inclines to this boy as if he were my own son? (meditating). Alas! I have no son, and this reflection makes me once more soft-hearted."—JONES.

The reader no doubt perceives that the boy *was* the king's son. Sakuntala had been carried away by the pitying gods and kept here until the king's clouded recollection was clear again. And when Sakuntala appears, Dushyanta craves her forgiveness on his knees and is forgiven by the too-loving Sakuntala. The reconciled pair are then taken with the boy to the divine pair

Kasyapa and Aditi, and the play closes with the blessings of those holy personages.

Two other dramatic works of Kalidasa are left to us. *Vikramorvasi* describes the loves of the hero Pururavas and the celestial nymph Urvasi. We know that the story is as old as the Rig Veda, and is in its first conception a myth of the Sun (Pururavas = bright-rayed) pursuing the Dawn (Urvasi = wide-expanding). But the origin of the story has long since been lost to the Hindus, and Pururavas of Kalidasa and the Puranas is a mortal king who rescued a celestial nymph named Urvasi from demons, and felt for her a tender love which was reciprocated. So smitten was the gentle nymph with the charms of the mortal, that when she appeared in the court of Indra to enact a play, she forgot her part and betrayed the secret of her heart by uttering the name of the mortal she loved.

Urvasi played Lakshmi. Menaka was Varuni. The latter says :—

> "Lakshmí, the mighty powers that rule the spheres
> Are all assembled ; at their head appears
> The blooming Kesava ; confess, to whom
> Inclines your heart ?"—H. H. WILSON.

Her reply should have been—"To Purushottama ;" but, instead of that, "To Pururavas" escaped her lips.

For this error the gentle nymph was punished ; but Indra, with considerate care, modified the punishment into a blessing, and directed the nymph to go and live with her beloved mortal until he beheld an offspring born by her.

Pururavas vainly tried to conceal his new love from his own queen, and vainly expressed a penitence he did not feel by falling at her feet. The queen somewhat unceremoniously replied—

> "You make, my lord, an awkward penitent ; I cannot trust you."—WILSON.

And she left the king to the very cruel but very wise reflection—

"I might have spared myself the pains. A woman is clear-sighted, and mere words touch not her heart. Passion must give them credit. The lapidary, master of his craft, with cold indifference eyes the spurious gem."—WILSON.

But the queen soon perceived that her husband's love was beyond control, and her resentment was unavailing. With a Hindu wife's self-abnegation, she contrived, under the guise of a religious performance, to make amends for her former behaviour, and even to permit her lord to relinquish himself to his new attachment. Clad in white, with only flowers for her ornaments, she came slowly to worship her lord and king, who almost felt a return of his previous fondness for her on seeing her in this attire.

"In truth she pleases me. Thus chastely robed in modest white, her clustering tresses decked with sacred flowers alone, her haughty mien exchanged for pure devotion; thus arrayed she moves with heightened charms."—WILSON.

But she knew her charms were unavailing; she presented oblations to the king, fell at his feet, and then called the moon and the Rohini star to

"Here and attest the sacred promise that I make my husband. Whatever nymph attract my lord's regard, and share with him the mutual bond of love, I henceforth treat with kindness and complacency."—WILSON.

Even Urvasi's companion was struck with this magnanimous self-abnegation, and remarked—

"She is a lady of an exalted spirit, a wife of duty most exemplary."—WILSON.

The loves of the king and the nymph, and their temporary separation through a supernatural incident, are then described with all the power of Kalidasa's pen.

He pined during the separation, wandered in the forest, and addressed birds and beasts and inanimate objects.

"I have sued to the starry-plumed bird,
And the *koil* of love-breathing song;
To the lord of the elephant herd,
And the bee as he murmured along;
To the swan, and the loud waterfall,
To the *chakwa*, the rock and the roe:
In my search have I sued to them all,
But none of them lightened my woe."

—WILSON.

He recovered her after his wanderings, but was again likely to lose her. For the boy whom Urvasi had borne to her lord, but had concealed so long, was seen by chance by his father; and according to Indra's orders the nymph must return to the skies as soon as her lover saw the child she bore him. But Indra again modified his commands, and Narada descended from the skies to carry Indra's mandate to Pururavas—

"And Urvasi shall be through life united
With thee in holy bonds."—WILSON.

The third and last play, said to be Kalidasa's, is *Malavikagnimitra*, or the loves of Malavika and Agnimitra. But we greatly doubt if this play is from Kalidasa's pen. Agnimitra and his father Pushpamitra are historical characters; the latter was the general of the last king of the Maurya dynasty, and he put that king to death and founded the Sunga dynasty of the Magadha kings.

Malavika is a beautiful attendant of the queen Dharini, and learns dancing and music. The queen jealously guards her from the king Agnimitra's eyes, but has unwisely caused her picture to be painted in the Chitrasala or picture gallery, and a view of this picture inspires the king with a desire to see the original. Malavika appears before the king to display her skill

in singing and dance, and the king contracts a passion for her.

The jealous queen locks up the amorous and lovely girl, but Malavika is taken out by a contrivance, and has an interview with the king.

News is received that the king's son has gained a victory over the Yavanas on the banks of the Indus, and the queen is so pleased that she distributes gifts to all, and feeling perhaps that it is useless to try to stem the king's love, bestows on him the lovely Malavika. Thus the piece ends happily; but neither in its plot nor in its poetry is it on a level with *Sakuntala*, or even with *Vikramorvasi*.

Kalidasa lived in the sixth century, and graced the court of Vikramaditya. A century after his time, an Emperor of India, and a worthy successor of Vikramaditya both in prowess and in letters, tried to emulate the renowned Kalidasa. Siladitya II., called also Sri Harsadeva, reigned from 610 to 650, and received the Chinese traveller Houen Tsang. He was not only the Emperor of all Northern India, but was himself a man of letters. He is reputed to be the author of *Ratnavali*, though it is probable the celebrated novelist of his court, Banabhatta, composed that play. Kalidasa's fame had spread all over India by that time, and humbler poets unconsciously designed their works on the plots of the great master. This is specially apparent in the Ratnavali, in which plagiarisms from Kalidasa's plays are obvious.

The play opens with an account of the spring festival, when the god of Love was worshipped, and coloured water was showered by merry men and mirthful maids on each other. The custom of throwing red powder and coloured water still obtains all over India, but Krishna has now appropriated to himself the worship which in ancient times was offered to the god of Love.

The queen goes to the garden to offer worship to the god of Love and requests the presence of the king. A-

lovely attendant of the queen, Sagarika by name, whom the queen had jealously guarded from the king's eyes, comes also to the garden, and she looks on the king from behind a tree and falls in love with him.

Sitting alone in the garden, the love-stricken maiden draws the likeness of him who has stolen her heart, but is discovered by a fellow-attendant who is equally proficient in painting, and who draws by the portrait of the king a likeness of Sagarika herself. The double portrait is lost through carelessness and is picked up by the king, who falls in love with the maiden whose picture he finds by his own. It is impossible not to find to this plot a counterpart of the story of Agnimitra, who falls in love with his queen's attendant on looking at her portrait.

Like Kalidasa's Dushyanta, the king picks up the lotus leaves which had been applied on Sagarika's feverish person, and finds in the pallid circles therein the contour of the maiden's well-proportioned bosom. Soon after the lovers meet, but as usual the meeting is interrupted by the untimely approach of the queen. Once again the queen finds undeniable evidence of the king's love for Sagarika; the king, like Kalidasa's Pururavas, falls at her feet, but the queen retires with ill-suppressed resentment.

The amorous Sagarika is, like Malavika, locked up by the angry queen. A magician then comes from Ujjayini, and shows off his feats. Soon after the palace seems to be on flame, and the king rushes to save Sagarika, who was enchained inside, and rescues her; but the flames disappear; it was only a feat of the magician! When Sagarika is brought out, she is recognised to be Ratnavali, the princess of Ceylon; and, like Malavika, Ratnavali is at last made over to the king by the queen herself.

A still more remarkable play, the *Nagananda*, is also attributed to Siladitya II., but is probably, like *Ratnavali*, the work of some poet of his court. We call it a remarkable work, because it is probably the only Indian Buddhist

drama which has come down to us. In this Buddhist play we find Hindu gods and goddesses mixed up with Buddhist objects of veneration. It is this which gives the work its special value.

Jimutavahana, prince of the Vidyadharas, finds Malayavati, princess of the Siddhas, engaged in the worship of Gauri (a Hindu goddess), and falls in love with her. He appears before her, as Dushyanta appeared before Sakuntala, and is received with courtesy, and the maiden, we need hardly say, falls in love with the prince. The usual symptoms of love, as in Sakuntala, affect Malayavati; she is feverish, and sandal-juice is applied to her person, and she is fanned with plantain-leaf.

Jimutavahana employs himself with drawing a portrait of the maiden who had stolen his heart. He asks for a piece of red arsenic to draw the portrait, and his companion picks up from the ground and brings some pieces, from which five colours (blue, yellow, red, brown, and variegated) could be obtained. From this account it would appear that the ancient Hindus, like the ancient painters of Pompei, used coloured earth and minerals for their painting.

Malayavati watches the young prince as he draws the picture, and thinking it was the portrait of some other maiden whom he loved, becomes jealous and faints. In the meantime Malayavati's father sends a message to Jimutavahana offering his daughter as his bride; but Jimutavahana does not yet know that the maiden he had seen was the princess herself, and desiring to be true to the maiden he had seen, refuses the hand of the princess!

The mistakes of both the lovers are soon removed. The prince discovers that the maiden with whom he had fallen in love is the very princess whose hand is offered to him, and the princess too soon discovers that the portrait which the prince had drawn is her own portrait. Wedding follows with great pomp and ceremony.

We have an amusing account here of a parasite of the king's court, Sekharaka, who has regaled himself too freely with wine during the festivities, and makes some ludicrous blunders. He declares that there are only two gods for him, Baladeva and Kama—the former being a Hindu god known for his drinking exploits, and the latter being the Hindu god of love; and the valiant knight goes out to meet his lady-love, a female slave with whom he is in love. Instead of meeting that sweet damsel, he meets the prince's companion, a Brahman, who had put his garment over his head to keep out insects, and so looked like a veiled woman. Sekharaka, not very keen in his perception, embraces the Brahman as his mistress, to the utter disgust of the latter, who stops his nose at the smell of liquor! Confusion is worse confounded when the sweet damsel herself appears on the spot; the not very discriminating lover is taxed with courting another maiden, and the Brahman is treated to some choice epithets as "tawny monkey," has his sacred thread torn, and offers to fall at the feet of the slave-girl in order to get out of the scrape. Everything, however, is at last explained satisfactorily.

We are then introduced to the bride and bridegroom in the raptures of their young love; the latter politely asks for a kiss in these words—

"O lovely one! if this face of thine with its pink flush as it is lighted up by the sun's rays, and with its soft down revealed by the spreading gleam of its teeth, is really a lotus, why is not a bee seen drinking the honey from it?"—BOYD.

But the lover is rudely interrupted by news about his kingdom which takes him away.

So far the story is like the story of other Hindu plays; but the last two Acts (V. and VI.) are essentially Buddhistic, and illustrate, of course in an extravagant form, the real virtue of self-sacrifice for the good of others.

Jimutavahana goes to the Western Ghats, and sees on

the sea-shore a heap of bones of Nagas killed by Garuda, the king of birds. Nagas are snakes, but in the conception of Hindu and Buddhist poets they are formed like men, except that they are scaly and have hoods rising from their backs. A compact has been made with Garuda that a Naga will be sent to him daily for his food; and as Jimutavahana sees a Naga tearing himself from his weeping mother and preparing himself as Garuda's food, his heart bleeds within him. He manages to offer himself up to the ferocious Garuda in place of the Naga, and the bird flies away with him.

There is wailing and lamentation in Jimutavahana's household when the Naga runs there and reports that the prince has offered himself a sacrifice. His old parents and his newly-married wife rush to where Garuda is still eating the prince's flesh, his life all but extinct. The real Naga also rushes in there and offers himself up to save the innocent prince, and thus proves his identity.

"Not to mention the mark of Svastika on the breast, are there not the scales on my body? Do you not count the two tongues as I speak? nor see these three hoods of mine?"—BOYD.

Garuda then discovers his mistake and is horrified.

"Alas! alas! his own body has been of his own accord presented for my food by this noble-minded one, through pity to save the life of a Naga who had fallen within the reach of my voracity. What a terrible sin have I committed! In a word, this is a Bodhisatva* whom I have slain."—BOYD.

Jimutavahana instructs Garuda how the sin can be expiated.

"Cease for ever from destroying life; repent of thy former deeds; labour to gather together an unbroken chain of good actions by inspiring confidence in all living beings."—BOYD.

The heroic prince expires after giving these instructions.

* A Bodhisatva is a potential Buddha, or one who has only one more birth remaining before he becomes a perfect Buddha.

as he had been more than half eaten up. His parents prepare to mount the funeral pyre to depart from this world. The lamenting young widow invokes Gauri, the goddess whom she invoked before marriage.

All ends happily. Gauri restores the prince to life, and Garuda prevails on Indra—a Hindu god—to revive to life all the Nagas whom he killed before. *Harm not living creatures*;—that is the moral of this Buddhist play.

Another century rolled on from the date of Siladitya II., and a truly great poet arose—not a plagiarist of Kalidasa, but his worthy peer in merit and in fame. Bhavabhuti, also called Srikantha, was a Brahman, born in Vidarbha or Berar, but soon attached himself to the learned court of Kanouj, then the literary capital of India. From his native region "stern and wild" the poetic child had imbibed that appreciation of Nature in her wild magnificence which distinguishes him from all other Sanscrit poets. From the cultured court of Kanouj he no doubt learnt that art of poetry and the rules of drama which set off the effusions of his genius. He was not destined, however, to pass his days in Kanouj. Yasovarman, the king of Kanouj, was defeated by the powerful Lalitaditya, king of Kashmir, and the poet accompanied the conqueror to Kashmir.

Three of Bhavabhuti's pieces have come down to us. We will begin with the *Malatimadhava*, or the loves of Malati and Madhava.

Madhava is the son of Devarata, the minister of the poet's own country, Vidarbha, or Berar, and has come to Padmavati or Ujjayini to complete his studies. In that town, as he walked along the streets, Malati, the daughter of the minister of the place—

"From her casement has beheld the youth,—he graceful as the god of love, herself love's blooming bride,—not seen in vain."—H. H. WILSON.

On the occasion of the annual festival of the god of

Love, the people flock to the shrine of Love to pay their homage. Malati too repairs to the shrine on an elephant, and meets Madhava, and the youth and maiden gaze on each other, and fall in love.

But the course of true love never does run smooth; and the king of Padmavati has promised Malati's hand to a favourite, Nandana, and the king's minister, Malati's father, dares not openly refuse his consent. The news is a bolt from the blue to the love-stricken maiden, and Kamandaki, a Buddhist priestess or abbess, exclaims in pity—

"What can I aid? Fate and her sire alone exact obedience from a daughter. True Sakuntala, of Kusika's high race, bestowed her love on a self-chosen lord, the king Dushyanta. A bright nymph of heaven espoused a mortal monarch, Pururavas, and the fair princess, Vasavadatta, scorned the husband of her father's choice, and fled with Prince Udayana. So poets tell, but these were desperate acts."—WILSON.

It is apparent that the priestess, or rather the poet, refers here to his great predecessor Kalidasa's two works, and also to the story of Vasavadatta, which was so popular a theme of fiction and drama in the court of Siladitya II.

The Buddhist priestess, however, had made up her mind to help Malati and Madhava. They have an interview in the house of the priestess, but Malati is torn away thence by the order of the queen. Madhava in despair determines to apply to mysterious rites for gaining his end, and this leads us to a scene of awful Tantrika worship. The genius of Bhavabhuti never appears to greater advantage than when depicting a scene of magnificence or terror.

In a field in which dead bodies are burnt is situated a temple of the terrific goddess Chamunda, and the malignant priestess, Kapala Kundala, with her necklace of skulls (as her name implies), is engaged in worship.

There goes Madhava with his offering of raw flesh, to obtain from ghosts some help towards the attainment of his end. He offers the flesh to ghosts and goblins and exclaims—

"Now wake the terrors of the place, beset
With crowding and malignant fiends; the flames
From funeral pyres scarce lend their sullen light,
Clogged with their fleshly prey, to dissipate
The fearful gloom that hems them in. Pale ghosts
Sport with foul goblins, and their dissonant mirths
In shrill respondent shrieks is echoed round.
Well, be it so. I seek and must address them.
Demons of ill, and disembodied spirits,
Who haunt this spot, I bring you flesh for sale;
The flesh of man, untouched by trenchant steel,
And worthy your acceptance. (*A great noise.*)
How the noise,
High, shrill, and indistinct, of chattering sprites
Communicative, fills the charnel ground!
Strange forms like foxes flit along the sky:
From the red hair of their lank bodies darts
The meteor blaze; or from their mouths that stretch
From ear to ear, thick set with numerous fangs,
Or eyes or beards or brows, the radiance streams.
And now I see the goblin host: . . . .

. . . . . .

They mark my coming, and the half-chewed morsel
Falls to the howling wolf,—and now they fly.

(*Pauses, and looking round.*)

Race, dastardly as hideous! All is plunged
In utter gloom. The river flows before me,
The boundary of the funeral ground, that winds
Through mouldering bones its interrupted way.
Wild raves the torrent as it rushes past
And rends its crumbling banks; the wailing owl
Hoots through its skirting groves, and to the sounds
The loud long-moaning jackal yells reply."—WILSON.

Suddenly Madhava hears the voice, musical and wild, of a young woman in distress—

"Ah, cruel father! She you meant an offering
To the king's favour, now deserted dies."—WILSON.

That voice is not unfamiliar to Madhava's ears; he bursts into the temple and finds Malati dressed as a victim and about to be sacrificed by Aghoraghanta, the terrible priest of Chamunda. Some Tantrika rites require the sacrifice of a virgin, and the sweetest and purest virgin in Padmavati town had been selected and kidnapped for this sacrifice. Malati herself does not know that she was stolen:

"I reposed," she says,
"At eve upon the terrace: when I woke
I found myself a prisoner."—WILSON.

Madhava rescues his beloved and slays the malignant priest. But the more malignant priestess Kapala Kundala vows revenge.

We pass by a great many minor incidents. At last Malati elopes with Madhava. The king sends his guards to arrest the culprits; but Madhava beats back the guards, and the king generously forgives him in consideration of his valour.

Here the play might happily have ended with the marriage of the lovers with the king's sanction; but Bhavabhuti prolongs the story to bring in some powerful description of nature and of human feelings. His incidents and plot, as usual, are extravagant, but his descriptions are matchless in power. Malati is once more kidnapped by the foul priestess Kapala Kundala, and Madhava goes in search of her among the Vindhya mountains. Saudamini, who was a Buddhist priestess before, but has now acquired supernatural powers by the practice of *Yoga*, resolves to help Madhava; and from her lips we have a powerful description of the locality:—

"How wide the prospect spreads,—mountain and rock,
Towns, villages and woods, and glittering streams!
There where the Para and the Sindhu wind,

The towers and temples, pinnacles and gates,
And spires of Padmavati, like a city
Precipitated from the skies, appear,
Inverted in the pure translucent wave.
There flows Lavana's frolic stream, whose groves
By early rains refreshed, afford the youth
Of Padmavati pleasant haunts, and where
Upon the herbage, brightening in the shower,
The heavy uddered kine contented browse.
Hark! how the banks of the broad Sindhu fall,
Crashing, in the undermining current,
Like the loud voice of thunder-laden clouds;
The sound extends, and like Heramba's roar,
As deepened by the hollow echoing caverns,
It floats reverberating round the hills.
Those mountains, coated with thick clustering woods
Of fragrant sandal and ripe Malura
Recall to memory the lofty mountains
That southward stretch, where Godavari
Impetuous flashes through the dark deep shade
Of skirting forests, echoing to her fury."—WILSON.

Saudamini, by her magical powers, at last rescues Malati, and Malati is happily wedded to Madhava.

The other two plays of Bhavabhuti are taken from the Ramayana. One of them, the *Mahavira Charita*, narrates the story of Rama from his boyhood to his conquests in Ceylon and return with Sita to his native country. This play is decidedly inferior to the other plays of Bhavabhuti, but nevertheless contains passages of great power. There is a ring of true poetry in the passage in which the ancient king Janaka (the promulgator of the Upanishads and the proud asserter of the Kshatriya's equality with Brahmans in learning) is roused to indignation by the pretensions of Parasurama, the son of Jamadagni. The old king indignantly exclaims: "Although he hates us, still we have had patience with him so long. When he shakes us again like a blade of grass, then let the bow be bent against him, although he be a Brahman."

The source of the Godavari, in the poet's own native land, is thus described:—

"Where, amid Janasthana's frowning woods,
The tall Prasravana uprears his head,
Dark tinctured in the clouds, and bathes his brow
With their descending dews; thence through his caves,
He culls the oozing moisture, and sends forth
The pure Godavari to win her way,
Stately and clear, through ancient trees that shade,
Impervious tangling, her majestic course."—WILSON.

The other play, *Uttara Rama Charita* continues the story of the Ramayana to Sita's exile, and to the reconciliation of Rama with his children Lava and Kusa. In power and in graphic description, this play is equal to the Malati Madhava, while in pathos and tenderness it will compare with anything in the whole range of Sanscrit literature.

The story is the story of the Ramayana, and need not be told in detail. The play opens with a conversation of Rama and Sita, now returned from Ceylon, and seated on the throne of Ayodhya or Oude. In the second scene, Lakshmana exhibits to them a series of paintings representing the past occurrences of Rama's life, and the gentle Sita can scarcely look over the scenes of her past sufferings without sorrow. The poet, of course, has a word to say about his beloved Godavari, which

"Bursts forth, and down the mountain wends her way
Through gloomy shades and thick entangling woods."
—WILSON.

And Rama reminds Sita of their happy days passed there in touching lines,—

"Recall'st thou, love, our humble happy dwelling
Upon the borders of the shining stream
Where every hour in fond endearments wrapped,
Or in sweet interchange of thought engaged,
We lived in transport, not a wish beyond
Each other, reckless of the flight of time?"
—WILSON.

The languid Sita, then gone with child, wants repose, and Rama lovingly addresses her—

"Be these arms thy pillow,
Thine, ever since the nuptial knot united us,
Thine, in the days of infancy and youth,
In lonely thickets and in princely palaces,
Thine, ever thine.
Sita. True, true, my ever kind and cherished lord. [*Sleeps.*
Rama. Her latest waking words are words of love,
And nought of her but is most dear to me.
Her presence is ambrosia to my sight;
Her contact fragrant sandal; her fond arms
Twined round my neck are a far richer clasp
Than costliest gems; and in my house she reigns
The guardian goddess of my fame and fortune.
Oh! I could never bear again to lose her."—WILSON.

The last sentiment is artfully put in here by the poet, for Rama is on the eve of losing Sita again. Weak, as he is loving and gentle, he hears with distress, immediately after leaving Sita in her sleep, that his subjects are ill-pleased with his conduct in accepting Sita again, after she had been carried away by Ravana. Too weak to bear popular dissatisfaction, he submits to their desires, and sends poor Sita to exile.

Twelve years have since passed and gone. The twins to whom Sita gave birth soon after her exile have grown to be sturdy boys, versed in arms as in learning under the tuition of Valmiki. Sita leads a pensive life in the forests, her face

"Pale and wan and wet with tears,
She moves along like Tenderness
Invested with a mortal dress;
Or like embodied Grief she shines,
That sad o'er love in absence pines."—WILSON.

It is arranged that Sita, rendered invisible by divine power, should have an interview with Rama, and the

poet must needs have the interview on the banks of the Godavari. There Rama strays, accompanied by Vasanti, of friend of Sita, and Sita and Tamasa,—invisible to Rama,—also repair there. Every scene there recalls to Rama the bygone days when Rama and Sita lived there together, and fills him with grief; and Vasanti does not fail, by cruel though gentle hints, to bring home to Rama his injustice towards Sita. Bhavabhuti is too spirited not to feel indignant at Rama's extreme weakness in yielding to popular clamour, and at his unspeakable injustice in sending an innocent and helpless and loving wife to exile. And though the poet shares a Hindu's feeling of general respect for Rama, yet the reader can perceive the poet is determined to give Rama "a bit of his mind," for his unparalleled feebleness and crime.

Vasanti takes care to remind Rama,—

"Here in this plantain grove
Behold the marble which in happier days
Supported thee and Sita. Here she sat,
And from her hands gave fodder to the deer
That boldly crowded round their gentle mistress.
Rama. I cannot bear to look upon it." [*Weeps.*
—WILSON.

Poor Sita, who is present, though invisible to Rama, can bear it no longer; she exclaims—

"Vasanti, this is cruel:
My lord demands respect from all, and most
From those who love me."—WILSON.

But Vasanti is inexorable, and goes on speaking to Rama.

"How hadst thou the heart
To drive that gentle being from thee? Once
She was thy love, thy other dearer life,
Light of thine eyes, and nectar of thy soul." *—WILSON.

* No student of Sanscrit who has read these lines in the original, has ever forgotten their matchless beauty, rhythm, and tenderness.

In vain does Rama plead the people's will. Vasanti goes on, and makes horrible suggestions as to the fate which has probably overtaken Sita after her exile in the forest. Rama shudders and weeps aloud. Sita can witness her lord's sufferings no longer, and exclaims to Tamasa, "Alas! he weeps aloud." But Tamasa answers—

> "'Tis better thus
> To give our sorrows way. Sufferers should speak
> Their griefs; the bursting heart that overflows
> In words obtains relief."—WILSON.

We almost think we are perusing a paraphrase of Shakespeare's matchless lines in Macbeth,—

> "Give sorrow words; the grief that does not speak,
> Whispers the o'erfraught heart and makes it break."

And yet the bard of Vidarbha lived eight centuries before the bard of Avon!

The cruel lesson is administered to Rama until he faints. Sita, herself invisible, touches his forehead, and at that loving touch Rama revives, exclaiming, "Joy, joy, Vasanti! wilt thou share my joy?" and declares that he has felt the touch of Sita's hand—

> "I could not be deceived,
> Too well I know the touch of that dear hand
> The marriage rite first placed in mine; even now
> Cool as the snow drift to my fevered palm,
> And soft as jasmine buds, I grasp it?"—WILSON.

But Sita gets away. She and Tamasa must depart, but she can scarcely tear herself away.

> "Oh, let me look,
> A little moment longer, on a form,
> I never, never, may behold again!"—WILSON.

And before leaving, she exclaims—

> "I bow me to the feet of my dear lord,
> The source of every blessing."—WILSON.

Yes, the poor, banished, injured Sita bows to the feet of her dear lord,—that lord who had heedlessly, feebly, cruelly sent her to the forest,—alone, helpless, on the eve of her confinement! Female self-abnegation can go on further; undying love has never been more forcibly represented; human imagination has never pictured a nobler, purer, saintlier character than that of the gentle, ever-loving, all-forgiving Sita.

Once again, in another place, the poet gives vent to his indignation at Rama's feeble conduct. The ancient king Janaka, revered as much for his prowess as for his holy life and his Vedic lore, grows indignant when he remembers his daughter's sufferings. The warm blood tingles in his old veins when he ponders on Rama's conduct, and he bursts out in rage—

> "Shame on the thankless race that wronged thy fame,
> And Rama's haste to listen to their calumnies.
> The cruel blow that has overwhelmed my child
> Arouses all my soul, and tempts my wrath
> To deal with arms, or direr imprecations,
> Destruction on my Sita's persecutors."—WILSON.

The story of Rama's Asvamedha sacrifice is well known. The horse is let loose, and Rama's sons dare to detain it, and thus unwillingly provoke hostilities with Rama's forces. The meeting of Lava and Chandraketu is well described. Both are young heroes, full of ardour for battle, but displaying chivalrous courtesy and respect towards each other. Chandraketu descends from his car,—why?

> "To pay my homage to this valiant youth,
> And do a soldier's duty. To assail
> At such advantage one who fights on foot
> The god of arms forbids."—WILSON.

And this was written centuries before chivalry was developed in Europe.

The sage Valmiki arranges a happy reconciliation with which the play is to conclude; but the poet must have another hit at Rama before he lays down his pen. A theatrical performance is to take place before Rama, and the subject is Rama's desertion of his wife! Sita on the stage calls for help when deserted, and in her distress and agony throws herself in the Ganges. Rama can bear it no longer, and starts up exclaiming—

"Dear love, forbear! I fly to thy assistance."—WILSON.

His brother Lakshmana reminds him—

"Does my lord remember, what he views is but a fiction?

Rama. Alas! that such a portion should have been the gift of Rama to his tender bride, the dear companion of his forest dwelling."—WILSON.

The reader is herein reminded of the stage in Hamlet, which was contrived to convict Hamlet's uncle of his guilt. The play ends happily, Rama receives back Sita and his boys Lava and Kusa, and the people of Ayodhya are penitent, and bend "in prostrate homage to the Queen."

When we have spoken of Kalidasa and of Bhavabhuti, we have spoken of all that is best in the Sanscrit dramatic literature. Several hundreds of plays must have been composed and enacted in what we may call the Augustan Era of Sanscrit literature, but the works of genius only survive; polished imitation and lifeless pieces do not stand the test of time. Some of the masterpieces of Shakespeare will be read even after Shakespeare's language becomes a dead language, but Peel, Green, and Marlowe, or even Ben Jonson will scarcely be remembered twelve centuries after the date of Elizabeth.

The total number of Hindu plays which exist, or which are alluded to by writers on the Drama, is estimated by H. H. Wilson to be not more than sixty. Most of these, however, are of a comparatively recent date, and very few

are of any merit, or are generally known or read. The only pieces (besides those spoken of above) which are generally known and read at the present day are the *Mrichchhakati*, the *Mudra Rakshasa*, and the *Veni Sanhara*. A word or two about them will suffice.

The Mrichchhakati is ascribed to a king Sudraka, and the time of its composition is unknown. Internal evidence leads us, however, to think that it must be referred to the brilliant literary period which commenced with the sixth century. Its style is not widely different from the style of composition of the other plays, of this period, and, like many of them, it has its scene at Ujjayini. The Puranic Trinity—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—is recognised (Act VI), Buddhists have already become objects of aversion, though persecution has not yet commenced (Act VII), and the Code of Manu is the recognised law for the administration of justice (Act IX). For the rest, the Mrichchhakati deals not with princes and princesses, but with men and women in the ordinary walks of life; it gives us an insight into the town life of the olden days, with its system of justice and police, its gambling and other vices; and it is a fairly correct picture of the people and their manners. We shall have to allude to the play frequently when we come to the subject of the manners and civilisation of this Period.

The Mudra Rakshasa is a more recent play, and the author is Visakha Datta. The closing speech of the drama would seem to show that the Musalmans were already masters of India when this play was composed. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it refers to the political revolution by which Chanakya helped Chandragupta to secure the throne of the Magadhas about 320 B.C. The contrast between the character of Chanakya, who is scheming, vindictive, violent, and inexorable, and that of Rakshasa, who is generous, straightforward, noble, and faithful, is finely drawn.

The play of Veni Sanhara is attributed to Bhatta

Narayana, who is said to have been one of the Brahmans who came on Adisura's invitation from Kanouj to Bengal. Many Brahmans in Bengal still claim descent from the author of this piece. The subject is taken from the Mahabharata. Draupadi, when lost by Yudhisthira at dice, was dragged in the public assembly by Duhsasana by her Veni or braided hair, and she resolved that her hair would remain dishevelled until that insult was revenged. The insult was revenged when Bhima killed Duryodhana, and Draupadi's hair was bound up again. There are passages which are vigorous, but on the whole the play is harsh in style and rude in execution, and it belongs obviously to a period not very long before the Mahommedan conquest of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

POETRY.

THE name of Kalidasa stands foremost in poetry as in drama. There is a series of *Mahakavyas* or epics in Sanscrit belonging to the period of which we are now speaking, and the two best of them are Kalidasa's. One is called *Raghuvansa* or the race of Raghu, and the other is *Kumara Sambhava* or the birth of Kumara, the war god.

The first is a long account of the royal race of Ayodhya, beginning with the founder of the dynasty and ending with the last kings of Rama's race. The subject is one more suited for history than for poetry, but the genius of the poet enlivens the whole story. Scenes from the lives of kings are painted with all the skill of a great master; the descriptions are always rich and spirited, and often rise to true poetry; and the reader remains from the first to the last under the spell of Kalidasa's rich and superb fancy, and his inimitable sweetness of versification.

One of the happiest and most remarkable passages in the whole work is that in which Rama, after winning back Sita from Ceylon, travels through the air in a celestial car all the way to Ayodhya. All India with her rivers and forests and mountains and the blue waters of the ocean lie below, and Rama points out the different places to his gentle and loving consort. Apart from the beauty of the passage, it is interesting as giving us some notion of the geography of India as known to the literary men of Ujjayini in the sixth century.

In our opinion Kalidasa takes a bolder flight, in his Kumara Sambhava. Here he does not narrate the history of a race of kings, but paints from the exhaustible storehouse of his imagination the love of Uma for the great Siva, and their happy union.

Uma was born the daughter of the deity of the Himalaya mountains, and a sweeter child never saw the light.

"Blest was that hour, and all the world was gay,
When Mena's daughter saw the light of day.
A rosy glow filled all the brightening sky,
And odorous breeze came sweeping softly by,
Breathed round the hill a sweet unearthly strain,
And the glad heavens poured down their flowery rain."
—GRIFFITH.

The early years of the gentle maiden are described with exquisite grace and sweetness; but a great future awaits her. The gods intend her as a bride to the mighty Siva, for unto them will be born a child who will lead the gods to victory against the Asuras. Siva is now engaged in pious contemplation in the Himalaya mountains, and it is arranged that the youthful Uma will wait on the mighty god as a handmaiden, and look after all his needs.

We can remember nothing lovelier and fresher in the creations of fancy than the image of Uma clad in chaste garments and decorated with flowers, attending on the great god in his devotions, collecting flowers for him, and doing him due obeisance. In doing obeisance she stooped so low

"That from her hair,
Dropped the bright flower that starred the midnight there."
—GRIFFITH.

And Siva, pleased with her homage, blessed her.

"Surely thou shalt be
Blessed with a husband who loves none but thee."
—GRIFFITH.

Everything might have gone on smoothly to the desired

end, if the mischievous god of Love had not interfered. He marks the moment of Siva's weakness, and lets go his unerring shaft. Let the poet narrate the effect on the hermit-god Siva :—

"Like the moon's influence on the sea at rest,
Came passion stealing over the hermit's breast,
While on the maiden's lip that mocked the dye
Of ripe red fruit he bent his melting eye.
And oh! how showed the lady's love for him,
The heaving bosom and each quivering limb!
Like young Kadambas, when the leaf buds swell
At the warm touch of spring they love so well,
But still with downcast eyes she sought the ground,
And durst not turn their burning glances round.
Then with strong effort Siva lulled to rest
The storm of passion in his troubled breast,
And seeks, with angry eyes that round him roll,
Whence came the tempest over his tranquil soul.
He looked and saw the bold young archer stand,
His bow bent ready in his skilful hand,
Drawn towards the eye,—his shoulder well depressed,
And the left foot thrown forward as a rest.
Then was the hermit-god to madness lashed,
Then from his eye red flames of fury flashed.
So changed the beauty of that glorious brow,
Scarce could the gaze support its terror now.
Hark! heavenly voices sighing through the air;
'Be calm, great Siva, O be calm and spare!'
Alas! the angry eye's resistless flashes
Have scorched the gentle king of love to ashes!"

—GRIFFITH.

Love's bride laments the death of her lord, and Uma in mortification and grief retires into a wood and begins penances and prayer. The poet launches again into a description of the gentle and tender girl subjecting herself to hard penances unsuited to her frame. Summer is passed amid scorching fires,—in autumn she remains exposed to the rains,—and the blasts of winter see her still unshaken in her purpose.

A young hermit comes to inquire the reason of these

severe penances undertaken by a young and tender damsel. Uma's maidens explain to him the cause, but the hermit can scarcely believe that so gentle a creature should be in love with so unlovable a god as Siva, who remains smeared with ashes, and wanders about in funeral places.

> "Impatient Uma listened; the quick blood
> Rushed to her temples in an angry flood."—GRIFFITH.

She explains to the unmannerly hermit with passionate eloquence the glories of the great deity whom none knows and none can comprehend, and she rises to depart from the place in anger and scorn.

> "She turned away, with wrath her bosom swelling,
> Its vest of bark in angry pride repelling,—
> But sudden lo, before her wondering eyes
> In altered form she sees the sage arise;
> 'Tis Siva's self before the astonished maid
> In all his gentlest majesty arrayed!"—GRIFFITH.

Yes, it is Siva himself, who had refused to be forced into love, but is now propitiated and pleased with Uma's penances, and now humbly craves a return of his affection from Uma the mountain maid!

Among the shorter poems of Kalidasa, the best and sweetest is the *Meghaduta* or the Cloud Messenger. The story is simple. A Yaksha is banished by royal order from his home for being too fond of his wife and neglecting his duties; and in his exile he gazes on the dark cloud of the rainy season and bids it carry a message of love to his dear beloved at home. The lover indicates the way by which the cloud should proceed, and the poet describes the various parts of India from the Vindhyas to the Himalaya mountains in verse, which, for richness of fancy and melody of rhythm, has never been excelled in the literature of the world.

"On Naga Nadi's banks thy waters shed,
And raise the feeble jasmine's languid head.
Grant for a while thy interposing shroud,
To where those damsels woo the friendly cloud;
As while the garland's flowery stores they seek,
The scorching sunbeams tinge their tender cheek,
The ear-hung lotus fades, and vain they chase,
Fatigued and faint, the drops that dew the face.
What though to northern climes thy journey lay,
Consent to track a shortly devious way.
To fair *Ujjaini's* palaces and pride
And beauteous daughters turn awhile aside;
Those glancing eyes, those lightning looks unseen,
Dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been.

. . . . . .

Behold the city whose immortal fame
Glows in *Avanti's* or *Visala's* name!
Renowned for deeds that worth and love inspire,
And bards to paint them with poetic fire:
The fairest portion of celestial birth,
Of Indra's paradise transferred to earth,
The last reward to acts austerest given,
The only recompense then left to heaven.
Here as the early zephyrs waft along,
In swelling harmony, the woodland song,
They scatter sweetness from the fragrant flower,
That joyful opens to the morning hour;
With friendly zeal they sport around the maid
Who early courts their vivifying aid,
And cool from *Sipra's* jelid waves embrace
Each languid limb and enervated grace."—WILSON.

Bharavi, who was a contemporary or a successor of Kalidasa, is by a long way inferior to him in all the qualities which make a great and a true poet. In the richness of a creative fancy, in true tenderness and pathos, and even in the sweetness and melody of verse, Kalidasa is incomparably a greater poet. But nevertheless Bharavi boasts of a vigour of thought and of language, a spirited and lofty eloquence in expression, which Kalidasa seldom equals. Only one Mahakavya, the *Kiratarjuniam* of Bharavi, has been left to us, and it is one

of the most vigorous and spirited poems in the Sanscrit language.

The story is taken from the Mahabharata. Yudhisthira is in exile, and his spirited wife Draupadi urges him to break the treaty with his cousins and to win back his kingdom. With the burning eloquence of a proud and a wronged woman, she points out to him that peace and submission ill become a Kshatriya; that faith is not to be kept with the faithless; that kingdoms and glory are not won by meekness and resignation.

"Counsel to a saintly monarch
Is rebuke from woman weak,
"But, ignoring woman's duty,
Pardon if my feelings speak!

"Spurn this sloth, assume thy prowess,
Dire destruction quick devise,
"Hermits saintly, not proud monarchs,
Ever-during patience prize!

"If forgiveness thou wilt cherish
Quelling pride and noble ire,
"Forego this bow of royal glory,
Plait thy locks and worship Fire!"

(*An unpublished translation by the present writer.*)

Yudhisthira's spirited brother Bhima supports Draupadi; but Yudhisthira is not to be moved from his plighted word, and recommends resignation. In the meantime Vyasa, the mythical compiler of the Vedas, comes to see the king in his exile, and advises Arjuna to seek by penance those celestial arms, with which he will conquer his foes in the hour of battle. Arjuna accordingly takes leave of his brothers, and Draupadi of course urges him on to the task with her persuasive eloquence. The hero retires into the solitudes of the Himalaya mountains to perform his penances.

No part of the poem brings out Bharavi's merits as a poet to greater advantage than the account of Arjuna's penances in this wild solitude. His innate pride and

prowess are admirably contrasted with his present peaceful vocation; and the influence of his presence is felt by the animate and inanimate creatures of the peaceful hermitage. Indra's messenger sees this strange hermit, and reports to the god accordingly:

"Like a luminary of the sky,
Though clad in barks, on yonder hill,
"A man, intent on purpose high,
Doth penances! And earth is still!

"His arms, whose muscles snake-like coil,
Hold a mighty powerful bow;
"But gentle are his deeds and toil,
No gentler hermit lives below!

"The wind blows soft, the sward is green,
And gentle rains the dust allay.
"By worth subdued, the elements
In one accord obeisance pay!

"The forest beasts their strife forget,
And listen to his beck and word;
"For him the trees with blossoms wait,
The mountains own him as their lord!

"His toil bespeaks a purpose high,
His mien denotes success is near.
"A gentle hermit!—But his eye
Instils a sense of awe and fear!

"If from saints he is descended,
From Daityas sprung, or kingly line,
"I know not, lord! Nor why in woods
He penance doth and rites divine."

(*Unpublished translation.*)

Indra is pleased with the message, for Arjuna is his son, and Indra wishes him success. But nevertheless he is resolved to try the mortal as he tries all anchorites, and sends celestial nymphs to lure the hero from his austere rites. Our author launches into a description of these lovely nymphs in four cantos, describing how they gather

flowers and plunge into a river, and appear with renovated beauty before the solitary anchorite.

Pale with penances and rites,
In arms accoutred, calm and great,
Peaceful as the mighty Vedas
Arjun's self at last they met!

Resplendent in a robe of light,
Alone upon a hill he stood,
Like the beauteous lord of night!
And seemed the god of all the wood!

Pale with penances,—but great!
Unapproachable,—in his peaceful bower!
Alone,—but strong as hosts in might!
A saint,—but wielding Indra's power!
(*Unpublished translation.*)

Such was the hero whom the nymphs meet, and such was the saint whom they vainly try to tempt. The celestial beauties retire, somewhat humbled, and then Indra himself comes in the guise of an old anchorite to dissuade Arjuna from his penances; even as Kalidasa's Siva comes in disguise to dissuade Uma from hers. The mutability of worldly grandeur, the folly of seeking power and fame, the wisdom of seeking true virtue and salvation—all these are pleaded by the disguised god with convincing eloquence; but Arjuna remains unconvinced and unshaken in his purpose.

"Father! thy advice is holy,
But alas it suits not me,
As the starry sky of night
Doth not suit the light of day.

For I seek to wash our stain,—
Stain for which this heart hath bled,—
With the teardrops for the slain
By their sorrowing widows shed!

If the hope on which I've rested
Be unreal, idle, vain,
Be it so;—thy words are wasted!
Pardon, if I cause thee pain.

Till I conquer, crush my foe,
Win again our long-lost fame,
Salvation's self to me were vain,—
Hind'rance to my lofty aim!"
(*Unpublished translation.*)

Indra is not ill-pleased with this unshaken determination, which yields neither to temptation nor to reason; and the god discloses himself and points out to the hero the way to win the celestial arms he seeks, by the worship of Siva, who alone can bestow them.

Once more Arjuna engages in penances and severe austerities, until the fame of his rigid piety is carried to Siva himself. Siva now comes to meet the pious Kshatriya—not in the guise of an old man to dissuade him from his religious performances, but as a warrior wishing to try a warrior's steel. He assumes the guise of a Kirata or wild hunter, and a mighty boar which came to attack Arjuna is slain. Both Arjuna and the disguised god claim the merit of having slain the animal, and thus a quarrel is picked up which leads to a fight, which our author describes in no less than six cantos.

The battle, though full of striking and spirited passages, is nevertheless described in the extravagant style common to Hindu poets. Arms of snakes, arms of fire, and arms of clouds and rain are discharged until the firmament is filled with hissing serpents, roaring flames, or copious torrents of rain! But all these miraculous weapons are of little avail to Arjuna; to the hero's great astonishment, the wild hunter replies to every weapon with a mightier one, and is more than a match for the most skilled warrior of the period!

Astonished at the hunter's skill,
Arjun, conqueror of his foes,
Paused in silence and in doubt,
Misgivings such as these arose!

"Warriors great, of matchless power,
I have met and beaten all,

"Doth the sun bow to the moon?
Before this swain shall Arjun fall?

"Is this magic, is this dream?
Am I great Arjuna still?
"Why conquers not my mighty power
This mountaineer's untutored skill?

"Rending the sky, as if in twain,
Shaking the wide earth's solid frame,
"How fights this boorish mountaineer!
Deeds a man disguised proclaim!

"Not Bhishma's self nor Drona owns
Such skill to shield, to send his dart!
"Can a simple mountain swain
Possess such superhuman art?"

(*Unpublished translation.*)

At length, deprived of all arms, Arjuna springs on his invincible foe to wrestle him down. The wrestling goes on long, and Siva, no mean wrestler, springs into the air to attack Arjuna, and the latter holds him by the feet to pull him down. This appeal the mighty god cannot withstand; a faithful worshipper holds him by the feet, Siva reveals himself, and blesses the saintly warrior, and bestows on him the coveted arms by which he is to win back his kingdom and his fame.

Such is the celebrated poem of Bharavi, which does not boast of any interesting plot or any striking creations of fancy, but which is characterised by a force and vigour of sentiment and expression which have given the poem a place among the unperishable works of the ancient Hindus.

Coming now to the seventh century, we know on the authority of the Chinese traveller I-tsing that the poet Bhartrihari graced the age of Siladitya II. Bhartrihari's *Satakas* show that he was a Hindu, but they are nevertheless marked by the Buddhist spirit of the time in which he lived. Professor Tawney of Calcutta has rendered some of them into elegant and spirited English

verse, and a few extracts will convey an idea of the original to the reader :—

"Not to swerve from truth or mercy, not for life to stoop to shame ;
From the poor no gifts accepting, nor from men of evil fame ;
Lofty faith and proud submission—who on fortune's giddy ledge,
Firm can tread this path of duty, narrow as the sabre's edge ?"

"Abstinence from sin of bloodshed, and from speech of others' wives,
Truth and open-handed largess, love for men of holy lives,
Freedom from desire and avarice,—Such the path that leads to bliss,
Path which every sect may travel, and the simple cannot miss."

"Treachery is of crimes the blackest,
Avarice is a world of vice,
Truth is nobler far than penance,
Purity than sacrifice.
Charity 's the first of virtues,
Dignity doth most adorn,
Knowledge triumphs unassisted,
Better death than public scorn."

"You are a lord of acres
But we are lords of song ;
And we subdue the subtle,
If you subdue the strong :
The rich of you are speaking,
In me the wise believe,
And if you find me irksome,
Why then—I take my leave."

"What profit are the Vedas,
Or books of legal lore,
Or those long-winded legends
Repeated o'er and o'er ?
What gain we by our merits ?
A dwelling in the skies—
A miserable mansion,
That men of sense despise—

All these are huckstering methods—
Give me that perfect way—
Of self-contained fruition,
Where pain is done away."

"A hermit's forest cell, and fellowship with deer,
A harmless meal of fruit, stone beds beside the stream;
Are helps to those who long for Siva's guidance here;
But be the mind devout, our homes will forests seem."

—C. H. TAWNEY.

The extracts of Bhartrihari given above will enable the reader to appreciate the opinion of Professor Lassen, that it is the terse and epigrammatic character of Bhartrihari's short poems which make them conspicuous among the productions of the Indian muse; and the perfect art with which they are composed make them worthy of being ranked among the masterpieces of Indian genius.

We have seen before that a Mahakavya known as *Bhattikavya* is also probably the work of Bhartrihari. It is the story of the Ramayana told briefly; the remarkable feature of the work is that it has been written to teach grammar! All the conjugational forms of verbs which are difficult to remember, and all other difficult derivations of words have been interwoven in melodious verse, so that the student who knows the poem knows Sanscrit grammar also. The poetry does not aspire to the beauty of Kalidasa's poems, or the dignity of Bharavi's work, but the mastery of words and the art of composition are perfect and matchless, and worthy of the author of the epigrammatic Satakas.

Two other Mahakavyas are also generally studied by Hindu students; but both these are later productions, and belong probably to the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when the Rajputs had become masters of India. One of them is *Naishadha* of Sri Harsha, and the other is *Sisupalavadha* of Magha. The stories of both are taken from the Mahabharata.

Naishadha is the well-known story of Nala and Dama-

yanti, one of the most touching episodes of the great epic. Dr. Buhler fixes the dates of this poem in the twelfth century. The poet is said by Rajasekhara to have been born in Benares, but he was certainly familiar with Bengal; and Vidyapati, a Bengali poet of the fourteenth century, claims Sri Harsha to be a Bengali. It is possible, as has been conjectured, that he migrated from the North-West to Bengal.

Sisupalabadha, as its name implies, is the story of the destruction of the proud king Sisupala by Krishna. It is a distant imitation of Bharavi's Kiratarjuniya; and the name *Magha* (a winter month) is probably assumed by the author to indicate that he takes away the glory of *Bharavi* (which means the sun). According to the *Bhoja Pravandha*, he was a contemporary of King Bhoja of Dhara in the eleventh century.

The most melodious song that has ever been written in Sanscrit is the *Gita Govinda*, written by Jayadeva of Bengal in the twelfth century.

Jayadeva was a poet of the court of Lakshmana Sena, as has been proved by the colophon of an ancient copy of his poem discovered by Dr. Buhler in Kashmir, and he obtained from the king the title of Kaviraja. His poem relates to the loves of Krishna and Radha, and has been rendered with matchless grace and beauty into English verse by Sir Edwin Arnold. One extract will suffice. It describes erring Krishna's amours with other nymphs, and describes the gratification of the five senses; smell, sight, touch, taste, and hearing:—

"One with star blossomed champac wreathed, woos him to rest his head,
On the dark pillow of her breast so tenderly outspread;
And o'er his brow with roses blown she fans a fragrance rare,
That falls on the enchanted sense like rain in thirsty air;
While the company of damsels wave many an odorous spray,
And Krishna laughing, toying, sighs the soft spring away.

Another gazing in his face, sits wistfully apart,
Searching it with those looks of love that leap from heart to heart;
Her eyes—afire with shy desire, veiled by their lashes black—
Speak so that Krishna cannot choose but send the message back;
In the company of damsels whose bright eyes in the ring
Shine round him with soft meanings in the merry light of spring.

The third one of that dazzling band of dwellers in the wood—
Body and bosom panting with the pulse of youthful blood—
Leans over him, as in his ear a lightsome thing to speak,
And then with leaf-soft lip imprints a kiss below his cheek;
A kiss that thrills, and Krishna turns at the silken touch
To give it back,—Ah, Radha! forgetting thee too much.

And one with arch smile beckons him away from Jumna's banks,
Where the tall bamboo bristle like spears in battle ranks,
And plucks his cloth to make him come into the mango shade,
Where the fruit is ripe and golden, and the milk and cakes care laid;
Oh! golden red the mangoes, and glad the feasts of spring,
And fair the flowers to lie upon and sweet the dancers sing.

Sweetest of all that temptress who dances for him now
With subtle feet which part and meet in the Ras measure slow,
To the chime of silver bangles, and the beat of rose-leaf hands,
And pipe and lute and cymbal played by the woodland bands;
So that wholly passion-laden—eye, ear, sense, soul o'ercome—
Krishna is theirs in the forest; his heart forgets its home."

CHAPTER XIV.

FICTION.

INDIA was not better known to the ancient nations for her science and poetry than as the birthplace of fables and fiction. The oldest Aryan fables that are to be found anywhere are in the Jataka tales, dating from some centuries before Christ, and Dr. Rhys Davids has pointed out that many of them have travelled to different parts of Europe, and have assumed various modern shapes.

The fables of the *Panchatantra* were probably current in India for many centuries before they were compiled in their present shape in easy and graceful Sanscrit prose. The work was translated into Persian in the reign of Nausharwan (531-572 A.D.), and it is certain, therefore, that the Sanscrit compilation was made in the sixth century, if not earlier. The Persian translation was rendered in Arabic, and the Arabic translation was rendered into Greek by Symeon Seth about 1080. The Greek version was again rendered into Latin by Possinus. A Hebrew translation of the work was made by Rabbi Joel about 1250. A Spanish translation of the Arabic version was published about 1215. The first German translations were published in the fifteenth century, and since then the work has been rendered into all the languages of Europe, and is known as the fables of Pilpay of Bidpai.* Thus for many centuries the juvenile population of the world was amused with the simple but

* See Tawney's translation of *Katha Sarit Sagara*, vol. ii. p. 43, *note*.

ingenious tales of animals which a Hindu compiled from the current folklore of his countrymen.

When we proceed from the sixth to the seventh century, we find a great change in Sanscrit prose. More ambitious works were composed, in a style which is more ornate and elaborate, but stilted and artificial. Dandin composed his *Dasakumaracharita* probably at the very commencement of the seventh century. The work, as its name signifies, is the story of ten princes who meet with various adventures, most of which are of course supernatural. The style, though sufficiently ornate and artificial, is yet less extravagant than that of Kadamvari.

Banabhatta, the renowned writer of the *Kadamvari*, was, as we have seen before, a courtier of Siladitya II., and was the author of the Ratnavali drama, and of a life of the emperor called Harshacharita. Banabhatta's father was Chitrabhanu, and his mother was Rajyadevi; and Chitrabhanu died when young Bana was only fourteen years of age. Bhadranarayana, Isana, and Mayura were among Bana's early friends.

The story of Kadamvari is wild and weird, and too long to tell;—the same couple of lovers go through more than one life, and still feel the same irresistible attraction for each other. Scenes of overwhelming passion, intense sorrow, irresistible love, and austere penances in wild solitudes are depicted with power and with a wonderful command of language. There is little of *character* in the various personages. They are all carried away by the vicissitudes of fortune, or by torrents of feeling which have the power of fate. It is this which Hindu writers delight in depicting; of determined efforts of the will in supporting or combating the ordinary ills of life, there are few descriptions in Hindu works of imagination. For the rest, the style of composition, in spite of its wonderful power, is ornate and redundant, laboured and extravagant, beyond all reasonable bounds; and often the same verbose sentence, with strings of adjectives and long

compounds, with a profusion of similes and figures of speech, runs through several pages!

Subandhu also lived in the same reign, and wrote the *Vasavadatta*, a shorter tale. Prince Kandarpaketu and Princess Vasavadatta fell in love on dreaming of each other; and the prince went to Kusumapura (Pataliputra), met the princess, and carried her away on an aerial steed to the Vindhya mountains. There he fell asleep, and when he awoke he found her not. On this Kandarpaketu was about to commit suicide, when a voice from the sky prevented him, and promised him eventual reunion with his beloved bride. After long wanderings, he found a stone figure resembling his long-lost wife; he touched it, and lo! Vasavadatta waked to life. A holy saint had turned her into stone—with the merciful provision, however, that she would be restored to life on being touched by her husband.

We have yet one or two other important works of fiction to speak of. The *Brihat Katha* is a collection of fables and tales which were long current among the people in Southern India in the Paisachi dialect. In the twelfth century, Somadeva, a Kashmirian by birth, abridged it and put it into Sanscrit in order to console Queen Suryavati of Kashmir, on the death of her grandson Harshadeva; and this abridged compilation is known as the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. In the preface to the work, we are told that the tales were originally told by Katyayana, the critic of Panini and a minister of Chandragupta, king of the Magadhas; and that they were carried to Southern India by a Pisacha and repeated in the Paisachi language to Gunadhya, who compiled and published them. It is needless to remark that the story connecting the tales with Katyayana is a fiction; the tales are a product of Southern India, and were originally in the Paisachi dialect.

Somadeva's Sanscrit version, the Katha Sarit Sagara, is divided into eighteen books and 124 chapters, and

contains nearly everything in the way of folklore known in India! We find in it occasional stories from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, some tales from the Puranas, much of the fables of the Panchatantra, the whole of the twenty-five tales of a demon known as the Betal Pachisi, some of the tales which we believe occur in the Sinhasan Batisi, and many adventures of the great Vikramaditya of Ujjayini. The tales throw much light on the manners and customs and the domestic life of the people.

With regard to Vikramaditya of Ujjayini, we are told that he was the son of Mahendraditya by the queen Saumyadarsana, and that he had a second name Vishama Sila (Siladitya?). We are also told that he was sent to the earth, because the gods complained of the oppression of Mlechchhas in India,—and Vikrama fulfilled his destiny and slew the Mlechchhas.

The only other well-known work of fiction is the *Hitopadesa*, which is merely a compilation of a portion of the older Panchatantra. It is remarkable that all these works of fiction are in Sanscrit, although the Prakrits were the spoken tongues in India in the Puranic Period.

Vararachi, one of the "nine gems" of Vikramaditya's court, is the oldest grammarian who treats of the Prakrit dialects. He distinguishes four distinct dialects, viz., the *Maharashtri* or Prakit, properly so called; the *Sauraseni*, very similar to the Maharashtri, and like it derived from the Sanscrit; the *Paisachi*, and the *Magadhi*, which last two are said to be derived from the Sauraseni.

These Prakrit dialects gradually came into use in Northern India from the older Pali language, which was the sacred language of the Buddhists, and had been the spoken tongue for a thousand years. Indeed, the political and religious causes which ushered in a new form of Hinduism in the place of declining Buddhism had undoubtedly some influence in establishing the newer Prakrit dialects in the place of the older Pali.

Political and religious changes have generally been attended in India and elsewhere,—not indeed with sudden changes in the spoken tongue,—but with such changes (slow and gradual in themselves) being authoritatively and suddenly recognised. When the vigorous colonists on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna left their old mother country, the Punjab, behind in learning and civilisation, the Sanscrit of the Rig Veda was replaced by the Sanscrit of the Brahmanas. With the rise of Magadha and of Gautama Buddha, Pali replaced the Sanscrit of the Brahmanas. With the decline of Buddhism and the rise of Puranic Hinduism under Vikramaditya, the Prakrits took the place of the Pali. And lastly, with the fall of ancient races and the rise of the Rajputs in the tenth century was witnessed the rise of the Hindu language which is still spoken in Northern India.

All this is intelligible. But the readers of Kalidasa and of Bhavabhuti will naturally inquire, Did those poets write in a dead language? Is it possible to compose a Sakuntala, or an Uttara Charita in a dead language? Does the history of other nations furnish us with one single instance of such works of matchless beauty being composed in a dead language?

Those who have compared the Prakrits with Sanscrit will find no difficulty in answering these questions. Sanscrit was not a dead language in the Puranic Period in the sense in which Latin is now a dead language in Europe. The difference between Sanscrit and the Prakrits is far less than the difference between the Latin and even the Italian. When the Prakrits were commonly spoken, Sanscrit was still understood and even spoken in courts. Learned men carried on oral controversies in Sanscrit. All proclamations and state manifestoes were in Sanscrit. Pandits carried on conversation in the court as in the schoolroom in Sanscrit. Poems were recited and plays were rehearsed in Sanscrit. All men of education and

culture understood Sanscrit and often spoke Sanscrit. Probably the common people in towns who spoke the Prakrits understood ordinary easy Sanscrit. The educated and the learned were certainly perfectly at home with Sanscrit. It was the language which they always read, which they often spoke, and in which they composed and thought, and even conversed. Sanscrit was not therefore a dead language, in the Puranic Period in the sense in which it is a dead language now. And Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti did not compose in a dead language, properly so called, when they wrote Sakuntala or Uttara Charita.

CHAPTER XV.

CLOSE OF THE ANCIENT AGE.

We will now close this rapid and imperfect History of Civilisation in Ancient India. It was impossible within our limits to attempt anything like a comprehensive or exhaustive account of this vast subject. We have rather tried to connect together only the leading facts of Indian History, and to present a connected series of outline sketches, illustrating Hindu Civilisation in successive ages. If in these portraits our countrymen have recognised the features of our ancient forefathers, however indistinctly, our labour has not been thrown away. We now crave their attention for a few moments longer to the last pages of our album, illustrating the social manners and civilisation of the last age of Hindu History, anterior to the Mahommedan conquest.

This last age of Hindu History divides itself into two well-marked periods. The manners of the Rajputs of Delhi and Ajmir in the eleventh and twelfth centuries belong to the Modern Age, and were somewhat different from those of the times of Vikramaditya and Siladitya, which belong to the Ancient Age. The Rajputs belong to modern history; Vikramaditya and Siladitya belong to ancient history. The dark ages which intervened, in the ninth and tenth centuries, divide the ancient period from the modern period in India.

In the present chapter, we will confine our observations therefore to the civilisation of the Hindus at the close of

the Ancient Age, from the sixth to the eighth century. We will attempt to paint the social life of the Hindus of the time of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti; and the immortal works of these and other poets of the period will furnish us with the materials of our picture. In the following chapter we will try to portray the civilisation of the time when the modern age begins, from the tenth to the twelfth century, and we shall obtain our materials from the notes of a thoughtful, learned, and sympathetic foreigner who has left us records of his impressions.

Kalidasa himself has, in his character of Dushyanta, given us a picture on the great kings of the time,—of Vikramaditya, for instance. We can conceive to some extent the life that was led by the great Emperor of Northern India in the midst of his luxurious and learned court, his guards and his soldiers. Martial in his demeanour and active in his habits, he delighted in war and in hunting, and often took his soldiers, his chariots, his horses and his elephants in great hunting expeditions in the primeval jungles of India. A fool was as invariably the companion of Hindu kings as of European monarchs in the Middle Ages, and the Indian fool was a Brahman, whose stupid apprehension, gross tastes, and occasional witty sayings regaled the leisure hours of the king. Soldiers guarded his palace night and day, while in the inner apartments female guards waited on the king, and were under the orders of an aged and faithful chamberlain. To judge from the poet's account, the great conqueror of Sakas did not dislike the company of Saka women, who guarded his palace and accompanied him in hunting with bows and arrows, and gracefully decked with flowers. Indeed, if we can rely on the tales of the Katha Sarit Sagara, which are valuable because based on the older work Brihat Katha, the Emperor of Ujjayini was not very particular as to the race or caste of the lovely damsels whom he wedded one after another, after his numerous adventures. Madana Sundari, a

Bhil princess was one of the number, and at her wedding her father declared, "And I, my sovereign, will follow you as your slave with twenty thousand archers." The amorous emperor, we are told in the same work, fell in love with Malayavati, princess of Malayapura, on seeing her picture, and with Kalingasena, princess of Bengal, on seeing her figure sculptured in stone in a Vihara; and it is needless to state that both princesses eventually found admission into the great king's extensive seraglio. (K. S. S., Book XVIII.)

The poet of Vikramorvasi and Malavikagnimitra must have somewhat softened the passionate jealousies and discords which were not unoften witnessed in the royal harem. Royalty always indulged in a plurality of wives, often for political purposes; and besides these stately ladies, many a humble and pretty attendant of the queen won the favour of the king and was punished by her mistress. In spite of all this, the chief queen was always held in high honour and esteem; she was the mistress of the household and the share of the king's glory on every state occasion.

Women in humbler life had, like queens, their inner apartments separate from those of the men. The same custom was observed in Europe in the olden days of Rome and Pompei, and Sanscrit poets often describe the peaceful domestic life of the fair inmates of these apartments. But the absolute seclusion of women was unknown even in the Puranic Period. Sakuntala and Malayavati did not precipitately retreat when strangers like Dushyanta and Jimutavahana appeared before them. Malati in the bloom of her youth rode on an elephant to a temple on a festal day, in the midst of a great concourse of citizens, and there met the youth to whom she gave away her heart, and who reciprocated the feeling. In the first or introductory book of Katha Sarit Sagara we find that Katyayana's mother received two unknown Brahmans as her guests and freely conversed with them, and Varsha's

wife too had previously received the same strangers, and had narrated to them the story of her husband's misfortunes. In the numerous tales contained in this voluminous work, we nowhere find any instance of women in ordinary life being kept in such absolute and unhealthy seclusion as became the custom in later times under the rule of the Moslems. In Mrichchhakati, Charudatta's virtuous and modest wife freely converses with Charudatta's friend Maitreya, and in Kadamvari, in Nagananda, in Ratnavali, and in every other classical work, we find the heroine frequently conversing with the friends of her husband. Ladies of the royal household were of course kept under a greater degree of restriction; but even they were allowed to see the friends of the king. When the ministers of Naravahana Datta came to see his new queen, Ratnaprabha, they were announced before they were admitted to her presence. The queen rebelled even against this necessary formality and said, "The door must not again be closed against the entrance of my husband's friends, for they are as dear to me as my own body" (K. S. S., Chap. 36).

Marriage was arranged by the parents of the bride and the bridegroom. Thus when an offer of marriage was made to Jimutavahana, his companion said, "Go to his parents and ask them," and the parents gave their consent without consulting the young man's inclinations. If, however, we can trust the poets of the period, the ceremony was often performed at a proper age. Malati, the heroine of Bhavabhuti's drama, was still a maiden after she had reached her youth; Malavika, and Malayavati, and Ratnavali were unmarried even when they were in the bloom of their beauty, and the pious Rishi Kanva did not think of giving Sakuntala in marriage until in youth she met Dushyanta and lost her heart. The ceremony of marriage was the same as it was in ancient days, and as it continues to the preset day. The stepping round the fire, the offering of grain as sacrifice, and the utterance of some

promises by the bride and the bridegroom were considered the essential rites.

Girls were taught to read and to write, and there are numerous examples in the classical works of girls writing and reading epistles. In Mrichchhakati, Maitreya says he always laughs when he hears a woman read Sanscrit or a man sing a song; and however much Maitreya may have disliked it, there can be little doubt from the passage itself that women *did* often read Sanscrit, as men did often learn to sing. Music is frequently alluded to as a female accomplishment. In one remarkable passage in Nagananda we are told that the princess Malayavati sang a song, possessing the treble and bass tones duly developed; and soon after we learn that she played with her fingers, keeping good time in due divisions of slow, medium, and quick, the three pauses rendered in proper order, and the three modes of playing shown in the slow and quick accompaniments.

In the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. IX.) we learn that the princess Mrigavati attained wonderful skill in dancing, singing, and other accomplishments before she was given in marriage. Numerous such passages are to be found in classical literature.

Painting too is frequently alluded to as an accomplishment possessed both by men and women; and we have already alluded to a passage in Nagananda showing that coloured earth was used for painting in ancient India as in ancient Pompei. Uttara Rama Charita opens with an account of some paintings which Lakshmana showed to Sita: and we learn from the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. 122) that Nagara Svamin was the painter-laureate of the court of Vikramaditya, and presented the king with pictures illustrating different types of female beauty.

Connubial love has never been described with deeper feeling than by the poets of India. We have already quoted the passage from Uttara Rama Charita describing the tender love of Rama for Sita; and the reader familiar

with Sanscrit literature will no doubt call to mind hundreds of such passages portraying the regard and love of Hindu husbands and the devotion of Hindu wives.*

Domestic life, however, is not all poetry, and we get a truer idea of domestic sorrows and troubles from the tales in the Katha Sarit Sagara than from the poetry of Bhavabhuti or Kalidasa. Poverty, bereavement, the contempt or hatred of relations and neighbours, the cruelty of husbands, or the uncontrolled temper of wives, often poisoned the peace of home and made life a burden. Not the least galling of all evils were the differences and disputes amongst members of joint families, or the heartless cruelty of the mother-in-law and sisters-in-law towards a submissive wife. The gentle and virtuous Kirti Sena, suffering from such domestic tyranny, exclaimed in sorrow, "This is why relations lament the birth of a daughter, exposed to the terrors of the mothers-in-law and sisters-in law" (K. S. S., Chap. 29).

Many passages can be quoted to show that widows were not prohibited from marrying again in the Puranic Age. Yajnavalkya tells us that "a woman who is married a second time is called a remarried woman" (I, 67). Vishnu tells us that a woman who, being still a virgin, is married for the second time, is called a remarried woman, Punarbhu (XV, 7 and 8). And even Parasara, although a modern writer allows the remarriage of a woman whose husband is dead, or has lost caste, or is become an ascetic (IV, 26). A droll story is told of the daughter of a householder of Malava who married eleven husbands successively; and on the death of the eleventh husband the plucky widow would probably have welcomed a twelfth,

* "The Hindu poets rarely dispraise their women; they almost invariably represent them as amiable and affectionate. In this they might give a lesson to the bards of more lofty nations, and particularly to the Greeks, who, both in tragedy and comedy, pursued the fair sex with implacable rancour. Aristophanes is not a whit behind Euripides, although he ridicules the tragedian for his ungallant propensities."—*Wilson, Theatre of the Hindus* (London, 1871), vol. i. p. 77, *note*.

but "even the stones could not help laughing at her," so she took to the life of an ascetic (K. S. S., Chap. 66).

We have spoken before of the love and devotion of Hindu wives. With the decline of the national spirit and of a due respect for women, this female devotion degenerated into a barbarous custom in the Puranic Age. There is no allusion to the rite of *Sati* in the literature of India previous to the Puranic Period; there is no mention of it in the Code of Manu, or even of Yajnavalkya. It is in Puranic literature that we first trace the rise of this custom.

Suicide by entering the fire was known in India from the time of Alexander the Great, and even earlier. When in the Puranic Age the devotion of wives to their husbands was insisted upon to a greater extent than the regard of husbands for their wives, the form of suicide spoken of above was recommended as a meritorious act more to widows than to others. Thus Varahamihira praises women in his Astronomy because they enter the fire on losing their husbands, while men go and marry again on losing their wives. Nevertheless, the custom was not restricted to women or to widows, even in the Puranic Age. In Malati Madhava, Malati's father makes preparations for mounting the funeral pyre for the grief of his child; and in Nagananda, Jimutavahana's father, mother, and wife resolve to perish on the pyre for the loss of the prince.

In Katha Sarit Sagara we find a maiden disappointed in love preparing to enter the funeral pyre (Chaps. 118 and 122). And turning from fiction to history, we know that kings perished on the pyre, because they were disgraced in the eyes of their countrymen for submission to Mahmud of Ghazni. It was, in fact, an ostentatious form of suicide when grief or disgrace became unsupportable, and life was cheerless and void. Reprehensible as such suicide always was, it became a cowardice and a crime when men ceased to perform the

rite, and imposed it as an honourable act on women alone, to be performed on the death of their husbands. Such practice became a settled custom when the Hindus ceased to be a living nation.

Courtesans of great beauty and accomplishments received in ancient India, as in ancient Greece, a higher regard, and lived a more intellectual and elevated life, than their degraded sisters of modern times. Ambapali, who vied with Lichchavi lords in pomp and pride, and who invited the holy Gautama Buddha to her house, reminds one of Aspasia receiving Socrates in her house. Similarly, Vasantasena, the heroine of the Mrichchhakati, lived in great pomp and splendour; she received the young men of Ujjayini in a public court furnished with a gaming-table, books, pictures, and other means of recreation; she employed skilled artisans and jewellers in her house; she relieved the needy and the unfortunate; and, in spite of her trade, was

> "Of courteous manners and unrivalled beauty,
> The pride of all Ujjain!"—WILSON.

In the same way we learn from the Katha Sarit Sagara (Chap. 38) that the courtesan Madanamala of Pratishthana, the capital of Southern India, lived in a mansion "that resembled the palace of a king," and had guards and soldiers, horses and elephants; and she honoured King Vikramaditya (who had come in disguise) with baths, flowers, perfumes, garments, ornaments, and rich viands. And again from Chap. 124 of the same work we learn that Devadatta, a courtesan of Ujjayini, lived in her "palace worthy of a king."

Ujjayini, we need hardly say, was the proudest town in India in the days of which we are speaking. Genius and beauty, wealth and royal power, combined to shed a rare lustre on this ancient city in the sixth century. Good reasons had the Yaksha in the Meghaduta to ask the cloud

not to pass by without a visit to Ujjayini, or else "dark are thy days, and thou in vain hast been."

Not daring to disobey such high injunction, we paid a visit to the classic town some years ago. Its ancient glory in gone, the very memories of the past dwell not in its precincts. But nevertheless, as we strolled through its rough-paved stony streets, looked at the quaint old houses darkening the lanes, saw the crowd of simple-hearted people in their native joyousness, and visited the ancient temple of Mahakala, probably built on the very site of the older temple of that name alluded to by Kalidasa in Meghaduta, we felt that it was possible, feebly and faintly, to revive the past in one's imagination, and to form some conception of what this town was in olden days. And certainly the exceptionally realistic account of the town given in the Mrichchhakati helps one's imagination not a little. That play will be our guide in our attempt to delineate the past.

Under the shadow of the royal power dwelt the peaceful merchants and bankers in the Exchange or merchants' quarters, Sreshthi-chatvara as the poet calls it. Quiet and unostentatious as Hindu merchants always were, these banker merchants probably had their branch firms in the great towns all over Northern India, carried on extensive operations in silks, jewels, and valuable goods, and concealed in their dark vaults in crowded and narrow lanes enormous treasures and money, which kings and emperors did not disdain to borrow in times of need. Ostentatious only in their charity and religious works, they beautified the town with many a graceful temple, fed and supported priests and Brahmans, and earned a name among their fellow-citizens by their good works. To the present day the Setts and merchants of Northern India are respected for their wealth and their pious acts, and build many a holy temple where Jaina and Hindu worship is performed day by day.

Jewellers and artists flocked in the vicinity of merchants. In the words of the poet, "Skilful artists examine pearls,

topazes, sapphires, emeralds, rubies, the lapis lazuli, coral, and other jewels ; some set rubies in gold, some work gold ornaments on coloured threads, some string pearls, some grind the lapis lazuli, some pierce shells, and some cut coral. Perfumers dry the saffron bags, shake the musk bags, express the sandal juice, and compound essences." These artists found a market all through the known world, and the products of their skill were appreciated in the court of Harun-ar-Rashid in Bagdad, and astonished the great Charlemagne and his rude barons, who, as an English poet has put it, raised their visors and looked with wonder on the silks and brocades and jewellery which had come from the far East to the infant trading marts of Europe.

Humbler traders filled other streets, and displayed their cloths and garments and sweetmeats and various other commodities. A stream of joyous and simple-hearted people filled the busy streets all through the livelong day.

But the markets and bazaars were not the only places of public resort ; there were others of a more questionable character. Gambling-houses were established under the king's orders,—as is still the case in the continent of Europe,—the master of the table was appointed by the king to maintain order, and was entitled, according to the Agni Purana, to one-fifth or one-tenth of the winnings, as the king's dues. The money which a gambler loses at a gambling-table in the Mrichchhakati is reckoned as ten suvarnas ; and a suvarna was undoubtedly a golden coin, which Dr. Wilson estimates at Rs. 8-14.

We know from Sakuntala that there were grog-shops, which were frequented by the very lowest castes ; while among the courtiers of a luxurious court, and among the profligate and the gay, drinking was not unknown. Bharavi has a canto on the joys of drinking, and Kalidasa too often speaks of ladies whose mouths were scented with the perfumes of liquor ! But the mass of the middle classes and of the cultivating, trading, and industrial

classes of Hindus abstained from drink, as they do to this day.

Other vices of large towns were not unknown in Ujjayini. "At this time of evening," says Maitreya in Mrichchhakati, "the royal road is crowded with loose persons, with cut-throats, courtiers, and courtesans;" and elsewhere in the same play we have a rather elaborate account of a theft performed in Charudatta's house, and the footsteps of the night-watch were heard (as is often the case to the present day) just after the thief had finished his job and retired with the booty! In another place in the same play we are told—

> "The road is solitary, save where the watch
> Performs his wonted round: the silent night,
> Fit season only for dishonest acts,
> Should find us not abroad."—WILSON.

Wealthy citizens rejoiced in a large number of retainers, in spacious courts, and in unquestioning hospitality. We have in Mrichchhakati a somewhat exaggerated account of a wealthy house, from which we can form some conception of wealthy houses generally. The outer door is pretty, the threshold is coloured and well swept and watered, flowers and garlands are hung over the gate, and the doorway is a lofty arch. On entering the first court, is seen a line of white buildings, the walls covered with stucco, the steps made of various stones, and the crystal windows looking down on the streets of the city. In the second court are carriages, oxen, and horses and elephants, fed by their *mahouts* with rice and *ghee*! In the third court is the assembly hall, where the visitors are received; in the fourth there is music with dancing, and in the fifth is the kitchen. In the sixth court live artists and jewellers employed in the house, and in the seventh is an aviary. In the eighth court lives the owner of the house. It is not likely that any but the most wealthy indulged in such profuse magnificence; but the

account gives us some idea of pompous Hindu households. Behind the house is a lovely garden, such as was the delight of Hindu ladies of olden days. Sakuntala was fond of watering her plants herself, and the Yaksha's wife used to sit in her garden and think of her absent lord.

Besides such extensive residence inside the town, wealthy men had their garden-houses and villas in the suburbs, "far beyond the city," and a taste for such rural villas continues to the present day.

Among the possessions of wealthy men, slaves were reckoned as a very important item. Domestic slaves were bought and sold in ancient India as in every ancient country, and probably most domestic servants in ancient times were slaves. In Mrichchhkati a ruined gambler proposes to sell himself in order to pay his debt. Still more remarkable is another passage in which the paramour of a female slave asks her what money will procure her manumission from her mistress. The well-known story of Harishchandra goes on to say that the Raja sold his wife and child and himself as slaves to pay off a ruthless Brahman's debt, and there are numerous other stories to the same effect. Slavery in a mild form continued in India until recent times.

The ordinary conveyance of well-to-do persons in towns was a kind of covered litter drawn by oxen. Both men and women travelled in such litters, and Vasantasena went in such a litter to meet her beloved Charudatta in a garden outside the town. Any one who has travelled in a bullock-cart (as the present writer has) over the rough-paved streets of Ujjayini must know that the lady's journey, like the course of her true love, was not particularly smooth. Horses were not unoften used as means of conveyance, and in Chapter 124 of the Katha Sarit Sagara we find that a Brahman Devasvamin fetched his wife from her father's house, the lady being mounted on a mare, and having a maid with her. Cars drawn by horses were probably only used by kings and lords and

warriors in battle, or in hunting expeditions, as we find in Sakuntala.

A solitary and invaluable picture of the practical administration of justice in the ancient Hindu times is given in Mrichchhakati. A Brahman, Charudatta, is falsely accused by a profligate villian with the murder of Vasantasena, the heroine of the play. The villain, we should mention, calls himself the king's brother-in-law. Kings were not very particular in their amours, and thus it happened that brothers and relations of the women of low caste whom kings took into their palaces were provided with high places in the police. From numerous descriptions of such characters by Kalidasa and other poets, we learn that such upstarts made themselves the pests of society, obnoxious to good men, and the terror of the humble and lowly.

Such a cruel upstart, Vasudeva by name, had done his best to kill Vasantasena, whose love he had vainly courted before, and then falsely accused Charudatta with the crime, because the woman had loved Charudatta. The judge enters the court with the provost and the scribe (Kayastha), and Vasudeva enters his charge against Charudatta. The judge is unwilling to take up the case on that day, but knowing the influence of the complainant with the king, takes it up, and even puts up with his insolent behaviour in court. Charudatta is summoned.

The simple and good-hearted Brahman enters the court, and his description of it will amuse many a modern reader, and will also give us some idea of the imps of the law who were employed in olden days :—

"The prospect is but little pleasing.
The court looks like a sea ; its councillors
Are deep engulphed in thought ; its tossing waves
Are wrangling advocates ; its brood of monsters
Are these wild animals, Death's ministers.
Attorneys skim like wily snakes the surface.
Spies are the shell-fish cowering midst its weeds,
And vile informers, like the hovering curlew,

Hang fluttering o'er, then pounce upon their prey.
The beach that should be justice, is unsafe,
Rough, rude, and broken by oppression's storms."*

—WILSON.

We need not go into the details of the evidence, but appearances certainly go very much against Charudatta. Nevertheless the judge refused to believe that good man guilty of the abominable crime, and says to himself, "It were as easy to weigh Himalaya, ford the ocean, or grasp the wind as to fix a stain on Charudatta's reputation." But the circumstantial evidence becomes stronger, and the judge feels that by law he ought to decide against Charudatta, but nevertheless does not feel convinced as to the facts. According to his homely but forcible simile, "the points of law are sufficiently clear here, but the understanding still labours like a cow in a quagmire."

In the meantime Charudatta's friend enters the court, and with him are discovered the ornaments of the woman said to be murdered. This seals Charudatta's fate. The judge presses him to speak the truth, and even threatens him, and Charudatta, heart-broken at his own disgrace, overwhelmed by the evidence which is heaped against him, and sick of life on hearing that his beloved Vasantasena is no more, confesses, as many an innocent man has confessed, to a murder he has not committed.

The judge orders "the convicted culprit, being a Brahman, he cannot according to Manu be put to death, but he may be banished from the kingdom with his property unattached."

* "That the translator may not be thought to have had an English rather than an Indian court in his eye, he enumerates the terms of the original for the different members of which it is said to consist. *Mantrins*, councillors; *Dutas*, the envoys or representatives of the parties; the wild animals, Death's ministers, are *Nagas* and *Asvas*, elephants and horses employed to tread or tear condemned criminals to death; the *Charas* are spies or runners; *Nanavasakas*, disguised emissaries or informers; and *Kayasthas* are scribes by profession who discharge the duties of notaries and attorneys."—*Wilson.*

The king, however, cruelly modifies this sentence into one of death. The cruel order of the king is introduced by the poet as a sin which he expiates soon after. A revolution overturns his rule, he is killed in battle by an usurper, and Charudatta is saved when on the point of being executed, and gets back his beloved Vasantasena, who had been left as dead by the cruel Vasudeva himself, but who had not died. The infuriated mob wish to kill the base culprit, the relation of the late king, but the magnanimous Charudatta saves his life from the mob, and says "Set him free." "Why so?" asks the mob, Charudatta replies with the genuine Hindu maxim—

> "A humbled foe, who prostrate at your feet
> Solicits quarter, must not feel your sword."
>
> —WILSON.

CHAPTER XVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MODERN AGE.

In the last chapter we have tried to give a brief sketch of Hindu life and civilisation at the close of the Ancient Age from the writings of the great Hindu authors who flourished in the sixth and succeeding centuries. But it is always a gain to see ourselves as others see us, and we propose in the present chapter to draw a similar sketch of Hindu civilisation at the commencement of the Modern Age, from materials supplied to us by a cultured and larger-hearted foreigner, Alberuni, who wrote in the eleventh century.

The value of Alberuni's work on India has long been known to scholars, but a scholarlike edition and translation of it had hitherto been wanting. Dr. Edward C. Sachau has now removed the want, and has performed an eminent service to the cause of Oriental research and of Indian history.

Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him, Abu Raihan, was born in 973 A.D. in the territory of modern Khiva. When Mahmud of Ghazni conquered Khiva in 1017, the eminent scholar was brought to Ghazni as a prisoner of war. It is probably this circumstance which made him look on Hindus with the sympathy due to fellow-sufferers from the conquests and oppression of Mahmud; and while he never hesitates to point out what he considers blemishes in Hindu civilisation and literature, he has at least taken the pains to study that civilisation and literature in a catholic spirit rare among later Mussalman

writers, and he never withholds the meed of praise where praise is due.

Of Mahmud's reckless work of destruction in India, Alberuni speaks with deserved animadversion. "Mahmud," he says, "utterly ruined the prosperity of the country, and performed those wonderful exploits by which the Hindus became like atoms of dust scattered in all directions, and like a tale of old in the mouths of the people. Their scattered remains cherish, of course, the most inveterate aversion towards all Muslims. This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from those parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot yet reach, to Kashmir, Benares, and other places" (Chap. I.).

With regard to the Hindus, the fact which struck Alberuni most unfavourably was their complete isolation from other nations of the earth, their ignorance of the outside world, their want of sympathy and communication with other peoples whom they call *Mlechchhas*. "They are," says Alberuni, "by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created being besides them have any knowledge of science whatever. Their haughtiness is such that if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khorasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. *If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is*" (Chap. I.).

In political matters, too, India was in the last days of her decline when Alberuni wrote. The vast country which had owned the sway or the supremacy of the

great Vikramaditya in the sixth century, was now parcelled out among petty kings and chiefs, all independent of each other, and often warring with each other. Kashmir was independent and was guarded by its mountains; Mahmud of Ghazni had tried to conquer it, but failed; and the brave Anangapala, who had vainly tried to oppose the march of Mahmud, had at one time fled to that secluded region. Sindh was cut up into petty principalities ruled by Moslem chiefs. In Gujrat, Mahmud's invasion of Somnath or Pattan had left no lasting result; the Rajput dynasty, which had wrested the ruling power in the land from the Chalukyas before the time of Mahmud, continued to rule there after Mahmud's invasion of Somnath. Malwa was ruled by another Rajput race, and Bhojadeva, who ruled for half a century, from 997 to 1053, was an enlightened patron of letters, and revived in his capital at Dhara the memories of the reign of Vikramaditya the Great.

Kanouj is said to have then been subject to the Pala kings of Bengal, who generally resided at Monghyr. Rajyapala of Kanouj had been plundered by Mahmud in 1017, and in consequence of this a new capital had been founded at Bari, where Mahipala lived and ruled about 1026. Both these rulers, like all the Palas of Bengal, are said to have been of the Budddist persuasion; but Buddhism as a national religion had almost died out in India in Alberuni's time.

The country round Kanouj was called the *Madhyadesa* by the people, because it formed the centre of India, a centre, as Alberuni states, "from a geographical point of view," and "it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings" (Chap. XVIII.).

Alberuni gives distances from Kanouj to several important places which continue to be important towns to the present day. He speaks of Mathura, which "has become famous by Vasudeva;" of Prayaga or Allahabad

"where the Hindus torment themselves with various kinds of torture which are described in the books about religious sects;" of "the famous Banarasi" or Benares; of Pataliputra, Monghyr and Gangasagara or the mouths of the Ganges. In the south he speaks of Dhara and Ujjayini; in the north-west of Kashmir and Multan and Lahore; and away from the centre of India he speaks of the fabled causeway of Rama, and of the pearl banks of Ceylon, as also of the Maldive and Laccadive islands (Chap. XVIII).

From an account of the country we turn to an account of the people. Alberuni makes some brief remarks on the caste-system, from which we are able to see that the Vaisyas—the great body of the Aryan people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Sudras. In one place we are told that between the Vaisyas and the Sudras "there is no very great distance" (Chap. IX). Elsewhere we learn that the Vaisyas had already been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning; that the Brahmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas; but "the Vaisya and Sudra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce or recite it" (Chap. XII). Again, we are told that "every action which is considered as the privilege of the Brahman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when—*e.g.*, a Sudra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda,—he is accused by the Brahmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off (Chap. LXIV).

Let the reader compare this account of the Vaisya's status with that given by Manu, and he will have before him the history of the gradual degeneracy of the *nation*, and the growing power of *priests*. The descendants of the Vaisyas, who had an equal right with Brahmans to learn and recite the Veda and to sacrifice to the fire, came, after the religious and political revolutions of the

ninth and tenth centuries, to be classed with Sudras, and considered unworthy of religious knowledge! Kshatriyas still held their own as long as India was a free country, but lost their glory and independence after the twelfth century. And then the bold myth was proclaimed that the Kshatriyas too as a caste had, like the Vaisyas, ceased to exist, that all who were not Brahmans were Sudras—all equally incapable of reciting the Veda and sacrificing to the fire! Does the modern reader wish to go beyond this specious myth of the extinction of the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and desire to know what has really become of them and their descendants? He will find them classed under new names (Kayastha, Vaidya, Vanik, Svarnakara, Karmakara, &c.), as new castes unknown to Manu and Yajnavalkya. And room has been kindly provided for these new castes, *formed out of Kshatriyas and Vaisyas*, in the growing list of "mixed castes" which Manu had *reserved for aborigines like Nishadas and Chandalas!* But modern education is gradually opening the eyes of the people, and the great Hindu nation is learning to demand its ancient religious and social privileges as it is rising to a consciousness of its national and political life.

Below the Sudra, eight *Antyaja* castes are recounted by Alberuni, viz., the fuller, the shoemaker, the juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals, and the weaver. The Hari, Doma, and Chandala were considered as outside all castes (Chap. IX).

It is a relief to turn from the subject of caste to that of the manners and customs of the people; but even here we find Hinduism in its last stage of degeneracy. We are told that "Hindus marry at a very young age," and that "if a wife loses her husband by death, she cannot marry another man. She has only to choose between two things—either to remain a widow as long as she lives, or to burn herself; and the latter eventually is considered

the preferable, because as a widow she is ill-treated as long as she lives" (Chap. LXIX). We have seen that early marriage was not the usual custom in the Puranic Age, and it is clear therefore that it became the general custom among Hindus at the commencement of the Modern Age. The same remark applies to the rite of *Sati*.

About marriage customs we are told that parents arranged marriages for their children, that no gifts were settled, but the husband made a gift in advance which was the wife's property (*stridhana*) ever after. Marriage was forbidden among parties who were related to each other within five generations. Every man of a particular caste could, under the ancient law, marry a woman of his own caste, or one of the castes below his. But this practice had fallen into disuse ; caste had become more rigid, and "in our time, however, the Brahmans, although it is allowed to them, never marry any woman except one of their own caste" (Chap. LXIX).

The account of the festivals, given by Alberuni, of the Hindus of the eleventh century reads not unlike an account of Hindu festivals in the present day. The year commenced with the month of Chaitra, and on the eleventh day of the moon was the *Hindoli Chaitra* (the modern *Dola*), when the image of Krishna was swung to and fro in a cradle. On the full-moon day was the spring festival (the modern *Holi*), a festival specially for women. We have found some account of this festival in the dramatic literature of the early Puranic Age. Both the *Ratnavali* and the *Malatimadhava* open with an account of this festival, which was sacred to the god of Love. But Krishna, in modern times, has supplanted the ancient god of Love, and the modern *Holi* represents the festival of that ancient god.

The third day of the moon in Vaisakha was the *Gauri Tritiya*, when women performed ablutions, worshipped the image of Gauri, and lighted lamps before it, offered perfumes, and fasted. From the tenth day of the moon

to the full moon, sacrifices were performed before ploughing fields, and commencing the annual cultivation. Then came the vernal equinox, when a festival was held and Brahmans were fed.

Jaistha is the month for fruits in India, and on the first day of the moon the first-fruits of the year were thrown into the water for obtaining a favorable prognostic. On the full-moon day there was a festival for women, called *Rupa Pancha.*

The month of Asadha was devoted to alms-giving, and households were provided with new vessels.

On the full-moon day in Sravana banquets were again given to Brahmans.

In the month of Asvayuja sugar cane was cut, and at a festival called the Mahanavami, the first-fruits of sugar and other things were presented to the image of Bhagavati. On the fifteenth, sixteenth, and twenty-third day of the moon there were other festivals, accompanied by much merriment and wrangling.

The month of Bhadrapada was full of celebrations. On the first day of the moon alms were given in the manes of the fathers. On the third day there was a festival for women. On the sixth day food was distributed to prisoners. On the eighth day there was a festival called *Dhruvagriha*, and pregnant women celebrated it to obtain healthy children. On the eleventh day there was a festival called *Parvati*, in which a thread was offered to the priest. And after the full-moon day the whole half-month was devoted to festivals. These festivals of the eleventh century have now been replaced by more pompous Pujas, — those of Durga and other goddesses and gods.

On the first day of the moon in Kartika was a festival called Dewali. A great number of lamps were lighted, and it was believed that the goddess Lakshmi liberated Bali, the son of Virochana, in that one day in the year. This was the ancient form of the Dewali festival, with which the worship of Kali is now connected, just as the

worship of Krishna is now connected with the ancient festival to the god of Love.

On the third day of the moon in Margasirsha (Agrahayana) there was a feast for women in honour of Gauri. And there was another feast for women on the full-moon day.

Pausha was celebrated in those days, as it is now, with a variety of sweet dishes. We have seen that this very sensible way of celebrating in winter was known even in the centuries previous to the Christian Era.

On the third day of the moon is Magha, there was a feast for women in honour of Gauri. Other festivals followed in this month.

On the eighth day of the moon in Falguna, Brahmans were fed, and on the full-moon day was the *Dola*. The following night was the *Sivaratri* dedicated to Mahadeva (Chap. LXXVI).

The account of festivals given above will convey some idea of popular religion and religious practices. There were idols and temples, too, scattered broadcast all over India, which attracted numerous pilgrims and devotees. Alberuni speaks of an idol of Aditya or the sun in Multan, of one of Chakrasvamin or Vishnu in Thanesvara, of a wooden idol called Sarada in Kashmir, and of the famous idol of Somnath—a Sivalinga—which was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni (Chap. XI). About the linga of Somnath, our author tells us that Mahmud, after destroying the upper part, transported the remainder to Ghazni, with all its coverings and trappings of gold, jewels, and embroidered garment. Part of it was thrown into the hippodrome of the town, and part of it was kept and the door of the Ghazni mosque, so that people might rub and clean their feet on it. Such was the fate assigned to the idol which was daily washed by water brought from the Ganges and worshipped by flowers from Kashmir! The great importance of the Somnath linga was due to the fact that the town itself was a centre of mari-

time trade and a harbour for seafaring people (Chap. LVIII.)

Benares had already become the most sacred place in India, and men repaired there in their old age to end their lives in the holy city. The holy lakes of Pushkara, Thanesvara, Mathura, Kashmir, and Multan are also alluded to, and no doubt attracted vast crowds of pilgrims (Chap. LXVI). The Hindu custom of excavating great tanks with spacious flights of stairs in holy places is much praised by our author. "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed the Hindus construct ponds intended for ablutions. In this they have attained to a very high degree of art, so that our people (the Muslims), when they see them, wonder at them, and are unable to describe them, much less to construct anything like them. They build them of great stones of an enormous bulk, joined to each other by sharp and strong cramp irons, in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges; and these terraces run all round the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature" (Chap. LXVI).

Among the multitude of gods and goddesses whom the Hindus worshipped, Alberuni had no difficulty in marking out the three principal gods—the deities of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Mahadeva the Destroyer. Alberuni further tells us that these three deities form a Unity, and herein "there is an analogy between Hindus and Christians, as the latter distinguish between the three *persons*, and give them separate names, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but unite them into one *substance*" (Chap. VIII).

That Alberuni carefully studied Hindu religion and institutions, will appear from the fact that beyond the multitude of Hindu gods worshipped by the common people—beyond even the Trinity spoken of above—our author grasped the true nature of pure and philosophical Hinduism—the Monotheism of the Upanishads.

He repeatedly tells us that the multitude of gods is for vulgar belief; the educated Hindus believe God to be "one, eternal, without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all-wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving."

"The existence of God they consider as real existence, because everything that exists, exists through him" (Chap. II).

This is pure, refreshing, life-giving religion; it has the true ring of the ancient Upanishads, which are among the noblest works that have been composed by man. The historian only regrets that this noble faith became the exclusive property of the educated few, that the common people were referred to idols and temples, to unmeaning rites and unhealthy restrictions. Why should the people be fed on poison in a land where the nectar stream of an ancient and life-giving religion flowed perennial?

Elsewhere Alberuni speaks of the Hindu idea of transmigration of souls, of every act in life bringing its reward or punishment in the life to come, and of final emancipation derived by true knowledge. *Then* "the soul turns away from matter, the connecting links are broken, the union is dissolved. Separation and dissolution take place, and the soul returns to its home, carrying with itself as much of the bliss of knowledge as sesame develops grains and blossoms, afterwards never separating from its oil. The intelligent being, intelligence, and its object are united and become one" (Chap. V).

Of the administration of law some interesting account is given. Written plaints were generally filed, in which the case against the defender was stated. Where no such written plaint was filed, oral complaints were received. There were different kinds of oaths, having different degrees of solemnity, and cases were decided on the testimony of witnesses (Chap. LXX).

All foreign visitors have commented on the extreme mildness of the criminal law in India, and Alberuni compares it with the leniency professed by Christians, and adds some shrewd remarks which deserve to be quoted. "In this regard the manners and customs of the Hindus resemble those of the Christians, for they are, like those of the latter, based on the principles of virtue and abstinence from wickedness, such as never to kill under any circumstances whatsoever; to give to him who has stripped you of your coat also your shirt; to offer to him who has beaten your cheek the other cheek also; to bless your enemy and to pray for him. Upon my life, this is a noble philosophy; but the people of this world are not all philosophers. Most of them are ignorant and erring, who cannot be kept on the straight road save by the sword and whip. And indeed, ever since Constantine the victorious became a Christian, both sword and whip have ever been employed, for without them it would be impossible to rule" (Chap. LXXI).

The punishment for a Brahman murderer who killed a man of another caste was expiation, consisting of fasting, prayers, and almsgiving. But if a Brahman killed another Brahman, the punishment was banishment and confiscation of property. In no case was a Brahman offender punished with death. For theft the punishment was in accordance with the value of the stolen property. In serious cases a Brahman or Kshatriya thief might be punished with loss of hand or foot, and a thief of a lower caste might be punished with death. A woman who committed adultery was driven out of the house of her husband and banished (Chap. LXXI).

Children inherited the property left by the father, a daughter getting a fourth part of the share of a son. A widow did not inherit, but was entitled to support and maintenance as long as she lived. Heirs in the direct line, *i.e.*, sons, grandsons, &c., inherited in pre-

ference to collateral heirs as brothers; and the debt of the deceased devolved on the heir (Chap. LXXII).

In matters of taxation Brahamans enjoyed the same indulgence as in punishment for offences. One-sixth of the produce of the soil was the tax due to the ruler; and labourers, artisans, and trading classes also paid taxes, calculated on their incomes. Only Brahmans were exempt from all taxes (Chap. LXVII).

With regard to Hindu literature, Alberuni begins his account with the Veda, which he says was transmitted by memory, because it was recited according to certain modulations, and the use of the pen might cause some error. He repeats the story that Vyasa divided the Veda into four parts, the Rik, Yajus, Saman, and Atharvan, and taught one part to each of his four pupils—Paila, Vaisampayana, Jaimini, and Sumantu. He gives us the names of the eighteen books into which the Mahabharata in its present shape is divided, and also makes mention of its continuation the Harivansa; and he also tells some legends from the Ramayana. He names eight grammarians—Panini and others—and gives us some account of Sanscrit metre; and he also tells us something of the Sankhya and other schools of philosophy, although his information is not always derived from the original works of these schools. Of Buddha and Buddhism his account is meagre, vague, and erroneous. He tells us of the twenty works on Smriti, Manu, Yajnavalkya, and others. He gives us two different lists of the eighteen Puranas, and the second ist corresponds exactly with the eighteen Puranas as we have them now. This is an important fact for the student of Hindu literature, as it shows that all the eighteen Puranas were composed before the eleventh century of the Christian Era, although they have been altered and added to in subsequent ages. On the other hand, we have no mention in Alberuni's work of the Tantra literature. And lastly, Alberuni, being himself a clever mathematician, gives us a long account of Hindu

astronomers, Aryabhatta, Varahamihira, and Brahmagupta, and of the five astronomical Siddhantas (Surya, Vasishtha, Pulisa, Romaka, and Brahma), which were condensed by Varahamihira. Alberuni specially praises Varahamihira as an honest man of science, and states that the astronomer lived 526 years before his own time, *i. e.*, about 505 A.D.

It is not necessary for us to go into the long and learned account which Alberuni gives of Hindu astronomy. His criticisms are sometimes erroneous; but on the whole he tries honestly to comprehend and explain the system of which he speaks. He gives us the names of the twelve Adityas, *i. e.*, the names of the sun in the twelve months of the year, viz., Vishnu of Chaitra, Aryaman of Vaisakha, Vivasvat of Jyaistha, Ansa of Asadha, Parjanya of Sravana, Varuna of Bhadra, Indra of Asvayuja (Asvina), Dhatri of Kartika, Mitra of Margasirsha (Agrahayana), Pushan of Pausha, Bhaga of Magha, and Tvashtri of Falguna. He states correctly that the names of the Hindu months are derived from the Hindu names of lunar constellations: Asvina from Asvini, Kartika from Krittika, Margasirsa from Mrigasira, Pausha from Pushya, Magha from Magha, Falguna from Purva Falguni, Chaitra from Chitra, Vaisakha from Visakha, Jyaishtha from Jyeshtha, Ashadha from Purvashadha, Sravana from Sravana, and Bhadra from Purva Bhadrapada. He gives us the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac, adopted by the Hindus from the Greeks, who had adopted them from the Assyrians. And he also gives us the Hindu names of the planets, Mangala for Mars, Budha for Mercury, Vrihaspati for Jupiter, Sukra for Venus, and Sanichara for Saturn (Chap. XIX).

Alberuni further tells us, and it is a remarkable fact for Hindu students to know, that some idea of the law of gravitation was known to Hindu astronomers. Brahmagupta, as quoted by Alberuni, says, "All heavy things fall down to the earth by a law of nature, for *it is the*

nature of the earth to attract and to keep things, as it is the nature of water to flow, that of the fire to burn, and that of the wind to set in motion." Varahamihira also says: "*The Earth attracts that which is upon her.*" (Chap. XXVI). Alberuni also alludes to Aryabhatta's theory, of which we have spoken before, that the earth revolves on its axis, the heaven does not turn round as appears to our eyes (Chap. XXVI). That the earth is round was also known to Hindu astronomers, and the circumference of the earth was stated to be 4800 yojanas (Chap. XXXI).

Alberuni also tells us of the precession of the equinoxes, and quotes Varahamihira, that whereas the summer solstice took place in the midst of Aslesha and the winter solstice in Dhanishta in olden times (in the Epic Age, when the Vedas were finally compiled, as we have seen before), the former now (in Varahamihira's time) takes place in the Cancer, and the latter in Capricornus (Chap. LVI). Alberuni further goes into the subject of the heliacal rising of the stars, and tells us how the mythical story of Agastya (Canopus) ordering the Vindhya mountains to wait until his return, arose out of astronomical observations on the heliacal rising of the Canopus. Into these and various other interesting matters of which our author speaks we cannot enter.

The geography of India was pretty well known to the Hindus both before and after the Christian Era: witness the Buddhist Scriptures and the accounts in Kalidasa's poetry and Varahamihira's astronomy. But nevertheless in orthodox Hindu works, we often find the mythical account of the configuration of the earth, with its seven concentric seas and seven concentric islands! The central island is Jambu Dvipa, surrounded by the salt sea; round it is Saka Dvipa, surrounded by the milk sea; round it is Kusa Dvipa surrounded by the butter sea; round it is Krauncha Dvipa, surrounded by the curd sea; round it is Salmali Dvipa, surrounded by the wine sea; round it is

Gomeda Dvipa, surrounded by the sugar sea; and last of all is Pushkara Dvipa, surrounded by the sweet sea (Chap. XXI, quoting from the Matsya Purana). A more rational account of the provinces of India is quoted by Alberuni from the Vayu Purana. The Kurus, Panchalas, Kasis, Kosalas, &c., were the central people. The Andhras (in Magadha), Vangiyas, Tamraliptikas, &c., were in the east. The Pandyas, Keralas, Cholas, Maharashtras, Kalingas, Vaidharvas, Andhras (in the Deccan), Nasikyas, Saurashtras, &c., were to the south. The Bhojas, Malavas, Hunas (Huns then possessing a part of the Punjab), &c., were to the west. And the Pahlavas (Persians), Gandharas, Yavanas, Sindhus, Sakas, &c., were to the north (Chap. XXIX).

Alberuni gives us some account of Hindu arithmetic and numbers—a science in which the Hindus beat all nations on the face of the earth. "I have studied the names of the orders of the numbers in various languages," says Alberuni, "and have found that no nation goes beyond the thousand," *i. e.*, the fourth order of numbers, commencing from the unit. But the Hindus "extend the names of the orders of numbers until the eighteenth order, and this is called the Parardha (Chap. XIV).

Our author also speaks of the various kinds of alphabet in use in India, the *Siddhamatrika* used in Kashmir and in Benares, the *Nagara* used in Malwa, the *Ardhanagari*, the *Marwari*, the *Sindhava*, the *Karnata*, the *Andhri*, the *Draviri*, the *Gauri*, &c. The last named is no doubt the Bengali alphabet. Various materials, too, were used in various parts of India for writing—the *Tal* leaf in some places, the *Bhurja* in Northern and Central India, &c. (Chap. XVI).

A chapter is also devoted to Hindu medical science. The science seems to have always been the monopoly of a few, and much superstition was mixed up with it. Ignorant pretenders professed through *Rasayana* to turn old age into youth, and to work many other wonders,

and thus preyed on the more ignorant public. As in the Middle Ages in Europe, so in India, the greediness of kings to convert metals into gold knew no bounds, and pretenders prescribed many dark and even inhuman rites to work this wonder.

Indeed, in many respects the tenth and eleventh centuries in India resembled the Middle Ages in Europe. A noble religion had become the monopoly of priests, and had been all but smothered with childish legends and image worship. War and sovereignty were the monopoly of another caste, the Rajput Kshatriyas of India, and the feudal barons of Europe, who had both come to the forefront from the struggles of the preceding Dark Ages. The people were ignorant, dispirited, enslaved, in one country as in the other. The last of the poets of the Augustan and Vikramadityan ages had disappeared, and had left no successors. The great names in science and learning were also a memory of the past; none had appeared again to take their place. And, as if to make the parallel complete, the last remains of the Latin and Prakrit-Sanscrit spoken tongues were replaced by modern languages,—the Italian, French, and Spanish in Europe, and the Hindi, &c., in India. The people were kept in ignorance, fed with unwholesome superstition, beguiled with gorgeous and never-ending festivals. Everything bore the appearance of disintegration and decay; and national life seemed extinct.

But here the parallel ends. The sturdy feudal barons of Europe soon mixed with the people, fought the people's battle in the field, the council board or the counting-house, and thus infused a new and vigorous life in modern nations. In India the caste-system prevented such a fusion, and the Rajput Kshatriyas, isolated from the people, soon fell a prey to foreign invaders, and were involved in a common ruin.

Great is the penalty which the Hindus have paid for their caste disunion and their political weakness. For

six centuries after 1200 A.D., the history of the Hindus is a blank. They were the only Aryan nation in the earth who were civilised four thousand years ago; they are the only Aryan nation in the earth who are socially lifeless and politically prostrate in the present day.

After six centuries of national lifelessness, there are indications of reviving life. There is a struggle in the land to go beyond the dead forms of religion, and to recover what is pure, nourishing, life-giving. There is an effort to create a social union which is the basis of national union. There are beginnings of a national consciousness among the people.

It may be England's high privilege to restore to an ancient nation a new and healthy life. Under the vivifying influences of modern civilisation, ancient races in Greece and in Italy have begun a new intellectual and national career. Under the fostering protection of the British crown, new nations are progressive in self-government and civilisation in America and in Australia. The influence of civilisation and the light of progress will yet spread to the shores of the Ganges. And if the science and learning, the sympathy and example of modern Europe help us to regain in some measure a national consciousness and life, Europe will have rendered back to modern India that kindly help and sisterly service which India rendered to Europe in ancient days —in religion, science, and civilisation.

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